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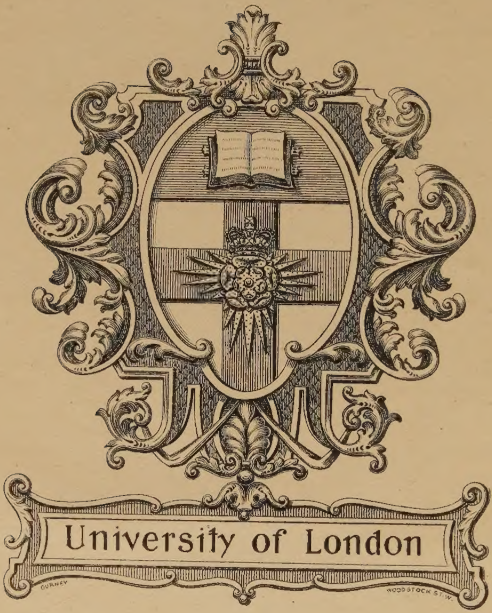
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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY

DEBATES:

Third Series;

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

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5 VICTORIÆ, 1841.

VOL. LIX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE NINETEENTH DAY OF AUGUST,

TO

THE SEVENTH DAY OF OCTOBER 1841.

Volume contains the Session.

LONDON:

THOMAS CURSON HANSARD, PATERNOSTER ROW;
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1841.

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IV. QUEEN'S SPEECH.

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THE MINISTRY,

AS IT STOOD AT THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury	Viscount Melbourne.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Cottenham.
President of the Council	Marquess of Lansdowne.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Minto.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Clarendon.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart.
First Commissioner of Land Revenue	Viscount Duncannon.
Home Secretary	Marquess of Normanby.
Foreign Secretary	Viscount Palmerston.
Colonial Secretary	Lord John Russell.
President of the Board of Control	Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart.
Secretary-at-War	Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macauley.
President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint	Right Hon. Henry Labouchere.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. Francis Thornhill Baring.
Chief Secretary for Ireland	Viscount Morpeth.

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Vice President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. Fox Maule.
Paymaster-General	Right Hon. Edward John Stanley.
Master General of the Ordnance	Lord Vivian.
Attorney-General	Sir Thomas Wilde,
Solicitor-General	

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Lord Chancellor	Lord Campbell.
Chief Secretary	Viscount Morpeth
Attorney-General	Right Hon. David Richard Pigot.
Solicitor-General	Richard Moore, Esq.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Andrew Rutherfurd, Esq.
Solicitor-General	Thomas Maitland, Esq.

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Lord Chamberlain	Earl of Uxbridge.
Master of the Horse	Earl of Albemarle

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AS FORMED BY SIR ROBERT PEEL.

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Lord Chancellor	Lord Lyndhurst.
President of the Council	Lord Wharncliffe.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Haddington.
Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Buckingham.
Home Secretary	Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.
Foreign Secretary	Earl of Aberdeen.
Colonial Secretary	Lord Stanley.
President of the Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough.
Secretary-at-War	Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge.
President of the Board of Trade	Earl of Ripon.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. Henry Goulburn.
Paymaster-General	Right Hon. Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Postmaster-General	Lord Lowther.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Granville Somerset.
First Commissioner of Land Revnuee	Earl of Lincoln.
Vice President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.
Master General of the Ordnance	Right Hon. Sir George Murray.
Attorney-General	Sir Frederick Pollock.
Solicitor-General	Sir William Webb Follett.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Earl De Grey.
Lord Chancellor	Sir Edward Sugden.
Chief Secretary	Lord Eliot.
Attorney-General	Right Hon. Francis Blackburne.
Solicitor-General	Edward Pennefather.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. Sir William Rae, Bart.
Solicitor-General	Duncan McNeil, Esq.

HOUSEHOLD APPOINTMENTS.

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Lord Chamberlain	Earl De Lawarr.
Master of the Horse	Earl of Jersey.

ROLL OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,

IN THE *FIRST SESSION* OF THE *FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*.

CORRECTED TO THE EIGHTH DAY OF SEPTEMBER.

5° VICTORIÆ 1841.

His Royal Highness ERNEST AUGUSTUS Duke of CUMBERLAND and TEVIOTDALE. *(King of Hanover.)*

His Royal Highness AUGUSTUS FREDERICK Duke of SUSSEX.

His Royal Highness ADOLPHUS FREDERICK Duke of CAMBRIDGE.

WILLIAM Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

JOHN SINGLETON Lord LYNDHURST, *Lord Chancellor.*

EDWARD Archbishop of YORK.

RICHARD Archbishop of DUBLIN.

JAMES ARCHIBALD Lord WHARNCLIFFE, *Lord President of the Council.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS, *Lord Privy Seal.*

BERNARD EDWARD Duke of NORFOLK, *Earl Marshal of England.*

EDWARD ADOLPHUS Duke of SOMERSET.

CHARLES Duke of RICHMOND.

GEORGE HENRY Duke of GRAFTON.

HENRY Duke of BEAUFORT.

WILLIAM AUBREY DE VERE Duke of ST. ALBAN'S.

FRANCIS GODOLPHIN D'ARCY Duke of LEEDS.

FRANCIS Duke of BEDFORD.

WILLIAM SPENCER Duke of DEVONSHIRE.

GEORGE Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

JOHN HENRY Duke of RUTLAND.

ALEXANDER Duke of BRANDON. *(Duke of Hamilton.)*

WILLIAM HENRY CAVENDISH Duke of PORTLAND.

WILLIAM Duke of MANCHESTER.

CHARLES Duke of DORSET.

HENRY PELHAM Duke of NEWCASTLE.

HUGH Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND.

ARTHUR Duke of WELLINGTON.

RICHARD PLANTAGENET Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS. *(In another place as Lord Privy Seal.)*

GEORGE GRANVILLE Duke of SUTHERLAND.

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CHARLES INGOLDSBY Marquess of WINCHESTER.

GEORGE Marquess of TWEEDDALE. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

HENRY Marquess of LANSDOWNE.

GEORGE FERRARS Marquess TOWNSHEND.

JAMES BROWNLOW WILLIAM Marquess of SALISBURY.

JOHN ALEXANDER Marquess of BATH.

JAMES Marquess of ABERCORN.

FRANCIS CHARLES Marquess of HERTFORD.

JOHN Marquess of BUTE.

WILLIAM Marquess of THOMOND. *(Lord Tadcaster) (Elected for Ireland.)*

BROWNLOW Marquess of EXETER.

Spencer Joshua Alwyne Marquess of Northampton.

George Charles Marquess Camden.

Henry William Marq. of Anglesey.

George Horatio Marquess of Cholmondeley.

George Augustus Francis Marquess of Hastings.

Charles Marquess of Ailesbury.

George Thomas John Marquess of Westmeath. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Frederick William Marquess of Bristol.

Archibald Marquess of Ailsa.

John Marquess of Breadalbane.

Robert Marquess of Westminster.

Constantine Henry Marquess of Normanby.

Charles Cecil Cope Earl of Liverpool, *Lord Steward of the Household.*

George John Earl De Lawarr, *Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*

John Earl of Shrewsbury.

Edward Earl of Derby.

Francis Theophilus Henry Earl of Huntingdon.

Robert Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

William Earl of Devon.

Thomas Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.

William Basil Percy Earl of Denbigh.

John Earl of Westmoreland.

George Augustus Frederick Albemarle Earl of Lindsey.

George Harry Earl of Stamford and Warrington.

George William Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

George Earl of Chesterfield.

Henry Earl of Thanet.

John William Earl of Sandwich.

Arthur Algernon Earl of Essex.

James Thomas Earl of Cardigan.

George Earl of Carlisle.

Walter Francis Earl of Doncaster. *(Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.)*

Cropley Earl of Shaftesbury.

———— Earl of Berkeley.

Montagu Earl of Abingdon.

Henry Earl of Plymouth.

John Savile Earl of Scarborough.

William Charles Earl of Albemarle.

George William Earl of Coventry.

George Earl of Jersey.

John Earl Poulett.

George Sholto Earl of Morton *(Elected for Scotland.)*

Thomas Earl of Elgin and Kincardine *(Elected for Scotland.)*

David Earl of Airlie. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

David Earl of Leven and Melville. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

Thomas John Earl of Orkney. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

Francis William Earl of Seafield. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

Edward Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

Washington Earl Ferrers.

William Earl of Dartmouth.

Chas. Augustus Earl of Tankerville.

Heneage Earl of Aylesford.

George Augustus Earl Cowper.

Philip Henry Earl Stanhope.

Robert Earl of Harborough.

George Earl of Macclesfield.

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James Earl Graham. *(Duke of Montrose.)*

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John Charles Earl of Portsmouth.

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George Robert Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Charles William Earl Fitzwilliam.

George Earl of Egremont.

Francis Earl of Guilford.

James Earl Cornwallis.

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Henry Stephen Earl of Ilchester.

George John Earl De Lawarr. *(In another place as Lord Chamlerlain of the Household.)*

William Earl of Radnor.

John Charles Earl Spencer.

Henry George Earl Bathurst.

Arthur Blundell Sandys Trumbull Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire.*)

George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon.

Henry Earl of Abergavenny.

Charles Chetwynd Earl Talbot.

John Earl Strange. *(Duke of Athol.)*

Ernest Augustus Earl of Mount Edgecumbe.

Hugh Earl Fortescue.

Edward Earl of Digby.

George Earl of Beverley.

David William Earl of Mansfield.

Henry John George Earl of Carnarvon.

Charles Cecil Cope Earl of Liverpool. (*In another place as Lord Steward of the Household.*)

George Earl Cadogan.

James Edward Earl of Malmesbury.

Francis William Earl of Charlemont. (*Lord Charlemont.*) *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Stephen Earl of Mount Cashell. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

John Earl of Mayo. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

William Earl of Wicklow. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

George Charles Earl of Lucan. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

James Earl of Bandon. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

James Duprè, Earl of Caledon. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

James Alexander Earl of Rosslyn.

William Earl of Craven.

Arthur George Earl of Onslow.

Charles Earl of Romney.

Henry Thomas Earl of Chichester.

Thomas Earl of Wilton.

Edmund Henry Earl of Limerick. *(Lord Foxford.)* *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Edward Earl of Powis.

Horatio Earl Nelson.

Archibald Earl of Gosford. *(Lord Worlingham.)* *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Charles William Earl of Charleville. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Charles Herbert Earl Manvers.

Horatio Earl of Orford.

Charles Earl Grey.

William Earl of Lonsdale.

Dudley Earl of Harrowby.

Henry Earl of Harewood.

Gilbert Earl of Minto.

William Schaw Earl Cathcart.

James Walter Earl of Verulam.

John Earl Brownlow.

William Earl of Saint Germans.

Edmund Earl of Morley.

George Augustus Frederick Henry Earl of Bradford.

John Reginald Earl Beauchamp.

Richard Earl of Glengall. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Thomas Philip Earl de Grey.

John Earl of Eldon.

Edward Earl of Falmouth.

Richard William Penn Earl Howe.

John Somers Earl Somers.

John Edward Cornwallis Earl of Stradbroke.

Windham Henry Earl of Dunraven (*Elected for Ireland.*)

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William Pitt Earl Amherst.

John Frederick Earl Cawdor.

George Earl of Munster.

William Earl of Burlington.

Robert Earl of Camperdown.

Thomas William Earl of Lichfield.

George Frederick D'Arcy Earl of Durham.

Frederick John Earl of Ripon.

Granville Earl Granville.

Kenneth Alexander Earl of Effingham.

Henry George Francis Earl of Ducie.

Charles Earl of Yarborough.

James Henry Robert Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)

Thomas William Earl of Leicester.

William Earl of Lovelace.

Thomas Earl of Zetland.

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Charles Noel, Earl of Gainsborough.
William Fitzhardinge, Earl Fitzhardinge.

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John Viscount Arbuthnott. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
James Viscount Strathallan. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John.
George Viscount Torrington.
Augustus Frederick Viscount Leinster. *(Duke of Leinster.)*
Henry Viscount Maynard.
John Robert Viscount Sydney.
Samuel Viscount Hood.
John Viscount De Vesci. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
Hayes Viscount Doneraile. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
Edward Jervis Viscount St. Vincent.
Robert Viscount Melville.
Henry Viscount Sidmouth.
Robert Edward Viscount Lorton. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
Warwick Viscount Lake.
George Viscount Gordon. *(Earl of Aberdeen.)*
Edward Viscount Exmouth.
Charles Viscount Gort. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
John Hely Viscount Hutchinson. *(Earl of Donoughmore.)*
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Stapleton Viscount Combermere.
Charles John Viscount Canning.
Charles Viscount Canterbury.
John Viscount Ponsonby.

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Edward Bishop of Durham.
Chas. Richard Bishop of Winchester.
Geo. Henry Bishop of Bath & Wells.
John Bishop of Lincoln.
William Bishop of St. Asaph.
Christopher Bishop of Bangor.
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Henry Lord Berners.
Henry Peyto Lord Willoughby De Broke.
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Henry Lord Paget.
St. Andrew Beauchamp Lord St. John of Bletso.
Charles Augustus Lord Howard de Walden.
George Harry Lord Grey of Groby.
William Francis Henry Lord Petre.
Gregory William Lord Saye and Sele.
Henry Benedict Lord Arundell of Wardour.
John Lord Clifton. *(Earl of Darnley.)*

JOSEPH THADDEUS Lord DORMER.
HENRY FRANCIS Lord TEYNHAM.
GEORGE WILLIAM Lord STAFFORD.
GEORGE ANSON Lord BYRON.
WILLIAM Lord WARD.
HUGH CHARLES Lord CLIFFORD of CHUDLEIGH.
JAMES OCHONCAR Lord FORBES. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
ALEXANDER GEORGE Lord SALTOUN. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
CHARLES Lord SINCLAIR. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
JOHN Lord COLVILLE of CULROSS. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
ERIC Lord REAY. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
JOHN Lord ROLLO. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
EDMUND Lord BOYLE. *(Earl of Cork and Orrery.)*
THOMAS ROBERT Lord HAY. *(Earl of Kinnoul.)*
DIGBY Lord MIDDLETON.
FREDERICK JOHN Lord MONSON.
HENRY Lord MONTFORT.
GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK Lord BRUCE.
FREDERICK Lord PONSONBY. *(Earl of Bessborough.)*
GEORGE JOHN Lord SONDES.
NATHANIEL Lord SCARSDALE.
GEORGE Lord BOSTON.
HENRY EDWARD Lord HOLLAND.
HENRY FREDERICK JOHN JAMES Lord LOVEL and HOLLAND. *(Earl of Egmont.)*
GEORGE JOHN Lord VERNON.
JOHN DOUGLAS EDWARD HENRY Lord SUNDRIDGE. *(Duke of Argyll.)*
EDWARD WILLIAM Lord HAWKE.
THOMAS HENRY Lord FOLEY.
GEORGE TALBOT Lord DYNEVOR.
THOMAS Lord WALSINGHAM.
WILLIAM Lord BAGOT.
CHARLES Lord SOUTHAMPTON.
FLETCHER Lord GRANTLEY.
GEORGE Lord RODNEY.
JOHN Lord CARTERET.
WILLIAM Lord BERWICK.
JOHN Lord SHERBORNE.
HENRY JAMES MONTAGU Lord MONTAGU.
HENRY Lord TYRONE. *(Marquess of Waterford.)*
HEN. Lord CARLETON. *(Earl of Shannon.)*
EDWARD Lord SUFFIELD.
GUY Lord DORCHESTER.
GEORGE Lord KENYON.
RICHARD Lord BRAYBROOKE.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS Lord FISHERWICK. *(Marquess of Donegal.)*
ARCHIBALD Lord DOUGLAS of DOUGLAS.
HENRY HALL Lord GAGE. *(Visc. Gage.)*
EDWARD THOMAS Lord THURLOW.
GEORGE WILLIAM Lord LYTTLETON.
HENRY Lord MENDIP. *(Viscount Clifden.)*
FRANCIS Lord STUART of CASTLE STUART. *(Earl of Moray.)*
RANDOLPH Lord STEWART of GARLIES *(Earl of Galloway.)*
JAMES THOMAS Lord SALTERSFORD. *(Earl of Courtown.)*
GEORGE ALAN Lord BRODRICK. *(Viscount Midleton.)*
GEORGE Lord CALTHORPE.
JOHN Lord ROLLE.
RICHARD Lord WELLESLEY. *(Marquess Wellesley.)*
ROBERT JOHN Lord CARRINGTON.
HENRY WILLIAM Lord BAYNING.
WILLIAM POWLETT Lord BOLTON.
WILLIAM Lord LOWTHER
JOHN Lord WODEHOUSE.
JOHN Lord NORTHWICK.
THOMAS ATHERTON Lord LILFORD.
THOMAS Lord RIBBLESDALE.
JOHN Lord FITZGIBBON. *(Earl of Clare.)*
EDWARD WADDING Lord DUNSANY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
CADWALLADER DAVIS Lord BLAYNEY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
JOHN Lord CARBERY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
HENRY Lord FARNHAM. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
ROBERT Lord CLONBROCK. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
EDWARD Lord CROFTON. *(Elected for Ireland).*
HENRY Lord DUNALLY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
HENRY FRANCIS SEYMOUR Lord MOORE. *(Marquess of Drogheda.)*

John Loftus Lord Loftus. *(Marquess of Ely.)*

John Lord Carysfort. *(Earl of Carysfort.)*

William Lord Alvanley.

George Lord Abercromby.

John Thomas Lord Redesdale.

George Lord Rivers.

Edward Lord Ellenborough.

Arthur Moyses William Lord Sandys.

George James Lord Arden.

George Augustus Frederick Chas. Lord Sheffield. *(Earl of Sheffield.)*

David Montagu Lord Erskine.

Howe Peter Lord Mont Eagle. *(Marquess of Sligo.)*

Archibald William Lord Ardrossan. *(Earl of Eglintoun.)*

James Lord Lauderdale. *(Earl of Lauderdale.)*

George Arthur Hastings Lord Granard. *(Earl of Granard.)*

Hungerford Lord Crewe.

Alan Legge Lord Gardner.

Thomas Lord Manners.

John Lord Hopetoun and Niddry. *(Earl of Hopetoun.)*

Richard Lord Castlemaine. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Thomas Lord Lynedoch.

Rowland Lord Hill.

James Andrew Lord Dalhousie. *(Earl of Dalhousie.)*

George Lord Meldrum. *(Marquess of Huntly.)*

George Lord Ross. *(Earl of Glasgow.)*

William Willoughby Lord Grinstead. *(Earl of Enniskillen.)*

Edmund Henry Lord Foxford. (*In another place as Earl of Limerick.*)

Francis Almeric Lord Churchill.

William Lord Melbourne. *(Viscount Melbourne.)*

William George Lord Harris.

Algernon Lord Prudhoe.

Charles Lord Colchester.

John William Robert Lord Ker. *(Marquess of Lothian.)*

Francis Nathaniel Lord Minster, *(Marquess Conyngham.)*

John Lord Ormonde. *(Marquess of Ormonde.)*

Francis Charteris Wemyss Lord Wemyss.

Robert Lord Clanbrassil. (*Earl of Roden.*)

Robert Lord Kingston. *(Earl of Kingston.)*

Edward Michael Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford.*)

George Augustus Frederick John Lord Glenlyon.

William Lord Maryborough.

Thomas Henry Lord Oriel. *(Viscount Ferrard.)*

Thomas Henry Lord Ravensworth.

Thomas Lord Delamere.

John George Weld Lord Forester.

John James Lord Rayleigh.

Ulysses Lord Downes. *(Elected for Ireland.)*

Nicholas Lord Bexley.

Robert Francis Lord Gifford.

Percy Clinton Sydney Lord Penshurst. (*Viscount Strangford.*)

William Lord Tadcaster. (*In another place as Marquess of Thomond.*)

Ulick John Lord Somerhill. (*Marquess of Clanricarde.*)

James Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Balcarres.*)

Thomas Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly.*)

George Lord De Tabley.

James Archibald Lord Wharncliffe. *(In another place as Lord President of the Council.)*

William Lord Feversham.

Charles Rose Lord Seaford.

John Singleton Lord Lyndhurst (*In another place as Lord Chancellor.*)

James Lord Fife. (*Earl of Fife.*)

John Henry Lord Tenterden.

William Conyngham Lord Plunket.

Thomas Lord Melros. *(Earl of Haddington.)*

Henry Lord Cowley.

Charles Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

William Lord Heytesbury.

Archibald John Lord Rosebery. *(Earl of Rosebery.)*

Richard Lord Clanwilliam. *(Earl of Clanwilliam.)*

Edward Lord Skelmersdale.

Thomas Lord Wallace.

William Draper Lord Wynford.

Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux.

William George Lord Kilmarnock. *(Earl of Erroll.)*

Arthur James Lord Fingall. *(Earl of Fingall.)*

Charles William Lord Sefton. *(Earl of Sefton.)*

Nathaniel Lord Clements. *(Earl of Leitrim.)*

George William Fox Lord Rossie. *(Lord Kinnaird.)*

Thomas Lord Kenlis. *(Marquess of Headfort.)*

John Chambre Lord Chaworth. *(Earl of Meath.)*

Alexander Edward Lord Dunmore. *(Earl of Dunmore.)*

George James Lord Ludlow. *(Earl Ludlow.)*

Robert Montgomery Lord Hamilton. *(Lord Belhaven and Stenton.)*

John Hobart Lord Howden.

William Lord Panmure.

George Warwick Lord Poltimore.

Edward Pryce Lord Mostyn.

Henry Spencer Lord Templemore.

William Lewis Lord Dinorben.

Valentine Browne Lord Cloncurry.

James Lord De Saumarez.

Francis Godolphin Lord Godolphin.

Lucius Lord Hunsdon. *(Visc. Falkland.)*

Charles Callis Lord Western.

Thomas Lord Denman.

John William Lord Duncannon.

William Lord Fitzgerald.

James Lord Abinger.

Philip Charles Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.

Alexander Lord Ashburton.

Charles Lord Glenelg.

Edward John Lord Hatherton.

John Lord Strafford.

Archibald Lord Worlingham. *(In another place as Earl of Gosford.)*

Charles Christopher Lord Cottenham.

Henry Lord Langdale.

Edward Berkeley Lord Portman.

Thomas Alexander Lord Lovat.

William Lord Bateman.

Francis William Lord Charlemont. *(In another place as Earl of Charlemont.)*

Anthony Adrian Lord Kintore. *(Earl of Kintore.)*

Cornelius Lord Lismore. *(Viscount Lismore.)*

Warner William Lord Rossmore.

Robert Shapland Lord Carew.

William Francis Spencer Lord De Mauley.

John Lord Wrottesly.

Charles Lord Sudeley.

Paul Lord Methuen.

Frederick James Lord Beauvale.

Richard Wogan Lord Furnival. *(Lord Talbot of Malahide.)*

John Thomas Lord Stanley of Alderley.

Henry Lord Stuart de Decies.

Chandos Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh.

Paul Beilby Lord Wenlock.

Charles Lord Lurgan.

Nicholas William Lord Colborne.

Arthur Lord De Freyne.

James Lord Dunfermline.

Thomas Lord Monteagle of Brandon.

John Lord Seaton.

John Lord Keane.

Charles Lord Sydenham.

John Lord Campbell.

John Lord Oxenfoord. *(Earl of Stair.)*

Valentine Lord Kenmare. *(Earl of Kenmare.)*

George Hamilton Lord Ennishowen and Carrickfergus.

Richard Hussey Lord Vivian.

Henry Brooke Lord Congleton.

Mem.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

LIST OF MEMBERS

Returned from the respective Counties, Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, to the *First Session* of the *Fourteenth Parliament* of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and *Fourth of Queen Victoria* Summoned to meet for dispatch of business August, 19, 1841.

Abingdon.
Thomas Duffield.

Andover.
Ralph Etwall,
Hon. William (Paget) Lord W. Paget.

Anglesey.
Hon. William Owen Stanley.

Arundel.
Hon. Henry Granville (Howard) Lord Fitzalan.

Ashburton.
William Jardine.

Ashton-under-Line.
Charles Hindley.

Aylesbury.
John Baillie Hamilton,
Rice Richard Clayton.

Banbury.
Henry William Tancred.

Barnstaple.
Frederick Hodgson,
Montague Gore.

Bath.
Hon. Adam (Duncan) Viscount Duncan,
John Arthur Roebuck.

Beaumaris.
Frederick Paget.

Bedford.
Frederick Polhill,
Henry Stuart.

Bedfordshire.
Hon. John Hume (Cust) Viscount Alford,
William Astell.

Berkshire.
Robert Palmer,
Philip Pusey,
Rt. hon. William Keppel viscount Barrington.

Berwick-upon-Tweed.
Richard Hodgson,
Matthew Forster.

Beverley.
John Towneley,
James Weir Hogg.

Bewdley.
Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, bt.

Birmingham.
George Frederick Muntz,
Joshua Scholefield.

Blackburn.
William Feilden,
John Hornby.

Bodmin.
Charles Crespigny Vivian,
Hon. John (Townshend) Earl of Leicester.

Bolton-le-Moors.
Peter Ainsworth,
John Bowring.

Boston.
John Studholme Brownrigg,
Sir James Duke, knt.

Bradford.
John Hardy,
William Cunliffe Lister.*

Brecknockshire.
Thomas Wood.

Brecknock.
Charles Morgan Robinson Morgan.

Bridgenorth.
Thos. Charlton Whitmore,
Sir Robert Pigot, bt.

Bridgewater.
Henry Broadwood,
Thomas Seaton Forman.

Bridport.
Henry Warburton,
Thomas Alexander Mitchell.

Brighton.
George Richard Pechell,
Isaac Newton Wigney.

Bristol.
Philip William Skynner Miles,
Hon. Francis Henry Fitzhardinge Berkeley.

Buckingham.
Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, bt.,
Sir John Chetwode, bt.

Buckinghamshire.
Sir William Laurence Young, bt.,
Caledon George Du Pré,
Charles Robert Scott Murray.

Bury.
Richard Walker.

Bury St. Edmund's.
Hon. Frederick William (Hervey) Earl Jermyn,
Rt. Hon. Charles (Fitzroy) Lord C. Fitzroy.

Calne.
Hon. Henry (Petty Fitzmaurice) Earl of Shelburne.

Cambridge.
Hon. John Henry Thomas Manners Sutton,
Sir Alexander Cray Grant.

Cambridgeshire.
Hon. Eliot Thomas Yorke,
Richard Jefferson Eaton,
John Peter Allix.

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* Dead.

CAMBRIDGE (UNIVERSITY)

Rt. hon. Henry Goulburn,
Hon. Charles Ewan Law.

CANTERBURY.

Hon. George Percy Sydney Smythe,
James Bradshaw.

CARDIFF.

John Iltid Nicholl.

CARDIGAN.

Pryse Pryse,*
John Sandrett Harford.*

CARDIGANSHIRE.

William Edward Powell.

CARLISLE.

Philip Henry Howard,
William Marshall.

CARMARTHEN.

David Morris.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Hon. George Rice Rice Trevor,
John Jones.

CARNARVON.

William Bulkeley Hughes.

CARNARVONSHIRE.

Hon. Edward Gordon Douglas Pennant.

CHATHAM.

Rt. hon. George Stevens Byng.

CHELTENHAM.

Hon. Craven Fitzhardinge Berkeley.

CHESHIRE.

(Northern Division.)

William Tatton Egerton,
George Cornwall Legh.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, bt.,
John Tollemache.

CHESTER.

Rt. hon. Robert (Grosvenor) Lord R. Grosvenor,
John Jervis.

CHICHESTER.

Hon. Arthur (Lennox) Lord A. Lennox,
John Abel Smith.

CHIPPENHAM.

Joseph Neeld,
Henry George Boldero.

CHRISTCHURCH.

Rt. hon. Sir George Henry Rose G.C.H.

CIRENCESTER.

Thomas William Chester Master,
William Cripps.

CLITHEROE.

Matthew Wilson.

COCKERMOUTH.

Henry Aglionby Aglionby,
Edward Horsman.

COLCHESTER.

Richard Sanderson,
Sir George Henry Smyth, bt.

CORNWALL.

(Eastern Division.)

Hon. Edward Granville (Eliot) Lord Eliot,
William Rashleigh.

(Western Division.)

Edward William Wynne Pendarves,
Hon. George Henry (Boscawen) Lord Boscawen.

COVENTRY.

Rt. hon. Edward Ellice,
William Williams.

CRICKLADE.

John Neeld,
Hon. Henry Howard.

CUMBERLAND.

(Eastern Division).

Hon. Charles Wentworth George Howard,
William James.

(Western Division.)

Samuel Irton,
Edward Stanley.

DARTMOUTH.

Sir John Henry Seale bt.

DENBIGH.

Townshend Mainwaring.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Hon. William Bagot,
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.

DERBY.

Edward Strutt,
Hon. John George Brabazon Ponsonby.

DERBYSHIRE.

(Northern Division.)

Hon. Geo. Henry Cavendish,
William Evans.

(Southern Division.)

Edward Miller Mundy,
Charles Robert Colvile.

DEVIZES.

Thomas Henry Sutton Sotheran,
George Heneage Walker Heneage.

DEVONPORT.

Henry Tufnell,
Rt. hon. Sir George Grey, bt.

DEVONSHIRE.

(Northern Division.)

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, bt.,
Lewis William Buck.

(Southern Division.)

Sir John Buller Yarde Buller, bt.,
Hon. William Reginald (Courtenay) Visc. Courtenay.

DORCHESTER.

Hon. Anthony Henry Ashley-Cooper,
Rt. hon. Sir James Robert George Graham, bt.

DORSETSHIRE.

Hon. Anthony (Ashley Cooper) Lord Ashley,
Henry Charles Sturt,
George Bankes.

DOVOR.

Sir John Rae Reid, bt.,
Hon. Edward Royd Rice.

DROITWICH.

John Somerset Pakington.

DUDLEY.

Thomas Hawkes.

DURHAM.

(Northern Division.)

Hedworth Lambton,
Hon. Henry Thomas Liddell.

(Southern Division.)

Hon. Harry (Vane) Lord H. Vane,
John Bowes.

DURHAM (CITY.)

Thomas Colpitts Granger,
Robert Fitzroy.

ESSEX.

(Northern Division.)

Sir John Tyssen Tyrrell, bt.,
Charles Gray Round.

(Southern Division.)

Thomas William Bramston,
George Palmer.

EVESHAM.

Hon. Arthur Marcus Cecil (Hill) Lord M. C. Hill,
Peter Borthwick.

EXETER.

Sir William Webb Follett, knt.,
Edward Divett.

EYE.

Sir Edward Kerrison, bt.

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* Double Return.

FINSBURY.
Thos. Slingsby Duncombe,
Thomas Wakley.

FLINT.
Sir Richard Bulkeley Williams Bulkeley, bt.

FLINTSHIRE.
Hon. Edward Mostyn Lloyd Mostyn.

FROME.
Thomas Sheppard.

GATESHEAD.
William Hutt.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.
Hon. Edward Richard Wyndham (Wyndham Quin) viscount Adare,
Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot.

GLOUCESTER.
John Phillpots,
Hon. Maurice Frederick Fitzhardinge Berkeley.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
(Eastern Division.)
Christopher William Codrington,
Hon. Francis Charteris.
(Western Division.)
Hon. George Charles Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley,
Robert Blagden Hale.

GRANTHAM.
Glynne Earle Welby,
Hon. Frederick James Tollemache.

GREENWICH.
James Whitley Deans Dundas,
Edward George Barnard.

GRIMSBY (GREAT).
Edward Heneage.

GUILDFORD.
Ross Donnelly Mangles,
Charles Baring Wall.

HALIFAX.
Edward Protheroe,
Charles Wood.

HAMPSHIRE.
(Northern Division.)
Rt. hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre,
Sir William Heathcote, bt.
(Southern Division.)
John Willis Fleming,
Henry Combe Compton.

HARWICH.
John Attwood,
William Beresford.

HASTINGS.
Rt. hon. Joseph Planta,
Robert Hollond.

HAVERFORDWEST.
Sir Richard Bulkeley Philipps Philipps, bt.

HELSTON.
Sir Richard Rawlinson Vyvyan, bt.

HEREFORD.
Edward Bolton Clive,
Henry William Hobhouse.

HEREFORDSHIRE.
Kedgwin Hoskins,
Thomas Baskerville Mynors Baskerville,
Joseph Bailey.

HERTFORD.
Hon. Philip Henry (Stanhope) viscount Mahon,
Hon. William Francis Cowper.

HERTFORDSHIRE.
Hon. James Walter (Grimston) viscount Grimston,
Abel Smith,
Hon. Granville Dudley Ryder.

HONITON.
Hugh Duncan Baillie,
Forster Alleyne Mac Geachy.

HORSHAM.
Hon. Robert Campbell Scarlett.

HUDDERSFIELD.
William Rookes Crompton Stansfield.

HUNTINGDON.
Sir Frederick Pollock, knt.,
Jonathan Peel.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.
Edward Fellowes,
George Thornhill.

HYTHE.
Stewart Majoribanks.

IPSWICH.
Rigby Wason,
George Rennie.

KENDAL.
George William Wood.

KENT.
(Eastern Division.)
Rt. hon. Sir Edward Knatchbull, bt.,
John Pemberton Plumptre.
(Western Division.)
Sir Edmund Filmer, bt.,
Hon. Charles (Marsham) viscount Marsham.

KIDDERMINSTER.
Richard Godson.

KING'S LYNN.
Hon. William George Frederick Cavendish (Bentinck) Lord G. F. C. Bentinck,
Rt. hon. Sir Stratford Canning, G.C.B.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Sir John Hanmer, bt.,
Sir Walter Charles James, bt.

KNARESBOROUGH.
Andrew Lawson,
William Busfeild Ferrand.

LAMBETH.
Benjamin Hawes,
Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson D'Eyncourt.

LANCASHIRE.
(Southern Division.)
Rt. hon. Francis (Egerton) Lord F. Egerton,
Hon. Richard Bootle Wilbraham.
(Northern Division.)
John Wilson Patten,
Rt. hon. Edward Geoffrey (Smith Stanley) Lord Stanley.

LANCASTER.
Thomas Greene,
George Marton.

LAUNCESTON.
Rt. hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, K.C.B.

LEEDS.
William Beckett,
William Aldam.

LEICESTER.
Sir John Easthope, bt.,
Wynn Ellis.

LEICESTERSHIRE
(Northern Division.)
Hon. Charles Henry Somerset (Manners) Lord C. H. S. Manners,
Edward Basil Farnham.
(Southern Division.)
Henry Halford,
Charles William Packe.

LEOMINSTER.
Charles Greenaway,
James Wigram.

LEWES.
Summers Harford,
Howard Elphinstone.

LICHFIELD.
Sir George Anson, G.C.B.,
Hon. Alfred Henry (Paget) Lord A. H. Paget.

LINCOLN.
Charles De Laet Waldo Sibthorp,
William Rickford Collett.

LINCOLNSHIRE.
(*Parts of Kesteven and Holland.*)
Christopher Turnour,
Sir John Trollope, bt.
(*Parts of Lindsey.*)
Hon. Charles Anderson Worsley (Pelham) Lord Worsley,
Robert Adam Christopher.

LISKEARD.
Charles Buller.

LIVERPOOL.
Hon. Dudley (Ryder) Viscount Sandon,
Creswell Creswell.

LONDON.
John Masterman,
Sir Matthew Wood, bt.,
George Lyall,
Rt. hon. John (Russell) Lord J. Russell.

LUDLOW.
Beriah Botfield,
James Ackers.

LYME REGIS.
William Pinney.

LYMINGTON.
John Stewart,
William Alex. Mackinnon.

MACCLESFIELD.
John Brocklehurst,
Thomas Grimsditch.

MAIDSTONE.
Alexander James Beresford Hope,
George Dodd.

MALDON.
Quintin Dick,
John Round.

MALMESBURY.
Hon. Jas. Kenneth Howard.

MALTON.
John Walbanke Childers,
John Evelyn Denison.

MANCHESTER.
Mark Philips,
Thomas Milner Gibson.

MARLBOROUGH.
Hon. Ernest Augustus Charles (Brudenell Bruce) Lord E. A. C. B. Bruce,
Henry Bingham Baring.

MARLOW (GREAT).
Thomas Peers Williams,
Sir William Robert Clayton, bt.

MARYLEBONE.
Sir Benjamin Hall, bt.,
Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B.

MERIONETHSHIRE.
Richard Richards.

MERTHYR TYDVIL.
Sir Josiah John Guest, bt.

MIDDLESEX.
George Byng,
Thomas Wood.

MIDHURST.
Sir Horace Beauchamp Seymour, knt.

MONMOUTH.
Reginald James Blewitt.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.
Rt. hon. Granville Charles Henry (Somerset) Lord G. C. H. Somerset,
Charles Octavius Swinnerton Morgan.

MONTGOMERY.
Hon. Hugh Cholmondeley.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.
Rt. hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn.

MORPETH.
Hon. Edward George Granville Howard.

NEWARK-UPON-TRENT.
William Ewart Gladstone,
Hon. John (Manners) Lord J. Manners.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.
Edmund Buckley,
John Quincey Harris.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.
William Ord,
John Hodgson Hinde.

NEWPORT.
Charles Wykeham Martin,
William John Hamilton.

NORFOLK.
(*Eastern Division.*)
Edmund Wodehouse,
Henry Negus Burroughes.
(*Western Division.*)
William Bagge,
Wm. Lyde Wiggett Chute

NORTHALLERTON.
William Battye Wrightson.

NORTHAMPTON.
Rt. Hon. Robert Vernon Smith,
Raikes Currie.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
(*Northern Division.*)
Thomas Philip Maunsell,
Augustus Stafford O'Brien.
(*Southern Division.*)
William Ralph Cartwright,
Sir Charles Knightley, bt.

NORTHUMBERLAND.
(*Northern Division.*)
Hon. Charles (Bennett) Lord Ossulston,
Addison John Baker Cresswell.
(*Southern Division.*)
Matthew Bell,
Savile Craven Henry Ogle.

NORWICH.
Hon. Arthur Richard (Wellesley) Marquess of Douro,
Benjamin Smith.

NOTTINGHAM.
Rt. hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, bt.,
Sir George Gerard de Hochpied Larpent, bt.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
(*Northern Division.*)
Thomas Houldsworth,
Henry Gally Knight.
(*Southern Division.*)
Hon. Henry Pelham (Fiennes Pelham Clinton) Earl of Lincoln,
Lancelot Rolleston.

OLDHAM.
John Fielden,
William Augustus Johnson.

OXFORD (CITY.)
James Haughton Langston,
Donald Maclean.

OXFORDSHIRE.
Hon. Montague (Bertie) Lord Norreys,
George Granville Harcourt,
Joseph Warner Henley.

OXFORD (UNIVERSITY.)
Thomas Grimston Bucknall Estcourt,
Sir Robert Harry Inglis, bt.

Pembroke.
Sir John Owen, bt.

Pembrokeshire.
Hon. John Frederick Vaughan (Campbell) viscount Emlyn.

Penryn.
John Cranch Walker Vivian,
James Hanway Plumridge.

Peterborough.
Hon. George Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
Sir Robert Heron, bt.

Petersfield.
Sir William George Hylton Jolliffe, bt.

Plymouth.
Thomas Gill,
Hon. Hugh (Fortescue) viscount Ebrington.

Pontefract.
Hon. John Charles George (Saville) visc. Pollington,
Richard Monckton Milnes.

Poole.
Hon. Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper Ponsonby,
George Richard Philips.

Portsmouth.
Rt. Hon. Francis Thornhill Baring,
Sir George Thomas Staunton, bt.

Preston.
Sir Peter Hesketh Fleetwood, bt.,
Sir George Strickland, bt.

Radnor (New).
Richard Price.

Radnorshire.
Sir John Benn Walsh, bt.

Reading.
Charles Russell,
Hon. Henry Charles (Cadogan) viscount Chelsea.

Reigate.
Hon. Charles Somers (Somers-Cocks) viscount Eastnor.

Retford (East).
Hon. Arthur Duncombe,
Granville Harcourt Vernon.

Richmond.
Hon. John Charles Dundas,
Hon. William Nicholas Ridley Colborne,

Ripon.
Thomas Pemberton,
Rt. hon. Sir Edward Burtenshaw Sugden, knt.

Rochdale.
William Sharman Crawford.

Rochester.
James Douglas Stoddart Douglas,
William Henry Bodkin.

Rutlandshire.
Gilbert John Heathcote,
Hon. William Henry Dawney.

Rye.
Herbert Barrett Curteis.

St. Alban's.
George William John Repton,
Rt. Hon. William Earl of Listowel.

St. Ives.
William Tyringham Praed.

Salford.
Joseph Brotherton.

Salisbury.
Wadham Wyndham,
William Bird Brodie.

Salop, or Shropshire.
(Northern Division.)
Sir Rowland Hill, bt.,
William Ormsby Gore.
(Southern Division.)
Hon. Henry (Vane) Earl of Darlington,
Hon. Robert Henry Clive.

Sandwich.
Sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, bt.,
Hugh Hamilton Lindsay.

Scarborough.
Sir John Vanden Bempde Johnstone, bt.,
Sir Frederick William Trench, knt.

Shaftesbury.
Hon. Henry (Howard) Lord Howard.

Sheffield.
John Parker,
Henry George Ward.

Shields (South).
John Twizell Wawn.

Shoreham (New).
Sir Chas. Merrik Burrell, bt.,
Charles Goring.

Shrewsbury.
George Tomline,
Benjamin D'Israeli.

Somersetshire.
(Eastern Division.)
William Gore Langton,
William Miles.
(Western Division.)
Thomas Dyke Acland,
Francis Henry Dickinson.

Southampton.
Hon. James (Bruce) Lord Bruce,
Charles Cecil Martyn.

Southwark.
John Humphery,
Benjamin Wood.

Stafford.
Hon. Swinfen Thomas Carnegie,
Edward Buller.

Staffordshire.
(Northern Division.)
Jesse David Watts Russell,
Charles Bowyer Adderley.
(Southern Division.)
Hn. Henry John (Chetwynd Talbot) visc. Ingestrie,
Hon. George Anson.

Stamford.
Hon. Charles Cecil John (Manners) Marquess of Granby,
Sir George Clerk, bt.

Stockport.
Henry Marsland,
Richard Cobden.

Stoke-upon-Trent.
John Lewis Ricardo,
William Taylor Copeland.

Stroud.
William Henry Stanton,
George Poulett Scrope.

Sudbury.
Frederick Villiers,
David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre.

Suffolk.
(Eastern Division.)
Rt. hon. John Henniker Lord Henniker,
Sir Charles Broke Vere. K.C.B.
(Western Division.)
Robert Rushbroke,
Harry Spencer Waddington,

Sunderland.

William Thompson,
David Barclay.

Surrey.

(*Eastern Division.*)
Henry Kemble,
Edmund Antrobus.

(*Western Division.*)
William Joseph Denison,
John Trotter.

Sussex.

(*Eastern Division.*)
George Darby,
Augustus Elliott Fuller.

(*Western Division.*)
Hon. Charles Henry (Gordon Lennox) Earl of March,
Charles Wyndham.

Swansea.

John Henry Vivian.

Tamworth.

Rt. hon. Sir Robert Peel, bt.,
Edward Henry A'Court.

Taunton.

Rt. hon. Henry Labouchere,
Edward Thos. Bainbridge.

Tavistock.

John Rundle,
Hon. Edward (Russell) Lord E. Russell.

Tewkesbury.

William Dowdeswell,
John Martin.

Thetford.

Hon. William Bingham Baring,
Hon. Henry (Fitzroy) Earl of Euston,*
Sir James Flower, bt.*

Thirsk.

John Bell.

Tiverton.

John Heathcoat,
Rt. hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston.

Totness.

Hon. Edward Adolphus (Seymour) Lord Seymour,
Charles Barry Baldwin.

Tower Hamlets.

Sir William Clay, bt.,
Charles Richard Fox.

Truro.

John Ennis Vivian,
Edmund Turner.

Tynemouth.

Henry Mitcalfe.

Wakefield.

John Holdsworth.

Wallingford.

William Seymour Blackstone.

Walsall.

Robert Scott.

Wareham.

John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge Erle Drax.

Warrington.

John Ireland Blackburn.

Warwick.

Sir Chas. Eurwicke Douglas, knt.,
William Collins.

Warwickshire.

(*Northern Division.*)
William Stratford Dugdale,
Sir John Eardley Eardley Wilmot, bt.

(*Southern Division.*)
Sir John Mordaunt, bt.,
Evelyn John Shirley.

Wells.

William Goodenough Hayter,
Richard Blakemore.

Wenlock.

Hon. George Cecil Weld Forester,
James Milnes Gaskell.

Westbury.

Sir Ralph Lopes, bt.

Westminster.

John Temple Leader,
Hon. Henry John Rous.

Westmoreland.

Rt. hon. William (Lowther) Viscount Lowther,
Hon. Henry Cecil Lowther.

Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.

Hon. George Augustus Frederick (Villiers) Viscount Villiers,
George William Hope.

Whitby.

Aaron Chapman.

Whitehaven.

Matthias Attwood.

Wigan.

Peter Greenall,
Thomas Bright Crosse.

Wight, (Isle of).

Hon. William Henry Ashe A'Court Holmes.

Wilton.

Hon. James Howard (Harris) Viscount Fitzharris.

Wiltshire.

(*Northern Division.*)
Sir Francis Burdett, bt.,
Walter Long.

(*Southern Division.*)
John Benett,
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

Winchester.

James Buller East,
Bickham Escot.

Windsor.

John Ramsbottom,
Ralph Neville.

Woodstock.

Frederic Thesiger.

Wolverhampton.

Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers,
Thomas Thornely.

Worcester.

Sir Thomas Wilde, knt.,
Joseph Bailey.

Worcestershire.

(*Eastern Division.*)
John Barneby,
James Arthur Taylor.

(*Western Division.*)
Hon. Henry Beauchamp Lygon,
Frederick Winn Knight.

Wycombe (Chipping).

George Henry Dashwood,
Ralph Bernal.

Yarmouth (Great).

Charles Edward Rumbold,
William Wilshere.

York.

John Henry Lowther,
Henry Redhead Yorke.

Yorkshire.

(*East Riding.*)
Henry Broadley,
Right hon. Beaumont Lord Hotham.

(*West Riding.*)
Hon. John Stuart Wortley,
Edward Denison.

(*North Riding.*)
Hon. Wm. Duncombe,*
Edward Stillingfleet Cayley.

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* Double Return.

* Now Lord Feversham.

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeen.
Alexander Bannerman.

Aberdeenshire.
Hon. Wm. Gordon.

Argyleshire.
Alexander Campbell.

Ayr, &c.
Hon. Patrick James Herbert (Crichton Stuart) Lord P. J. H. C. Stuart.

Ayrshire.
Hon. James (Boyle Carr) Viscount Kelburne.

Banffshire.
James Duff.

Berwickshire.
Sir Hugh Purvis Hume Campbell, bt.

Buteshire.
Rt. hon. Sir Will. Rae, bt.

Caithness-shire.
George Trail.

Clackmannan and Kinros-shires.
Hon. George Ralph Abercrombie.

Cupar, &c.
Edward Ellice.

Dumbartonshire.
Alexander Smollett.

Dumfries, &c.
William Ewart.

Dumfriesshire.
John James Hope Johnstone.

Dundee.
George Duncan.

Dysart &c.
Robert Ferguson.

Edinburgh.
Rt. hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay,
William Gibson Craig.

Edinburghshire.
William Ramsay Ramsay.

Elgin, &c.
Sir Andrew Leith Hay, knt.

Elginshire and Nairne.
Charles Lennox Cumming Bruce.

Fifeshire.
James Erskine Wemyss.

Forfarshire.
Hon. John Frederick (Gordon) Lord J. F. Gordon.

Fortrose, &c.
James Morrison.

Glasgow.
James Oswald,
John Dennistoun.

Greenock.
Robert Wallace.

Haddington, &c.
James Maitland Balfour.

Haddingtonshire.
Sir Thomas Buchan Hepburn, bt.

Inverbervie, &c.
Patrick Chalmers.

Inverkeithing, &c.
Hon. Archibald (Primrose) Lord Dalmeny.

Invernesshire.
Henry James Baillie.

Kincardineshire.
Hon. Hugh Arbuthnott.

Kirkcudbright.
Alexander Murray.

Kirkwall, &c.
James Loch.

Lanarkshire.
William Lockhart.

Leith, &c.
Rt. hon. Andrew Rutherfurd.

Linlithgow, &c.
William Baird.

Linlithgowshire.
Hon. Charles Hope.

Orkney and Shetland Shires.
Frederick Dundas.

Paisley.
Archibald Hastie.

Peebleshire.
William Forbes Mackenzie.

Perth.
Rt. hon. Fox Maule.

Perthshire.
Henry Home Drummond.

Renfrew, &c.
Alexander Johnston.

Renfrewshire.
Patrick Maxwell Stewart.

Ross and Cromarty-shires.
Thomas Mackenzie.

Roxburghshire.
Hon. Francis Scott.

Selkirkshire.
Alexander Pringle.

Stirlingshire.
William Forbes.

Sutherlandshire.
David Dundas.

Wigton, &c.
Sir John M'Taggart, bt.

Wigtonshire.
John Dalrymple.

IRELAND.

Antrim.
John Irving,
Nathaniel Alexander.

Armagh.
Hon. Archibald (Acheson) Viscount Acheson,
William Verner.

Armagh (City.)
John Dawson Rawdon.

Athlone.
George de la Poer Beresford.

Bandon-Bridge.
Joseph Devonsher Jackson.

Belfast.
James Emerson Tennent,
William Gillilan Johnson.

Carlow.
Henry Bruen,
Thomas Banbury.

Carlow (Borough.)
Brownlow Villiers Layard.

Carrickfergus.
Peter Kirk.

Cashell.
Joseph Stock.

Cavan.
John Young,
Henry John Clements.

Clare.
William Nugent M'Namara,
Cornelius O'Brien.

Clonmel.
Rt. hon. David Richard Pigot.

Coleraine.
Edward Litton.

Cork.
Daniell O'Connell,*
Edmund Burke Roche.

Cork (City.)
Francis Slack Murphy,
Daniel Callaghan.

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* Returned also for Meath.

DONEGAL.
Sir Edmund Samuel Hayes, bt.,
Edward Michael Connolly.

DOWN.
Rt. hon. Frederick William Robert (Stewart) Viscount Castlereagh,
Hon. Arthur Wills Blundell Sandys Trumbull Windsor (Hill) Earl of Hillsborough.

DOWNPATRICK.
David Stewart Kerr.

DROGHEDA.
Sir William Meridyth Somerville, bt.

DUBLIN.
James Hans Hamilton,
Thomas Edward Taylor.

DUBLIN (CITY.)
John Beatly West,
Edward Grogan.

DUBLIN (UNIVERSITY.)
Rt. hon. Frederick Shaw.
Rt. hon. Thomas Lefroy,

DUNDALK.
Thos. Nicholas Redington.

DUNGANNON.
Hon. Thomas (Knox) Viscount Northland.

DUNGARVAN.
Rt. hon. Richard Lalor Sheil.

ENNIS.
Hewitt Bridgeman.

ENNISKILLEN.
Hon. Arthur Henry Cole.

FERMANAGH.
Sir Arthur Brinsley Brooke, bt.,
Mervyn Archdall.

GALWAY.
John James Bodkin,
Thomas Barnewell Martin.

GALWAY (BOROUGH).
Martin Joseph Blake,
Sir Valentine Blake, bt.

KERRY.
Hon. William Browne,
Morgan John O'Connell,

KILDARE.
Richard More O'Ferrall,
Robert Archbold.

KILKENNY.
Hon. Pierse Butler,
George Bryan.

KILKENNY (BOROUGH).
John O'Connell.

KING'S (COUNTY).
Hon. John Craven Westenra,
Sir Andrew Armstrong, bt.

KINSALE.
William Henry Watson.

LEITRIM.
Hon. William Sydney (Clements) Viscount Clements.
Samuel White.

LIMERICK.
William Smith O'Brien,
Caleb Powell.

LIMERICK (CITY).
Sir David Roche, bt.,
John O'Brien.

LISBURN.
Henry Meynell.

LONDONDERRY.
Sir Robert Bateson, bt.,
Theobald Jones.

LONDONDERRY (CITY.)
Sir Robert Alexander Ferguson, bt.

LONGFORD.
Luke White,
Henry White.

LOUTH.
Rich. Montesquieu Bellew,
Hon. Thomas Vesey Dawson.

MALLOW.
Sir Chas. Denham Orlando Jephson Norreys, bt.

MAYO.
Robert Dillon Browne,
Mark Blake.

MEATH.
Daniell O'Connell,*
Henry Grattan.

MONAGHAN.
Hon. Henry Robt. Westenra,
Evelyn Philip Shirley.

NEWRY.
Hon. Francis Jack (Needham) Viscount Newry and Morne.

PORTARLINGTON.
Hon. George Lionel Dawson Damer.

QUEEN'S (COUNTY).
Sir Chas. Henry Coote, bt.,
Hon. Thomas Vesey.

ROSS, (NEW).
Hon. Robert Gore.

ROSSCOMMON.
Fitzstephen French,
Denis O'Conor, (The O'Conor Don).

SLIGO.
Alexander Perceval,
William Richard Ormsby Gore.

SLIGO (BOROUGH.)
John Patrick Somers.

TIPPERARY.
Valentine Maher,
Hon. Robert Otway Cave.

TRALEE.
Maurice O'Connell.

TYRONE.
Right hon. Henry Thomas Lowry Corry,
Hon. Claud (Hamilton) Lord C. Hamilton.

WATERFORD.
William Villiers Stuart,
Hon. Robt. Shapland Carew.

WATERFORD (CITY.)
William Christmas,
William Morris Reade.

WESTMEATH.
Hugh Morgan Tuite,
Benjamin James Chapman.

WEXFORD.
Villiers Francis Hatton,
James Power.

WEXFORD (BOROUGH.)
Sir Thomas Esmonde, bt.

WICKLOW.
William Acton,
Sir Ralph Howard, bt.

YOUGHALL.
Hon. Compton Cavendish.

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* Returned also for Cork.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE *FIRST SESSION* OF THE *FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET AT WESTMINSTER, 19 AUGUST, 1841, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HER MAJESTY

QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, August 19, 1841.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.] On the House meeting this day, pursuant to the summons for calling a new Parliament,

The *Lord Chancellor* addressed their Lordships:—My Lords,—Her Majesty not thinking fit to be present here this day in her Royal person, has been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under the great seal for the opening and holding this Parliament.

The Lords Commissioners (namely, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Marquess of Normanby, the Earl of Clarendon, and Viscount Duncannon) having taken their seats, and the Commons, headed by Mr. Ley, the chief clerk, having appeared at the bar, the commission in the usual form was read.

The *Lord Chancellor* said,—My Lords and Gentlemen,—We have it in command from Her Majesty to let you know that you shall hereafter be informed of the cause of calling this Parliament together; but it being necessary that a Speaker for the House of Commons should first be chosen, you will, for that purpose, return to the place prepared for your meeting, and there be pleased to choose a Speaker, and present such person whom you shall so choose here to-morrow, at two o'clock, for Her Majesty's Royal approbation.

The Commons withdrew.

Prayers having been read by the Lord Bayning (no Bishop being present),

The *Lord Chancellor* singly first took the oaths at the Table.

The certificate of the sixteen Peers for Scotland was read, a considerable number of Lords took the oaths, and several Roman Catholic Peers took the prescribed oath.

Henry Charles Howard, Esq. (Earl of Surrey) created Baron Maltravers, took the oath prescribed for Roman Catholic Peers. The right hon. Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, Bart., created Baron Vivian, and the right hon. George Hamilton Chichester (Earl of Belfast), created Baron Ennishowen, took the oaths.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex singly took the oaths.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, August 19, 1841.

CHOICE OF A SPEAKER.] Soon after the House had met, the Commons were summoned by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to the House of Peers.

On the return of Mr. Ley, the Chief Clerk, and the Members who accompanied him, the Chief Clerk informed the House that they were to choose a Speaker, and present him on the morrow for the approbation of Her Majesty.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER.] Lord *Worsley* said, In obedience to her Majesty's commands, which we have been just summoned to hear, I beg leave to propose that we now proceed to the election of a Member to preside over our future discussions. This duty, on our part, is of high importance, in order that we may pursue our debates upon questions of vast moment in a manner worthy of the representatives of the people, by selecting an individual who may be able to allay any temporary irritation, and to check a course of proceeding that would naturally lower the House in the estimation of the country. I hope that the right hon. Gentleman whom I shall propose to fill this high office, will be generally acceptable to those I have now the pleasure to address. I hope so, because he has already occupied that chair, and discharged the functions belonging to the station, I believe, to the entire satisfaction of Members on both sides of the House. I am sure if hon. Gentlemen, who are new Members, could have witnessed the conduct of my right hon. Friend, or could have heard the testimony borne to that conduct by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, and by the noble Member for North Lancashire, they would have no hesitation in approving the motion with which I shall presently conclude. The right hon. Gentleman stands so high in the estimation of the House, both for his private virtues, and for his public conduct, that he can need no panegyric of mine. While he was Speaker in the last Parliament, all who resorted to him for assistance and advice, found the most willing compliance with their wishes, and the most earnest desire to promote their objects. Those who are acquainted with his qualifications will, I am confident, be prepared to replace him in the situation he recently occupied; and those new Members who have had no personal experience on the subject, may be glad to listen to the handsome expressions of the noble Member for North Lancashire, who on one occasion in the last Parliament said, that "the greater his respect for the personal character of the Speaker, the more thankful he was for the manner in which he had discharged his duties; he had been elected by one side of the House, but by the scrupulous impartiality of his conduct, he had secured the hearty approbation of both sides." I am glad to find that I have judged rightly in the estimate I apprehended the House had formed of the qualifications and services of the right hon. Gentleman, and I conclude that it is not the intention of any hon. Member to propose another person to fill that chair who has less experience, and who possesses less of the confidence of the House. I shall therefore have the utmost satisfaction in moving, that the right hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre be elected our Speaker, and many who hear me will not have forgotten, that before he was chosen to that office in the last Parliament, he had devoted much attention to the private business of the House: one of the principal grounds on which his title rested was, that he was on this account especially fitted for the situation. In his capacity of Speaker, he subsequently justified all the anticipations that had been indulged regarding him; and he not only gave the utmost satisfaction in all matters relating to private business, but while he adequately maintained the dignity of the Chair, he was prepared at all times to give the fullest information to every individual Member. The kindness and courtesy of his deportment were admitted by all. Whenever the complication of any matter of private business rendered it necessary to resort to the Speaker for advice, it was given in a manner which secured respect for its soundness, while nothing could exceed the readiness with which it was communicated. That right hon. Gentleman is still among us; and under the conviction that all who hear me will concur in the opinions I have expressed, and in the proposal I shall make, I beg leave to move, that the right hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre do take the Chair of this House as Speaker.

Mr. *E. Buller*: When the request was made to me that I would second the proposal of the noble Lord, I at once assented to it, as a motion that met with my entire approbation. I could not refuse to lend my humble aid in inducing the House to adopt a course which was so obviously consistent with its own credit and advantage. I feel that I have no right to shrink from the task thus imposed upon me. In order to vindicate the claims of the right hon. Gentleman, I have only to refer to his conduct during the three years that he presided so ably over our deliberations, when he evinced a singular combination of all the qualifications necessary for the conduct of public and private business. I am called upon to vindicate his claims before those who (or, at least, a great majority of whom) are aware of the great attention he devoted to the progress of private business. However complicated were the difficulties, he ever showed a clear conception of the case, and gave the soundest judgment for the solution of the perplexity. He possessed the most intimate and accurate acquaintance with all the forms of the House, and he presided over our debates with the most strict impartiality, and with the most unquestionable integrity. He showed that he entertained just feelings of the importance of public interests, with a due respect for the rights of individuals. The consequence was, that as all relied upon his impartiality, all bowed with willing submission to his decisions. Most of us have witnessed the manner in which he conducted himself in the Chair with a combination of urbanity, temper, and firmness, and are fully aware that our choice could fall upon no individual better, or, perhaps, so well qualified for the duties we are about to impose upon him. We know that he sometimes was called upon to control the unruly passions of the House, and we know the manner in which he maintained the dignity of the Chair and supported the honour and character of the House. I am satisfied that he is so thoroughly acquainted with the principles of debate and with the privileges of the House, that our trust cannot be misplaced, and that in his hands all our ancient forms and venerable usages will be respected and preserved. If any difficulty should hereafter occur, we need not doubt that the right hon. Gentleman will meet it with conduct and decision, and that he will maintain the privileges of the House for the welfare of the people. I feel the greater satisfaction in urging the House to re-appoint the right hon. Gentleman, because I know that its choice will reflect honour and credit on all parties. Those by whom he was originally selected for a post of such rank and importance will have the pleasure of reflecting that their confidence was fully justified, and that his great claims have been supported by his undoubted merits. Those who opposed the election of the right hon. Gentleman will gladly acknowledge that he has accomplished more than they anticipated, and the numerous party I now see on the opposite benches will not be backward in admitting his excellencies. Depend upon it, whoever may be called upon to hold the reins of Government—whatever may be the issue of the present state of affairs—whether we shall witness a course of brilliant successes, in removing restrictions and prohibitions which at present hamper and cripple the industry of the country—or whether a different and an injurious system of policy shall be adopted, the situation of our Speaker will be arduous, and for this reason I rejoice that we are likely to elect an individual who has not only ability, but experience, and the choice of whom cannot but redound to the honour of the House. He is especially and peculiarly fitted for the duties he will be called upon to discharge, and it will be only an act of justice to afford him the unequivocal testimony of re-election. I believe I have rather deviated from the course I ought to have taken and meant to take, but I am not in the habit of addressing the House, and my error was not intentional. I will not detain hon. Members longer than to express my hope that on this occasion there will be no difference of opinion, and that, as we are unanimous in our estimate of the merits and qualifications of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, we shall be unanimous in our choice of him to fill the chair. Private business will thus be carried on to the satisfaction of the country, and the dignity and honour of the House will be safe in the individual to whom it is proposed by the noble Lord to entrust them. The duties of Speaker will thus be discharged with the utmost credit to the individual, and the highest honour to the House, and with the greatest advantage to the country.

Sir *Robert Peel:* It is my intention on this occasion to act upon the principle for which I contended in the year 1835—and upon which I acted in the year 1837, on the occasion of the re-election of Mr. Abercromby to fill the chair of this House. In conformity with that precedent, I shall give my vote in favour of the right hon. Gentleman whose re-appointment has been moved and seconded. I contended for that principle in the first place, because I thought it most in conformity with precedents in the best periods of the history of the country. In 1727, Mr. Speaker Onslow was elected, and he continued in possession of the Chair for thirty-three years. Such continued to be the course until Lord North objected to the re-election of Sir Fletcher Norton. In 1784, after the great struggle between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and when the former had a decided majority, Mr. Pitt acquiesced in the re-election of Mr. Speaker Cornwall. In 1806, when Lord Grey and Lord Grenville became Ministers of the country, and were supported by a large majority, they also acquiesced in the re-election of Mr. Abbott. In 1831, soon after the accession of Lord Grey to the Government, he acquiesced in the re-election of Mr. Manners Sutton, now Lord Canterbury; and again, in 1833. The Ministers supported his re-election. The only deviations from this course of precedents are to be found in 1780, when Lord North resisted the re-election of Sir Fletcher Norton, and in 1835, when the party opposed to the Government over which I then presided, objected to the re-appointment of Mr. Manners Sutton. I contended against the principle then advocated on the other side. I did not think it necessary that the person elected to the Chair, who had conscientiously and ably performed his duties, should be displaced because his political opinions were not consonant to those of the majority of the House. I will not farther refer to the differences of opinion which then prevailed, but merely remind the House that I argued for the same principle at that time, which I now propose to act upon. Of course I do not mean to say, that that principle ought to be held as an inflexible and invariable rule; it may be perfectly competent to any man to object to a re-election on the ground of neglect of duty, or conduct which may show an individual to be incompetent to the office. In a case of that kind I should concur with those who objected to the re-election. In the present case, I am bound to say, that I think the right hon. Gentleman has fulfilled the expectations of his most sanguine supporters; and has conducted himself in the chair with integrity and impartiality. The right hon. Gentleman has, moreover, given so much attention to, and manifested so intimate an acquaintance with that important branch of his duties connected with the conduct of private business, that he is entitled to the respectful acknowledgments of the House. The right hon. Gentleman by his ability, impartiality, and integrity, has secured the confidence of the House, and has established, I think, that moral influence which is essential to the due discharge of his functions, and as efficacious in maintaining his authority as any positive power which the situation confers upon him. On these grounds, without farther observations, I shall conclude by saying, that I have great satisfaction in giving my support to the motion for the re-election of the right hon. Gentleman who has been nominated to fill the Chair.

Whereupon Mr. Charles Lefevre being unanimously called to the Chair, submitted himself to the House.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre:* I feel most grateful for the commendations passed upon me by hon. Members on both sides of the House. I am sure they are far beyond my merits, though not beyond my anxiety to deserve them. I am greatly indebted to the noble Lord and to my hon. Friend for the highly flattering manner in which they have proposed and seconded this motion, and alluded to my conduct in the Chair. I am most thankful for their approbation, and I regard it as an ample reward for all that toil and anxiety which are inseparable from an office of great labour and responsibility, though of high distinction. I regard it also as the best encouragement to future exertion, now I am again called upon to preside over the discussions of the House. Whatever opinion I may formerly have expressed as to the difficulties attending the situation of Speaker, they are frequently much aggravated by the sudden and unexpected manner in which he may be called upon to discharge them. I know, as regards the privileges of this House, to which my noble Friend has alluded, that the maintenance of the rules and orders of this House depends much upon the care and vigilance of the Speaker, and I feel bound to say, that the more I have become acquainted with those privileges, and with their nature and their object, the more I see the necessity of guarding them with with the greatest jealousy against the least violation. I look upon the rules and orders of this House as affording the best guarantee for the dignity of our proceedings, and for the safe and regular dispatch of the public business, which can alone secure the House in the confidence and respect of the public. With these views of the duties and responsibility of the office of Speaker, I should feel at this moment unwilling to undertake so important a trust, did I not entertain a most grateful recollection of that indulgence and support which in the last Parliament was universally extended to me by Members on both sides of the House. I now submit myself to the pleasure of the House, in the full confidence and reliance that, so long as I continue to conduct the duties with fairness and impartiality, a similar support will be given to me.

And he was again called to the Chair, where standing on the upper Step,

He said, As it has been the pleasure of his House to place me a second time in this chair, I beg to tender my humble and sincere acknowledgments to them for having conferred upon me the most distinguished honour that could be awarded to any Member, and I beg to assure them that no effort on my part shall be wanting to prove myself deserving of their confidence.

Lord *J. Russell:* Sir, it now becomes my grateful duty to congratulate you upon your re-election to the eminent station of Speaker of the House, but I think that I should rather congratulate this House in the first place, that our first act has been one on which the House could unanimously agree, and, in the next place, that we have a Speaker to preside over our debates who, whether in maintaining authority in our public discussions, whether in assisting in the private business of the House, or whether regarding the preservation of our privileges, and the rules and orders by which our proceedings are conducted, is eminently fitted to fill this high situation. I know, Sir, that you feel, as all who have studied the subject do feel, that our privileges are valuable, not because they confer honour on this House, but because those privileges are valuable to the people at large, whom we are sent here to represent; and you, Sir, have shown by your conduct at all times, that while you are ready to maintain our privileges as important to Parliament, you are also ready to maintain and respect the other parts of our valuable constitution. Sir, it has been my happiness to agree with you in general political subjects, and I was on that ground ready to have given you my confidence, but I am rejoiced, that upon the present occasion you are not, as on a former occasion, when your conduct as a Speaker could not have been known by experience, proposed by one party, but that your election has been carried by both sides of the House acquiescing in the speech of the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, that "if your election were carried by only one side of the House, your conduct in the chair has obtained the respect and esteem of both." Sir, I do not now wish at all to discuss the principles on which I acted in 1835, I only wish to mention, to prevent any misconception, that it was not alone because I thought upon that occasion that the Speaker ought to be the organ of a majority of this House, that I opposed the re-election of Mr. Manners Sutton, there were circumstances connected with the conduct of Mr. Manners Sutton which, in spite of his eminent qualifications for the chair, to which I bore my humble and willing testimony with many others, in spite of his experience in conducting the business of the House, and in spite of the favourable opinion which every one entertained of his personal demeanour, made it my duty, as I thought, to propose another person for the chair, Mr. Abercromby, now Lord Dunfermline. I do not wish to advert to the circumstances further than to say, that a difference of political feeling was not upon that occasion the only ground of opposition. The House will feel, that it would not be right for me to make any further statement. I do not wish to diminish my respect for the manner in which Lord Canterbury conducted the business of the House, but at the same time I wish to prevent any misunderstanding upon the subject. I trust, Sir, that in whatever discussion and debates that may arise, and that whatever may be the warmth of party feeling, your voice alone will prevent all irregularity, and that as we are assured of the impartiality with which you conduct yourself, we shall feel that our own self respect, and the dignity of the House, will be best shown by yielding a willing obedience to your decisions. I have, Sir, only left to move, that the House do now adjourn.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, August 20, 1841.

APPROVAL OF THE SPEAKER.] The right hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre, Speaker elect, was presented, and approved of, by the Lords' Commissioners, by command of her Majesty.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre*, accompanied by a numerous body of Commoners, having come to the Bar, the right hon. Gentleman said: My Lords, I am to acquaint your Lordships that, in obedience to her Majesty's commands, her Majesty's faithful Commons have proceeded to exercise their undoubted right and privilege in the election of a Speaker. I have now to acquaint your Lordships, that their choice, however unworthy, has fallen upon me, and I now humbly submit myself to her Majesty's royal will and pleasure.

The *Lord Chancellor*: Mr. Shaw Lefevre, we have in command from her Majesty to assure you that her Majesty is fully satisfied of your zeal for the public service, and that it is amply sufficient for the discharge of the arduous duty imposed on you; and her Majesty, therefore, does most readily and fully approve of the choice of her faithful Commons, and confirms you as their Speaker.

The *Speaker*: My Lords, with most profound gratitude and humility I bow to her Majesty's will and pleasure, expressed by her royal confirmation of the choice of her faithful Commons; and it now becomes my duty, in the name and on behalf of the Commons of the United Kingdom, to lay claim, by humble petition, to the free exercise of all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges, and more especially to those of freedom of speech in debate, freedom from arrest or molestation for their persons and their servants, free access to her Majesty at all convenient times, whenever occasion may require it, and that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to put the most favourable construction on all their proceedings: and for myself I am anxious and most earnestly entreat that whatever error may be committed the blame may be imputed to me alone, and not to her Majesty's faithful Commons.

The *Lord Chancellor:* Mr. Speaker; we have it further in command to inform you, that her Majesty doth most readily confirm all the rights and privileges which have ever been granted to or confirmed on the Commons by herself or any of her royal predecessors. With respect to yourself, Sir, though her Majesty is sensible that you stand in no need of such assurance, her Majesty will ever put the most favourable construction upon your words and actions.

The Speaker and Commons retired.

The usual oaths were then taken by several Peers.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, August 20, 1841.

APPROVAL OF THE SPEAKER.] The *Speaker* accompanied by Members present proceeded, having been summoned, to attend the Lords Commissioners.

The *Speaker* on his return stated, that the House had been to the House of Peers, where the Lords authorised by her Majesty's commission had signified the Royal Approval of the choice the House had made of a Speaker. He added that he had then claimed at the Bar all the usual and undoubted privileges of freedom from arrest, freedom of speech, *&c.* "I trust I may now be permitted," the right hon. Gentleman continued, "again to offer to the House a sincere expression of my gratitude for the honour it has conferred upon me. I cannot pretend to discharge the duties of the office in which I am placed with the ability it may require, but I feel that I shall constantly need the indulgence and assistance of the House. Without that assistance my best effort will be unavailing; but with it I hope to be able to conduct the business of the House in a manner satisfactory to it and beneficial to the country. I have now to remind the House that our first duty is to proceed to take the oaths prescribed by law, without which Members cannot be qualified to take their seats."

The Speaker then took the oaths, first alone; and after him, several other Members took the oaths in the usual manner.

Adjourned.

HOUSES OF LORDS AND COMMONS,

Saturday, August 21, *and Monday, August* 23, 1841.

Both Houses were exclusively occupied these two days in swearing in their respective Members.

The right hon. Sir Henry Brooke Parnell, bart., cr. Baron Congleton, and Sir John Campbell, kt., *cr.* Baron Campbell, took the oaths.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, August 24, 1841.

MINUTES.] Lord SEGRAVE, Cr. Earl FITZHARDINGE; and Lord BARHAM, Cr. Earl of GAINSBOROUGH, took the oaths. Writ delivered, electing Lord CASTLEMAINE a Representative Peer for Ireland, *vice* Earl of BELMORE, d.

Bills. Read a first time:—Borough Improvements; Buildings in Towns; Drainage of Towns.

HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH.] The Lords Commissioners having taken their places according to the usual forms, and the Commons having come to the bar, the Lord Chancellor read the following Speech:—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"We are commanded by her Majesty to acquaint you, that her Majesty has availed herself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to your advice and assistance after the dissolution of the last Parliament.

"Her Majesty continues to receive from Foreign Powers gratifying assurances of their desire to maintain with her Majesty the most friendly relations.

"Her Majesty has the satisfaction of informing you, that the objects for which the Treaty of the 15th of July, 1840, was concluded between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, have been fully accomplished, and it is gratifying to her Majesty to be enabled to state, that the temporary separation which the measures taken in the execution of that treaty, created between the contracting parties and France, has now ceased.

"Her Majesty trusts that the union of the principal Powers upon all matters affecting the great interests of Europe, will afford a firm security for the maintenance of peace.

"Her Majesty is glad to be able to inform you, that, in consequence of the evacuation of Ghorian by the Persian troops, her Majesty has ordered her Minister to the Court of Persia to return to Teheran.

"Her Majesty regrets that the negotiations between her plenipotentiaries in China, and the Chinese government, have not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that it has been necessary to call into action the forces which her Majesty has sent to the China seas; but her Majesty still trusts that the Emperor of China will see the justice of the demands which her Majesty's plenipotentiaries have been instructed to make.

"Her Majesty is happy to inform you, that the differences which had arisen between Spain and Portugal, about the execution of a treaty concluded by those Powers in 1835, for regulating the navigation of the Douro, have been adjusted amicably, and with honour to both parties, by the aid of her Majesty's mediation.

"The debt incurred by the Legislature of Upper Canada, for the purposes of public works, is a serious obstacle to further improvements which are essential to the prosperity of the United Province. Her Majesty has authorised the Governor-General to make a communication on the subject to the Council and Assembly of Canada. Her Majesty will direct the papers to be laid before you, and trusts that your earnest attention will be directed to matters so materially affecting the welfare of Canada, and the strength of the empire.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,

"We have to assure you, that her Majesty relies, with entire confidence, on your loyalty and zeal to make adequate provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of sums granted by the last Parliament.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"We are more especially commanded to declare to you, that the extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean have occasioned, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive possessions, have made it necessary to consider the means of increasing the public revenue. Her Majesty is anxious that this object should be effected in the manner least burdensome to her people, and it has appeared to her Majesty, after full deliberation, that you may, at this juncture, properly direct your attention to the revision of duties affecting the productions of foreign countries. It will be for you to consider whether some of these duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, while they are vexatious to commerce. You may further examine whether the principle of protection, upon which others of these duties are founded, be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the state, and the interests of the people.

"Her Majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, whether they do not embarrass trade, derange currency, and, by their operation, diminish the comfort, and increase the privations of the great body of the community.

"Her Majesty feeling the deepest sympathy with those of her subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment, it is her earnest prayer that all your deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of her beloved people."

The Commons withdrew.

Adjourned.

Their Lordships re-assembled at five o'clock.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE SPEECH.] Earl *Spencer* rose to move the Address, and spoke as follows:—On ordinary occasions it has been considered the best course for persons in my situation to avoid as much as possible topics that might give rise to the expression of a difference of opinion, but the present is not an ordinary occasion. Some of the questions which her Majesty has directed the Lords Commissioners to submit to the consideration of Parliament involve the highest interests of the country; they affect the future prosperity and stability of the empire, and it will be necessary for me to enter somewhat more in detail into the arguments on these questions than I should otherwise have done. In the performance of this duty, I hope, however, not to detain your Lordships for any great length of time. There are many topics in the speech of the Lords Commissioners which will meet with your Lordships' concurrence. I am sure that your Lordships will join with me in an expression of satisfaction that this country is in friendly communication with the other powers of Europe. We must all, too, feel rejoiced at the renewal of our amicable relations with Persia. On the subject of China, also, but one opinion is likely to prevail: I admit that it is a point of great difficulty; but I apprehend that a great majority of your Lordships will think that it was impossible to avoid the course that has been taken. The matter is still pending, and we earnestly hope that it will be brought to a happy conclusion. There are other points in the speech which are highly gratifying. It is highly gratifying to find that the mediation of her Majesty has effected a peaceable adjustment of the dispute which had arisen between Spain and Portugal. What is said respecting Canada is also a subject of sincere congratulation, but the matter is brought before your Lordships in a shape which does not call for the expression of a distinct opinion; it more properly belongs to the House of Commons; but I am satisfied that your Lordships will neglect nothing by which the interests of those colonies may be promoted, in order to complete the union between the two provinces, I believe, to their own great benefit, as well as to the advancement of the interests of the mother country. It is impossible for me individually not to express my great gratification at the ability my noble Friend the Governor-general has displayed; intimately as I have been acquainted with him for many years, the success of his great undertaking is to me a source of peculiar satisfaction. The next topic to which I may advert is the effect of the treaty of July, 1840. We all must rejoice that the objects of that treaty have been accomplished without involving Europe in war. For myself, I confess, when I saw that England had entered into a treaty with three powers, to the exclusion of France, I entertained most serious apprehensions. I saw that that treaty might result in a great national calamity, and I felt great regret that my noble Friend, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had entered into it; I was afraid that my noble Friend had abandoned the wise policy which seemed to have guided the course of his administration, and which hitherto had secured the peace of Europe. I must own, however, that what has since appeared—the candid avowal of M. Thiers of what was his intention—the unexpected weakness of the Pacha of Egypt, and, indeed, the whole course of events, has shown me that I was mistaken, and that her Majesty's Ministers were in the right. I am quite ready, and not at all disinclined to admit my error, and I am now most happy to find that we are again connected with France in a great political union. Such a union, and perfectly good understanding, are essential to the preservation of peace in Europe, and with such a union and good understanding, I hardly see how peace can be disturbed. I consider peace essential to the prosperity of this country, and indeed to the promotion of the best interests of all the great powers of Europe. As long as England and France are united, there is little danger of a European war. I look upon war, not only as a great calamity, but as a great crime. Not that I entertain the least idea that this country is not now as well prepared for war as at any former period of her history, but because I have a horror of war, and think nothing can justify it but the most imperative necessity. I do not believe that Great Britain is not in a condition to go to war. On the contrary, were it absolutely necessary that she should commence hostilities, I am satisfied that she could do so better now than at any former period. True it is, that the debt of the country has been greatly increased—that the amount of interest paid upon it is larger than formerly; but, looking at her condition and at her resources, and comparing her present wealth with its amount in 1792, I am satisfied that her wealth has increased in greater proportion than her debt. Therefore, on every account, I am without fear, but at the same time I am sincerely rejoiced that we have again formed a diplomatic union with France. I have stated, that the wealth of the country has increased in a greater proportion than her debt; but, in order to give this state of things full effect; in order that the wealth of the country may tell as it ought on the prosperity of the people; that it may tend to the lightening of taxation, it is necessary that we should take into consideration the mode in which taxes are imposed. It is our duty to ascertain whether by some alteration and revision we may not make taxes press with less severity on the people than at present. I know that it is not agreeable in any assembly (but not more disagreeable to your Lordships than to others) for any one to enter into a discussion upon the general principle of taxation; but it is the duty of the Legislature to look at such questions. In managing the affairs of this country, it must look fairly and steadily at the principles on which commercial prosperity must be founded, and consider whether those principles are carried out by the mode in which taxation is imposed. Our taxation is now upon a principle of restriction. Undoubtedly of late years, to a certain degree, we have relieved the country from restrictions; but we have a great deal more to do before we can be justified in saying, that we have done what we can to make taxation as little burdensome as possible. In arguing this point, we do not find that any body objects to the general principle; all agree, and it would be very extraordinary if they did not agree, on the general principle, because the arguments in its favour are so uncontradicted and self-evident, that it is impossible to resist them. Therefore every one admits, that the best policy is to give commerce its free course; not to interfere with the distribution of capital, in order that a man may employ his means in the way he thinks best calculated to promote his interests. This has been proved over and over again to be the best mode in which the great resources of the country can be applied. I should not be justified in pressing this matter on your Lordships' attention, but that we are always sure to meet with people who, admitting the general principle, contend for some exceptions. I had the honour many years ago of being a Member of the Committee of the House of Commons on foreign commerce, on which sat many able and experienced commercial men. I remember, that all were agreed, that the general principle I have stated was correct and just, provided the particular branch of trade in which each happened to be engaged were not included. I myself being disinterested, not having any thing to do with commerce, found myself dividing with different sections of the committee, according to their individual interests. This is always the case; individuals tell us that these general principles are excellent—incontrovertible; but that England is so peculiarly circumstanced that they cannot by applied to her or to them. Now, what is the peculiarity of her situation? It is peculiar in having to pay the public creditor an enormous amount of interest in the shape of an annuity; it is peculiar in having to raise by taxation an amount equal to pay that annuity. There are other peculiarities to which I will refer hereafter, but this is the main peculiarity. It is said, that England is so severely taxed, that it is impossible for her to compete with foreign countries without what is called protection. No doubt the perpetual annuity to the public creditor is a heavy burden, and that it is most important it should be lightened as much as possible. There are two ways of lightening it; first, by redeeming that annuity, that is, paying it off; or, secondly, by an increase of the commerce of the country, which would be quite as effectual. If any of your Lordships have granted an annuity, redeemable at the pleasure of the debtor, not of the creditor, it is precisely the same thing to you whether the annuity be paid off, or whether your income is so increased as to enable you to pay the interest without feeling the pressure. I have great satisfaction in reflecting, that at one period of my life I was engaged with Mr. Pascoe Grenfell in putting an end to what was at one time considered a panacea for all the evils of the country. He laboured hard for many years, but he ultimately succeeded in preventing money being taken from the pockets of the people, in order to apply it to the redemption of the perpetual annuity to which I have referred. He contended, that if it were left in their pockets it would increase to a much larger amount than the sum it was employed to pay off. I contend, that the object of a Government ought to be, by increasing the wealth of the country, to increase the power of the country to pay the annuity to the public creditor. The ordinary rules of political economy enjoin us to promote in all ways the welfare of the country; but we are at present placed in a situation where it is peculiarly our duty to do all we can to increase the wealth of the country. We ought to endeavour, as fast as we can, to apply the true principle of trade, and thereby to promote the general interests of the nation. With this view her Majesty has directed the Lords Commissioners to call your attention to this subject. During the late Session her Majesty's Ministers brought forward certain measures as a commencement of the system: one of their new arrangements regarded the timber duties. On that subject, if your Lordships have thought it worth while to pay any attention to my conduct, you will be aware, that the measure had my entire approbation: it was, in fact, a measure which I had had the honour of proposing. The present state of the law compels the people to use worse timber at a higher price. I know that some ten years ago it was thought a good speculation for persons, in order to import Baltic timber, to carry it out in the first instance to Canada. Could anything be more absurd than to carry timber across the Atlantic in order to bring it back to Europe? Yet such was the case, and the reason was said to be that it gave employment to ships which had been engaged as transports during the war, and were so completely rotten that they could carry no cargo but timber. I trust that those ships are now all worn out, and that we shall hear no more of any such argument. What, then, would be the effect of the measure proposed last Session? It would give people the means of selecting that species of timber which is most fit for their use, and it would besides increase the revenue. As to the amount of increase, I do not intend to enter into any calculations now, but it is obvious that the augmentation would be in proportion to the increased consumption of a timber which paid a somewhat higher duty. Neither would Canada timber be excluded, because for a great number of purposes it is much to be preferred. On the other hand, for many other purposes, Baltic timber is the best, and it is a great hardship upon people that they should not have the commodity they like best, when at the same time it benefitted the revenue, the material was worse, and the revenue suffered. Another point to which Ministers had directed the attention of Parliament was the sugar duties. Precisely the same course of reasoning applies to them, only more pressingly, as the amount would be greater. At present our laws tend to confine the importation of sugar to our own colonies; we refuse to receive foreign sugar, and amongst the rest sugar from the Brazils. The treaty with the Brazils is now near its expiration, and it is of great importance to decide the question soon with a view to the renewal of that treaty. Sugar, though not actually a necessary of life, is nearly so; and, by maintaining the existing system, you increase the cost of the commodity most materially to the middle and lower classes. So far, too, from benefitting the revenue, you are injuring it. An objection has been raised which would have the utmost weight with me if I thought it well founded. It is said, that to alter the sugar duties would interfere with the accomplishment of that great and noble measure by which slavery was abolished. If this objection were proved, I should be the last to consent to a change of the law upon such terms. We may look back to many glorious achievements by this country in war, arts, and literature, but in my mind to none with so much satisfaction as to that achievement, accomplished with such unexampled unanimity, which is known as the abolition of slavery. It was wrought by many years of patient struggle, and by an enormous pecuniary sacrifice, and liberty was restored by it to a vast mass of our suffering fellow creatures. If I thought there was the least danger of retarding a general manumission of the negro population by the reduction of the sugar duties, I could hardly bring myself to consent to the measure. Our great experiment has not succeeded, and cannot be said to have succeeded, until we have induced other nations to follow our example — until slavery is abolished, not only in our own colonies, but in every country of the world. Surely no greater obstacle to the attainment of this end can be imagined than to hold out to other nations that the effect upon us of the abolition of slavery has been such, that it is impossible for Great Britain to enter into competition with countries where slavery still continues. The general disposition of political men is to follow examples, but how can we expect other governments to imitate us, when we tell them, in effect, that we have done wrong as regards our own interests, and that we are afraid of admitting the sugar of colonies where slavery exists, because we have abolished it in our own? The last question to which I feel myself bound to refer is one specifically recommended to their attention by her Majesty's speech—the state of the law respecting the importation of foreign corn. On this subject the grossest misrepresentations have been spread abroad both on one side and the other. I am myself entirely dependent upon agriculture, and I, for one, can not believe that the price of corn will fall in consequence of the proposed change, so as to throw thousands of acres out of cultivation. Than this, in my opinion, nothing could be more lamentable, but I have no hesitation in saying that the present Corn-laws are no protection to the farmer. I do not believe, that by their abolition the price of corn would be materially altered. The price must always be fixed in proportion to the expense incurred in the cultivation, and the trade price must be settled generally by the price in this country. It was a complete mistake to suppose that the worst lands would be thrown out of cultivation, for they could only become a barren waste. The land thrown out of cultivation, if any was, would be that arable land which could be turned into pasture. Taking all these things into consideration, it is quite impossible to conceive that the price of corn would be very much diminished. I do not mean to say that it would not be diminished in a small degree, but nothing to the extent which has been sometimes represented. During the continuance of the present laws there have been 11,309,000 qrs. of foreign corn imported into this country, and of this only 1,300,000 qrs. were introduced when the duty was above 13*s.* 8*d.* It was not then worth the while of the foreign merchant to import wheat into this country unless he could receive 50*s.* a quarter clear of duty: and this fact did not contradict any theory favourable to a repeal of the present laws. It had been stated, that in the Channel Islands the average price was 41*s.*; but I cannot believe that any large quantity could be introduced into this country at such a price. Your Lordships need not be under any apprehensions of the effects of the change in reducing the price of corn. I am quite aware that the principle of free trade is not altogether palatable to a considerable portion of their Lordships; but I must say, that I am convinced that the time will come when the principle of free trade will become general. It has generally been my fate to be in a minority; but I have seen that minority gradually decrease, and I feel confident that the question of freedom of trade, and of opening an intercourse with other countries to the greatest possible degree will eventually be carried. I may be asked, why I advocate the repeal of the Corn-laws, if the change would not cause an alteration in the price? What I want is to alter the price on the continent, in order that the manufacturer on the continent may be less able to compete with our manufacturer. Opening the trade will be of great advantage to every interest in the country. It will increase the prosperity of the country, because there is no doubt that on the prosperity of the manufacturer depends in a great degree the prosperity of the agriculturist. But what have the Corn-laws done? It is not when prices are high that persons engaged in agriculture want any assistance, but when prices are low. Under the present system, however, when prices are low, the Corn-laws depress them still more. I must repeat that I am quite aware that to a large portion of those whom I am addressing, these observations are not agreeable; but, I speak as a landed proprietor, as one interested in the produce of the soil, and I do hope and trust that your Lordships will relieve the agriculturist from the unmitigated evil of the present Corn-laws. The present Corn-laws, by their sudden changes, throw out such an enormous temptation to frauds in forcing up the price of corn, that they produce an evil which could hardly be exceeded. The measures proposed by the Government, I am confident, will ultimately prevail; but I must confess that I feel deeply apprehensive of the delay likely to take place. The country had suffered already from the long delay of one great measure—the Catholic Relief Bill. The present state of Ireland was owing in a great measure to the delay in passing that measure. Delay, too, will increase the agitation which already is at work on this subject. It will increase the heat and ill-feeling engendered by a long contest. If their Lordships delay so long as to drive capital abroad, they will find it impossible to retrace their steps. The prosperity of the manufacturing portion of the community will have been destroyed, and will not return. Considering the great masses of our population congregated in towns, and requiring increased means of subsistence, I must say, that nothing can be more artificial than such a state of society; and I hope and trust that the time is not far remote when the alterations which I advocate will be carried into effect. The House ought to remember that when capital diminished in a country, the diminution rapidly went on. In concluding, I must say, that I should feel deep regret if the House do not agree to the address which I am about to propose. With most of her Majesty's Ministers I have long been in the habit of acting. I felt confidence in them when they came into office, I feel sanguine as to the policy which they will pursue, and I am glad to say, that I feel every confidence in them still. I must add, too, that I feel still as deeply as ever my attachment to the party to which I belong. The noble Earl then read the following Address,—

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble Thanks for Your Majesty's most gracious Speech.

We desire to express our Satisfaction that Your Majesty has availed Yourself of the earliest Opportunity of resorting to the Advice and Assistance of Your Parliament after the Dissoution of the late Parliament.

We assure Your Majesty that we are much

rejoiced to learn that Your Majesty continues to receive from Foreign Powers gratifying Assurances of their Desire to maintain with Your Majesty the most friendly Relations.

We learn with much Contentment that the Objects for which the Treaty of July 1840 was concluded, between Your Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, have been fully accomplished; and we share in the Gratification with which Your Majesty is enabled to state, that the temporary Separation, which the Measures taken in execution of that Treaty created, between the Contracting Parties and France, has now ceased. We trust with Your Majesty that the Union of the principal Powers upon all matters affecting the great Interests of Europe will afford a firm Security for the Maintenance of Peace.

We participate in the Joy with which Your Majesty informs us, that, in consequence of the Evacuation of Ghorian by the Persian Troops, Your Majesty has ordered Your Minister at the Court of Persia to return to Teheran.

We regret that the Negotiations between Your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries in China and the Chinese Government have not yet been brought to a satisfactory Conclusion, and that it has been necessary to call into action the Forces which Your Majesty has sent to the China Seas; but with Your Majesty we still trust that the Emperor of China will see the Justice of the Demands which Your Majesty's Plenipotentiaries have been instructed to make.

We rejoice to learn that the Differences which had arisen between Spain and Portugal, about the Execution of a Treaty concluded by those Powers in 1835, for regulating the Navigation of the Douro, have been adjusted amicably and with Honour to both Parties, by the Aid of Your Majesty's Mediation.

We humbly thank Your Majesty for acquainting us that the Debt incurred by the Legislature of Upper Canada for the Purposes of Public Works being a serious Obstacle to further Improvements, which are essential to the Prosperity of the United Province, Your Majesty has authorized the Governor General to make a Communication on the Subject to the Council and Assembly of Canada. We also thank Your Majesty for having directed the Papers to be laid before us, and we assure Your Majesty that we will not fail to direct our earnest Attention to matters so materially affecting the Welfare of Canada and the Strength of the Empire.

We beg to express our entire agreement with Your Majesty, that the extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean, have occasioned, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive Possessions, have made it necessary to consider the means of increasing the Public Revenue; we participate in Your Majesty's anxiety that this object should be effected in the manner least burthensome to Your People; and it is our opinion that we may at this juncture properly direct our attention to the revision of Duties affecting the productions of Foreign Countries; we are prepared to consider whether some of these Duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the Revenue, while they are vexatious to Commerce; and to examine whether the principle of protection on which others of these Duties are founded, be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the State and the interests of the People.

We beg to state to Your Majesty that, in obedience to Your Majesty's expressed desire, we will proceed to consider the Laws which regulate the Trade in Corn, and to determine whether those Laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, whether they do not embarrass Trade, derange the Currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community.

We assure Your Majesty, that we fully share in the deep sympathy which Your Majesty feels with those of Your Majesty's Subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment, and we fervently join in Your Majesty's prayer, that all our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of Your Majesty's Subjects.

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* could assure the House that he felt very sensibly the difficult and disadvantageous position in which he was placed in rising to support this Address, and how much he stood in need of all their Lordships' indulgence; because in following his noble Friend who had moved the Address, which he wished their Lordships to adopt, his noble Friend had adduced sufficient reason on the only part of that Address in which any difference of opinion could be apprehended—sufficient, at least, in his mind, to induce any calm, dispassionate assembly to adopt the Address, and had, therefore, rendered it difficult for him to adduce any new argument; and also because anything which came from his noble Friend came with so much weight, not only on account of his eloquence and great ability, but also on account of the high position which he held as a great landed proprietor and a great constitutional statesman. He felt, that in touching upon any of the topics referred to by his noble Friend he must appear tedious to the House. He would however endeavour to state some of the principal grounds on which he hoped and trusted their Lordships would adopt the Address which his noble Friend had just read. Upon a great portion of the Address he apprehended that there would be no difference of opinion. He thought it must be a subject of satisfaction to the House to hear that her Majesty received from foreign powers assurances of their desire to maintain with her Majesty the most friendly relations; and it must also be gratifying to them to learn that the treaty which was signed last year had been now fairly brought to an end. The policy of that treaty was discussed last year pretty fully in the House, and as it might be said to have been pretty generally approved and to have received the sanction of Parliament, it would not be necessary for him to trouble the House longer on this point, except to add, that it must be very satisfactory for them to see, that notwithstanding the difficulties which occurred in carrying that treaty into execution, the judicious employment of her Majesty's forces, and the skill and valour of those forces, combined with the honourable forbearance, and steadiness, and determination displayed by her Majesty's government and the Government of Russia, had enabled them to arrive at so speedy and satisfactory a conclusion as had been come to. It was, he believed, a matter of notoriety that a treaty had been agreed upon by the parties to the treaty of last year and by France, relative to the navigation of the Dardanelles; but as that treaty had not yet been ratified it had not been mentioned in the speech from the Throne. The separation of France from the other great powers of Europe might therefore be said to be at an end. All the doubts and anxieties which had been excited in the public mind on this point, he hoped would soon subside, and thus the peace of Europe would be further guaranteed. The paragraph in her Majesty's speech in which her Majesty informs the House, that in consequence of the evacuation of Ghorian by the Persian troops, her Majesty had ordered her Minister to the Court of Persia to return to Teheran, must also be a matter of satisfaction to the House, and gave us reason to hope that the points still to be settled with the Shah would be amicably arranged. On those portions of the Address which related to foreign affairs it was unnecessary to trouble their Lordships at any length, because he believed they were all matters of congratulation; but he could not disguise from himself, that there were other points on which his noble Friend had dilated on which he (the Marques of Clanricarde) differed from many noble Lords on the other side of the House, and it was only because he had the greatest reliance on their patriotism, that he could hope that they would accede to this Address. This topic it was, therefore, unpleasant for him to open. In fact, it was difficult for him to do so without touching upon points which must be familiar to the House, for almost every thing had been adduced on one side of the question or the other by authorities whose knowledge of the best principles of national finance, commerce, and political economy gave them great weight. But in maintaining his own opinion, he hoped he might say, if not altogether unbiassed, his bias would not be suspected of prejudice. The manufacturing interest and the agricultural interest had disclaimed any bias, but he felt great distrust of such general disclaimers, for a knowledge of human nature told us, that when a class of individuals had a particular interest, their bias generally went with their interest. He begged leave to say, that it was not only as one having the honour of a voice in their Lordships' deliberations that he advised, but as one whose whole property was involved in land, he implored them to accede to the opinions expressed in the Address, advocating an alteration in the Corn-laws—laws which, in his opinion, did most injuriously affect the landed interest. He said, that the landowners had the greatest of all interests in the corn trade, and if there was one class more than another which had a deeper interest in the general prosperity of the empire, it was also the landowners. It was directly proved, that no parties could so much profit by any increase of the wealth of the country as the landed interest, because the land was of a limited quantity, but the power of expansion of the commercial wealth of a country was unlimited. If they gave expansion to the commerce of a country, it was impossible to say how far it might go —where it would stop; but the land was limited, and if they would allow their fellow subjects to acquire wealth whilst they retained their land, their land would increase enormously in value, either for selling or keeping. But he maintained, that the landed interest were the direct sufferers from the present law. A trade of any sort must be profitable in one of two ways —either there must be a regular business with steady profits, or, when fluctuations take place, they must be attended with so much profit at one time as to overbalance the losses at another. Now, he ventured to affirm, that any reference to the operation of the present Corn-laws would show, that it had terribly aggravated the fluctuations of the trade in corn, and that the profits of those fluctuations had never gone into the pockets of the British farmer, but, on the contrary, the loss had invariably fallen upon them. If they referred to the tables which had been laid before Parliament, they would find, that the quantity of corn—by that term he meant wheat—imported into England since the passing of the present law, amounted to 13,000,000 quarters, while the prices of it averaged from 56*s*. to 57*s*. a quarter. But they all knew, that in the year 1834, wheat was down as low as 35*s*. and 36*s*., while, since that period, the price had increased to 64*s*. in 1839, and even up to the average of 70*s*. If, therefore, the farmer could gain at all, he ought to have gained with those prices, but he would venture to say, that he had not gained by the high prices; on the contrary, he had lost by them, because, if their Lordships looked to the returns to which he had alluded, they would find, that in 1834, when prices were low, only 28,000 quarters of foreign corn had been imported, while, in 1839, when prices were high, there were entered for home consumption 2,711,723 quarters. The returns also showed, that of the 13,000,000 of quarters of foreign corn imported into this country since the commencement of the present law, upwards of 10,000,000 quarters had been admitted at an average duty of 2*s*. 10*d*. This was what they called a protective duty given to the farmer by the present law. It was thus clearly proved from these returns, that in 1834, when prices were down at the low rates which he had stated, the British farmer sold all his corn, but when the prices increased to the high rate, then the averages were worked up—whether properly or not was another consideration—then, after the people had been kept in want for a certain time, until the duty was low enough, was foreign corn admitted, and sold at the high prices, while the British farmer had sold his at the low prices. If they calculated the gain made by those who sold at the high prices, and the loss sustained by those who sold at the low prices, it would be found that the British farmer had sustained an enormous loss in consequence of the operation of the present law, and that the protection said to be afforded to him by it was entirely a delusion. There was another part of the subject to which he could not help calling the attention of their Lordships—it regarded the different quantities of the supply. If they gave, as they fancied that they gave, to the British farmer protection against the introduction of foreign corn—if they wished to give him a monopoly of the market, it was their duty to see that the market was supplied by the farmer, and that he was able to meet the wants of the community. Unfortunately that was not the case. It was notorious, that in 1838, and in other seasons when prices were high, large quantities of foreign wheat had been introduced by capitalists, in the hope of reaping the advantages to be derived from a low duty and high prices. It was quite clear, that in 1834, when the harvest was abundant, there was not more corn than what the wants of the country required, because in the course of the two following years foreign corn still continued to be entered for home consumption. It was calculated, that there was a deficiency in the harvest of 1839, compared with that of 1834, of from 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 quarters, but taking it at 7,000,000, being the lowest calculation, and taking from that amount the quantity entered for home consumption, they would still find an alarming difference in the market supply of corn. Their lordships would perceive that the prices had been forced up in the years which he had mentioned as being years in which foreign corn had been introduced, in consequence of the scarcity at home. This sufficiently proved, that they had not enough of home-grown corn to supply the market. He asked their Lordships how they could account for the difference of 5,000,000 quarters in the supply between the periods he had mentioned, unless it was, that a great part of the population had bread in one year, but were without it in another? Was not this an appalling fact—no matter whether the difference was either 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 quarters? Was it not, he asked, an appalling fact, when they found such an immense difference in the consumption of the country in one year over another, proving, as it most undoubtedly did, that a great portion of the population were at certain times not supplied with bread, and occasional want and scarcity of food, if not a degree of starvation? There had been one argument used against any alteration of the present laws—one that had been greatly insisted on during the last election, but which he thought most puerile and absurd, although it seemed to have had great weight with some persons—it was said, that it was unsafe for this country to have recourse to foreign countries for a supply of so essential an article of food as corn. But what had experience shown? They had no need to go back to the history of other countries, ancient or modern, to Venice, or Genoa, or Holland, or to Rome, whose power and position most nearly resembled our own—they had the experience of the present day to go upon—the fact was going on at that very instant. If it was dangerous to depend on foreign countries for such a supply, it was a danger which they had already incurred. If it was an unfortunate state of things to be so situated, it could not be denied, that they were then in that unfortunate condition, for the fact was, that they were now dependant on foreign supplies. The question which Parliament had to consider was, whether they would make such an alteration in the present law as would ensure a regular supply, sufficient for the wants of the community, or whether they would continue to subject the nation to those ruinous fluctuations — occasionally starving the people, and bringing ruin upon the very farmer himself. The fact, that since the existence of the present law, this country had imported altogether 13,000,000 quarters of wheat, was a sufficient proof that they were dependant on foreign nations for at least one-sixteenth or one seventeenth part of the wheat consumed in this country. But they had been told that they could not depend on this; that war might break out, and that the ports would be shut against us. This might sound well in theory, but it had been proved, not only by sound reasoning, but also by experience, that the force of the physical wants of mankind was stronger than any fiscal regulations. What occurred in 1809 and 1810 was a complete refutation of this argument. At no other period were the ports on the continent so effectually closed against this country, yet how effectually their Lordships might judge, from the notorious fact, that the imports of corn from the continent to England in 1809 and 1810 were immense. In the House of Commons in 1811, Mr. Horner stated, in argument upon the currency, that 2,000,000 quarters of corn had been imported within the year. Mr. G. Rose replied, on the part of Government, and said, that it was quite true that such a quantity of foreign corn had been imported, but justified it because there was a scarcity in this country nearly amounting to a famine. That, therefore, which was now represented as dangerous, had been proved to be no danger at all. He would not detain their Lordships by dwelling on the evil effects of the present laws in regard to the currency of the country. In periods of great distress these laws had a most injurious operation. Then was just the time, when bullion was most necessary to the country, that these laws forced the precious metals abroad, deranging the monetary system at a time when, above all others, it was most desirable to have it in a sound state. It was difficult for the manufacturer to contend against such a state of things. What they complained of was, the inequality of the present laws. He agreed with the noble Lord who moved the Address, that supposing a fixed duty established or all duties abolished, the price of corn would not be depressed so much as many people imagined. But under the present system the manufacturer had to contend, not against the average price so much as against the high prices, which every now and then occurred. He was ready to admit, that if corn became cheaper, wages would most undoubtedly fall. That he knew was a favourite argument with the noble Lord on the other side, but the value of a man's labour was not to be estimated merely according to a nominal amount of wages in reference to money alone. If, under an alteration of the Corn-laws, the workman was enabled to procure a greater quantity of food for the same amount of labour than he could at present obtain, no matter what might be the nominal rate of wages, if for a certain sum of money he should get a larger supply of food and clothing than he could before, then most undoubtedly would his condition be bettered, and to all intents and purposes would he be a richer man. No one he thought would dissent from that proposition. If the manufacturer had but fair play, there could be no doubt but that the market for manufactures would be greatly extended. Whenever our Government proposed to any foreign government an alteration of their tariff, they were invariably referred to the restrictions which this country had placed on the importation of foreign corn, and this was always found to be an article in the way of a new liberal commercial treaty. So long as the price of corn remained lower on the continent than it was in this country, they would force the manufacturers of this country to export machinery, and mechanics would go abroad, where they could obtain a sufficiency of food, because the food was not permitted to come to them. The consequence was, that foreign countries obtained the skill and the machinery of this country, the market was shut against those manufactures which, if trade was opened and an alteration made in the present Corn-laws, would be received from this country ready made. He was well aware that in arguing for a lower price of corn he might be answered by it being said, that this could be obtained by lowering the sliding scale. He objected to the principle of the sliding scale, for the effect of it was to interfere with and derange the currency, while its past operation, he thought, had been altogether injurious. The principle of it was, that the corn for the supply of the population should be grown at home, and that the ports should only be open for the admission of foreign corn in seasons of scarcity and want; but the principle of a fixed duty is, and the effect of it would be, to ensure at all times to the people a steady supply of foreign corn—not excessive at one time and too small at another, but a regular and steady supply, equal to the demand. In his opinion, the protection afforded to the farmer by the sliding scale was altogether a fiction—if made so low as to have the effect of a fixed duty, it would still be a delusion on the agriculturist. It was much fairer for the advocates of a sliding scale to say that they were going to alter it materially, than to profess that they were going to maintain it with some modifications. Such subtlety might be suited for the hustings, but it was unbecoming when used in debating the question in Parliament. If the advocates of an alteration in the sliding scale meant to establish a regular trade in foreign corn, they ought at once to say so to the people. The Address which he had the honour to second spoke fairly and frankly on this point; it differed in this respect from former documents of the like description. Nothing could be more explicit; and all that noble Lords opposite had to do to negative it would be to move the insertion of the word "not," in the different parts of the address. He only wished they would be as explicit and frank in the declaration of their principles as the Address itself, because he had been watching the opinion of the leading men on the other side in regard to this question, and he had seen a great deal of most unbecoming evasion, which he trusted their Lordships would not adopt. He recollected the outcry against their Lordships some years ago—it was said, that they had lost the esteem of the country, and that their aristocracy would be overthrown. In this alarm he never participated; but if their Lordships practised the evasion which some leading men had done on this question, he feared that their influence would be in considerable danger. It might be very well for the advocates of a sliding scale to say, that there was no occasion to discuss this subject—that their past conduct in relation to it was well known—that they would afford protection to the agricultural and landed interest. He and those who voted with him were quite prepared to do that. The phrase meant nothing. Would it not have been better for them to have said, "We will give the agricultural interest protection by maintaining the present scale exactly as it is?" This would have been better than merely giving general and evasive answers which could bind no one.

He wished their Lordships to avoid this, and to take a more decided course. It was infinitely better that they should do so, under the circumstances in which they were at present placed. Ministers held their tenure of office on this question of a fixed duty. If their views were rejected by Parliament, they would have to leave office; and it was infinitely better that those who should succeed them should not be supposed, when they came into office, to flinch from the principles which they professed when out. He knew not whether such a course had been adopted to gratify the country or their party, but this he knew, there was no question, if viewed as a party matter, on which the Government could be defeated with more satisfaction to themselves for having brought it forward, than on this question of Free-trade. When he recollected the various acts of the present Ministry — their reform of abuses, which twelve years ago was thought impossible—the reform in Parliament and in the municipal corporations, by which the recurrence of abuse had been rendered almost impossible—when he recollected they had reformed the abuses in the tithe system in Ireland, and placed the church in both countries on a better footing—when he recollected this, he thought they could not better terminate their official existence, they could not fall in a better cause, than in a struggle against unnecessary, and therefore, unjust taxation, and in an attempt to relieve the people from a pressing and enormous grievance. He hoped, therefore, noble Lords opposite would fairly meet the matter at once, and state their reasons against extending the trade of the country, and against enabling the people to pay into the treasury a revenue sufficient to dispense with the necessity of any new taxation. He hoped they would state their objections fairly, for, as he had said before, if Ministers were so unfortunate as to be overthrown on this question, they could not be defeated with more honour to themselves than in defending the principles embodied in the Address.

The Earl of *Ripon* fully concurred in the observation made by his noble Friends who moved and seconded the Address, that there were some topics referred to in the Address to which their Lordships would probably offer no objection; and for his own part he would most willingly have followed the example that had been generally set by their Lordships in the last eight years, and not offer any opposition to the Address, beyond a general reservation as to certain parts, had he felt himself at liberty to do so. He would have preferred to have taken that course on the present occasion if he could have done so honestly to his own feelings. Whilst, however, there were some points in the Address which he could not pass over without directing the particular attention of their Lordships to them, and upon which he entirely differed from the sentiments of the proposed Address, he felt himself also called upon to make some observations upon those parts in which he concurred. He alluded particularly to the state of our foreign relations. He owned that he cordially rejoiced at the complete restoration of those amicable feelings which had subsisted between France and England, and had for a time last year suffered some interruption. To the prudence, judgment, and moderation of the King of the French they owed much for the restoration of those amicable feelings and relations. They had also to thank his ministers, who by their sound judgment and due appreciation of the feelings known to exist towards France at this side of the water, had so ably seconded the good sense and good feeling of their Sovereign. By their combined exertions supported by the concurrence of the French people they had put an end, for a time at least, to all grounds of alarm as to any disturbance of the peace of Europe, which had been risked by the reckless conduct of some of their predecessors in office. But let him add that his satisfaction at those circumstances would be much greater if he saw that the great question out of which those temporary differences had arisen were now settled on a firm and lasting basis. But it must be evident to their Lordships that matters in those quarters had not yet been so settled. The Pasha of Egypt was still a powerful vassal, while the Sultan was a powerless sovereign, and the preservation of the improved condition of affairs in that quarter depended not more upon the fact of a good understanding between the five great powers of Europe, than upon the manner in which their efforts might be directed to that great object of their alliance, the preservation of the Ottoman Empire and the general peace of Europe. He also concurred with his noble Friend in rejoicing at the renewal of our amicable relations with Persia, but his noble Friend (the Marquess of Clanricarde) had alluded to some points still unsettled between this country and Persia, though he had not told their Lordships what they were; but whatever they were, he hoped that the exertions of our diplomatic agent who had proceeded to Teheran would soon bring them to an amicable termination. He attached the more importance to the restoration of amicable relations with Persia, on account of its intimate connection with other courts of immense importance, not noticed in the speech. He alluded to the war—for such it really was—which was now going on on the north bank of the Indus, of the commencement of which we had but scanty information, and of which no man could predict what would be the end. These operations had been marked in the first instance by a certain flash of success, and we had succeeded, at a very considerable sacrifice of men and money, in placing on the throne of Affghanistan a decrepid old man, who had previously been thirty years an exile from that kingdom. But although we had already exhausted in those operations all the surplus treasure of the Indian Government, and had been obliged to resort to a loan for the purpose of maintaining our position beyond the Indus; it was clear that without the continued presence of the British troops, the throne of Shah Soojah was utterly insecure, whilst we were perpetually engaged in a desultory and harassing warfare, as much for our own security in the country as for the maintenance of the tottering authority of the Sultan. In the Punjaub also, with whose ruler Runjeet Singh we had made a treaty, which led to the attack of Affghanistan, all now was utter confusion. He had recently died, the succession to the throne was previously disputed, and the interposition of that large and distracted country, between our own frontier and the scene of our operations beyond the Indus, seriously complicated our position, and rendered it equally difficult to say how we could remain with safety or retire with honour. There was, however, another kind of warfare noticed in the speech, which was still more singular in its character. It was a war carried on at a great expense and a great sacrifice of human life, but carried on against an enemy who would not fight. We knocked his castles about his ears, destroyed his ships, and took away his guns, and then asked him to enter into a negotiation to give us redress for an attack, to bear with which would be a compromise upon our honour as a nation. To this negotiation a kind of half consent was given, but before its conclusion the island of Chusan, which we had taken and held for some time at a great loss of life, was hastily restored to the Chinese Government, some of the troops were ordered to return to India, as if all was settled, and a treaty (such as it was) sent over to this country, for the ratification of the British Government. In the mean time the Chinese authorities did not observe even its preliminary arrangements, and the British Government refused to ratify it; so that, after all, the affair is still unsettled; and not a particle of information is given to us either as to the cause or the course of this ridiculous and discreditable war. Nor have we any means of judging whether it has arisen from the blundering instructions sent from home, or to the blundering execution of them on the spot. On the subject of our relations with the United States of America, he studiously refrained from saying a word, for there were some delicate points connected with it on which he thought it better to refrain from saying anything for the present. He now came to a part of the speech upon which it was evident his noble Friends opposite did not anticipate an unanimous vote from their Lordships. He certainly was not surprised that his noble Friends should entertain such an anticipation; for under all the circumstances of the case, he thought it utterly impossible that there could be an unanimous vote upon it. He meant that part of the speech which referred to the ministerial proposition for improving the finances of the country—propositions affecting the general state of trade and commerce, and of the trade in corn in particular. According to the views of the Government, the three questions propounded by them were inseparably linked together, and could not be properly discussed or considered except in relation with each other. From the terms of the speech it was to be assumed that the Government retained (although it certainly had not hitherto been famous for retaining in one session what it had advanced in the previous one)—it was to be assumed that the Government still retained its opinion that the measures it had suggested with respect to the duties on timber, sugar, and corn were absolutely necessary to meet the difficulties of a great financial crisis. If he thought that those measures were calculated to meet the difficulties of the crisis; nay, even if he thought, being calculated to meet those difficulties, they were nevertheless liable to serious objections, he should yet hesitate in proposing to their Lordships to express any opinion with reference to the principles on which the Government had brought them forward, and had conducted the finances of the country. But it was because he thought, that, in this matter of the finances of the country, there had been the greatest possible mismanagement, and that the plan of the Government was quite inadequate to remedy the evil, that he felt himself bound to state, that he could not think that their Lordships could do otherwise than express their opinion that her Majesty's Government did not possess the confidence of that House. Upon various occasions within the last two years he had taken opportunities of explaining to their Lordships the views which he entertained upon these subjects, and the very great apprehensions which he felt that the ministry were embarking in a ruinous course. He had also upon those occasions expressed an opinion that some most decided, vigorous, efficient, and certain scheme ought to be proposed for the purpose of extricating the finances of the country from the immense difficulties in which they were involved. For the last four years the revenue had been annually diminishing, and in the course of that time the expenditure had exceeded the income by no less a sum than 5,000,000*l.* It was, moreover, a singular fact, and one he thought deserving of serious consideration, that during those four years the mode that had been taken in order to fill up the deficiency in the revenue was one that, however advisable to resort to occasionally, under the pressure of a single and sudden emergency, was utterly unjustifiable as a general principle, or as applied to a series of years. How had the deficiency been made up? The mode of doing it was not known till the present year, when a paper was called for in the other House of Parliament requiring the Government to explain how the deficiency had been met; and how was it done? Principally by tampering with the savings banks, by borrowing money from the savings banks, or at least what was equivalent to borrowing money from them—by converting part of their stock in Exchequer bills into an addition to the permanent funded debt of the country. Such a course of proceeding, although not contrary to the law, was, to say the least of it, highly objectionable. To make use of the savings banks year after year for the purpose of propping up a fallen revenue, without the knowledge of Parliament—without any communication with the House of Commons—was, in his opinion, an unconstitutional proceeding, and one which no Government ought to have recourse to. It was objectionable upon the constitutional point as being done without the knowledge of Parliament; but it was even more objectionable as regarded the savings banks themselves. What were the savings banks? Institutions for the receipt and safe custody of the savings of our poorer fellow citizens; of those men, who, by honest industry and praiseworthy prudence, were enabled to save something of the fruits of their toil to gild the evening of their laborious lives, and who were induced by the Legislature to entrust those savings to the public custody. But if the Government upon every emergency were to be at liberty to touch these funds, for the purpose of propping up a failing revenue, what security would the depositors have for the safe custody of a property which was to them invaluable. He did not mean to say, that any positive mischief had actually occurred; but the principle was wrong, and was calculated to cause distrust in the minds of those whom the Legislature had invited to entrust their savings to a department of the Government, and whose distrust might be encreased by the very fact of the transaction not being carried into effect in the open day, and the face of Parliament and the country. In his opinion, therefore, the Government were not justified in persevering in it for so long a time. The other course which they had pursued, if not equally unjustifiable, was still liable to great objection; he meant the practice of diminishing the balances in the Exchequer by a very great amount. To meet the financial difficulties in which they were involved, the Government had diminished those balances to a comparatively very low sum. That was a very improvident mode of dealing with the difficulty against which they had to contend, and if it were resorted to upon every such emergency as had arisen within the last few years, the result would soon be that there would be no floating balance at all. No course of proceeding could be more objectionable if carried on systematically for a series of years. There was another point connected with this part of the subject, upon which he begged to make one or two observations. It appeared, that, during the course of the last ten years, additions had been made to the annual charge of the public funded debt of the country to the amount of nearly 1,000,000*l.*, for which no provision whatever had been made by Parliament. This was not, perhaps, objectionable at the period at which it was first done; because at that time there was a positive surplus of income over expenditure, so that the additional expense thrown upon the country by the process of raising the money did not add to the public burdens—it merely diminished the surplus. But during the last four years there had been a constant deficiency of revenue to meet the expenditure of the country, and yet no provision whatever had been made for the 1,000,000*l.* added to the public debt. It was a large sum, and, taken together with the additional expense incurred by the mode of not raising a sufficient income to meet the expenditure, and, with the revenue lost by the too hasty adoption of the Post-office scheme, the gross amount of both in their effect upon the balance of income and expenditure, was not less than 2,200,000*l.*, pretty nearly the whole amount of the deficiency which Parliament had been called upon to provide for in the course of the present year. This exhibited a mismanagement—a want of arrangement on the part of the Government—which was quite unpardonable. The finances of the country could not bear to be treated in such an unskilful manner. His noble Friend (Earl Spencer), who moved the Address, had observed, that commerce could not wait for any long consideration on the part of the Legislature—that its defects, if remedied at all, must be remedied with promptness and despatch. But brief as the period, that commerce could wait, might be, finance could not wait so long. Finance was more delicate, more sensitive than commerce. In finance we might be ruined before we knew where we were. He could only designate the proceedings of the Government, therefore, upon this point of finance, as most short-sighted, most imprudent, and most impolitic. Upon previous occasions he had stated the view which he took upon this subject, and he did so under a strong sense of the very serious danger to which the country was exposed by the condition in which its finances were placed. He hoped, however, that he had never stated anything beyond what the case actually required. He had endeavoured to exaggerate nothing, to impute no blame, to abstain, as far as possible, from anything calculated to excite inconvenient discussion; and he had had the satisfaction of hearing from his noble Friend at the head of the Government, that he admitted all the statements he had made—that he admitted most of the inferences he drew, and, in fact, although he did not admit all, he did not refute any. He thought, therefore, that he might take the liberty now, when two years had elapsed—when he found the condition of the finances so precarious, and attended with so much danger—he thought he might now take the liberty of again noticing the subject to the House, to point to the financial mismanagement of the Government, as constituting, in his judgment, a ground for the expression of want of confidence. In 1840, the Government, sensible of the necessity of doing something, proposed to meet the exigency of the time by a considerable addition to the taxes. This showed that they felt the necessity of making some effort to meet the crisis; but the scheme they adopted was but a clumsy contrivance, and was accompanied by a notification of a plan contemplated by the Government, which if it had been carried into effect would have been quite in contravention of the whole principle of the finance project of that year; he meant the negotiations for a commercial treaty with France, which was at that time going on, and was announced to Parliament at the time of the budget. Now, the main part of the scheme of 1840 consisted in the imposition of new duties on the customs generally and an additional duty specifically upon spirits. But if that treaty with France had been carried into effect, it would have been necessary to call upon Parliament to undo a great deal of what had been done the year before, in order to put the expenditure of the country upon a right footing; for it was clear that there were certain articles of French produce upon which our duties must have been relaxed under any commercial treaty with France, and therefore the increase of duty to which such articles would have been subjected by the plan of 1840, must have been taken off in the subsequent year, thus destroying all previous calculation, and throwing commerce into uncertainty and confusion, by a policy at once vacillating and contradictory. They now came to the present year, and they found the deficiency of revenue to be the same. No; it was not the same;

it was aggravated, because in addition to the deficiency of the year before, the deficiency calculated for the present year would exceed 2,000,000*l.*, and then the Government came down with a scheme which they professed to consider a plan for putting our revenue on a sound footing—namely, the alteration of the duty on the three articles to which the noble Lords opposite had referred, and it was stated by the Government that these alterations would have the triple effect of improving the revenue, extending our commerce, and benefitting the consumer. He should have no difficulty in showing, that not one of these alterations could possibly effect all these objects. He would point this out. The manner in which it was proposed by the Government to deal with timber was this: they said, that the proportion between the duty on foreign and on Canadian timber was unduly favourable to the latter. He did not defend the disproportion in the abstract, he admitted that it did require revision; but what he questioned was, the prudence and the policy of the mode in which the Government proposed to revise it. They proposed to increase the duty on Canadian timber by doubling it, that is, by raising it from 10*s.* to 20*s.*, and to reduce the duty on Baltic timber by 5*s.*, that is, from 55*s.* to 50*s.*—increasing the duty on Canadian timber 100 per cent., and reducing that on foreign timber by 9 per cent. Now, what the noble Lord had stated was true, that it was admitted that Canadian timber was not so fit as the Baltic for certain purposes —though this was not quite a clear proposition, since in Canada there were buildings, churches and other edifices, that had been standing for 120 or 130 years; but his noble Friend had said at the same time that it was admitted, that a great deal of Canadian timber was perfectly fitted for other purposes—namely, for the internal timber of houses. In those cases its superior cheapness compensated for any deficiency in its quality of durability. Now, the scheme of the Government to benefit the consumer was by increasing the duty 100 per cent. How could that benefit the consumer? Then it was said, that it would answer the purpose of revenue. How could that be? Perhaps it might, if it had the effect of compelling the people to substitute Baltic timber for Canadian timber; for, supposing the same quantity of timber to be consumed, it would pay a higher duty. But how would that benefit the interest of the consumers of Canadian timber? and the only effect of the change in a commercial point of view would be a certain encrease in the trade to the Baltic, counterbalanced by an equivalent diminution of trade with our North American colonies. And how are the consumers of Baltic timber benefitted? Mr. Macgregor, who had laid a rigmarole paper before the import duties Committee—who got a gentleman from the office of the Board of Trade before them, though it was impossible he could know what he was going to do or to say—had laid a proposition before the committee for altering the duty, which he (Lord Ripon) believed was the foundation of the whole scheme, and this gentleman said, that the duty on Baltic timber amounted to from 50 to 200 per cent. Take it at 100 per cent.; then, if the duty were 55*s.*, the cost of the article would be 110*s.* per load. And what is the benefit given to the consumer? Why 5*s.* out of 110*s.* Was there any person, knowing anything of business, who supposed that a reduction of 5*s.* in 110*s.* would benefit the consumer? It might put money into the pocket of the merchant or the builder, but not one farthing into that of the consumer; therefore, this tax could not answer the triple object proposed by the Government. He called it a complete fallacy, and he considered such a scheme for supplying the deficiency of the revenue as little short of madness. Then as to sugar; the amount of the reduction of the price of sugar which would be obtained by the measure of the Government, was calculated at a fraction of a farthing per pound. Now, unless the price of the article should be reduced at least 1*d.* per pound, it would be folly to expect that the consumer would derive anything from it. He was not prepared to say, that there was no period at which the duty upon foreign sugar could be reduced, and he could not bind himself to such a proposition. But the noble Lord who had moved the Address had told their Lordships, that if he thought the foreign slave-trade would be promoted by the alteration of the system of the sugar duties, with all his love of free-trade, he for one, would not consent to it. Now, he thought it must have that effect; he thought there was, at least, great danger of its having that effect, and this, in his mind, was an objection to the scheme. He had been engaged in the noble work of extinguishing slavery in our colonies. That great experiment was now in a course of trial, and he believed it was working remarkably well, and he had no doubt that the produce of sugar in our free colonies would, at no distant time, be largely increased, and sold at a cheaper rate. The measure was one which he had the honour of opening in their Lordships' House, and he, therefore, took a deeper interest in the question. He thought the measure of Government would have the effect he had mentioned, and that, at all events, it was unwise to risk it. He knew it was said that all this was sickly sentiment; that those who opposed the measure on the ground that it would tend to the increase of slavery, pretended a deal for the abolition of the slave trade which they did not feel; and that under that pretence they cloaked their reluctance to afford to the people the benefit of cheap sugar. He did not think this was sickly sentiment, and, as far as he was concerned, he had ever been forward to join in any project to extinguish the slave-trade, and the first vote he had given in Parliament, when a very young man, had been in support of Mr. Fox's bill for the abolition of the slave-trade. But there was another subject to be considered in this question, which had not been noticed by the noble Mover. It had been only within these two or three years that it had been deemed expedient to put the sugar-grower in our territories in the East Indies on the same footing as the grower of West-India sugar. The climate of India was adapted to a variety of products, and could grow an immense quantity of excellent sugar, and it was our duty to develop the resources by every means in our power. It should be recollected, that the vast progress of our cotton manufacture in this country had extinguished the cotton manufacture in India, and the policy of this country had always been (upon the wisdom of which he gave no opinion) not to permit the East-India Company to put any duty upon the manufactures of England, except a nominal one of about 2½ per cent., which produced a trifling revenue, but afforded no protection to the manufacturer of the East. He said, that justice required that we should pause before we let the foreign slave-owners come into competition with the growers of East-India sugar. Was there anything sickly in that? It appeared to him that objections without end applied to every part of the Government scheme, which he thought would appear still more strongly, when he came to consider that most important part of the whole case, he meant the alteration of the Corn-laws. That was a subject so difficult, so delicate, and, in some points of view, so dangerous, that he hardly knew in what manner he should best approach it. He wished to express his view of the question, but not to trouble their Lordships more than was necessary. He thought he should be able to show that the measure was one in which their Lordships ought not to concur. The noble Mover of the Address had told their Lordships that he was an advocate for free trade—for free trade in every thing, and, above all, a free trade in corn. But the noble Lord very fairly referred to the monstrous exaggerations which prevailed upon this subject. But the first question to be asked was, what is the real proposition of the Government? Is it free trade, or merely a question of the best mode of giving a protection? In his opinion, whatever might be the professed object of the Government, within whatever bounds they might incline to limit their views, the whole question is in substance, and in the view of all parties in the country, a question of absolute free trade, without any protection whatever. Why were the two noble Lords selected to move and second the Address? It was customary for the Mover and Seconder to confer with the Ministers previously, and he must assume, that the noble Viscount at the head of the Government was aware, when he selected the two noble Lords as the Mover and Seconder of the Address, that they would argue the question on the principles of free trade, and no other. It was not unfair or unjust to infer that this is the end of the whole scheme. The country cannot have the slightest doubt, from what had been said in pamphlets and newspaper on newspaper, and from the bitter reproaches and calumnies cast upon the defenders of the corn laws, and from the arguments of the anti-corn-law league, that there was to be an abolition of all protection; and that nothing short of that would satisfy those who impugned the existing Corn-law with such unmitigated and fierce hostility. And their Lordships must therefore make up their minds to that if they adopt this Address, and give their confidence to such a Government. If this was a question *bonâ fide* whether there should be a fixed duty of 8s., or a sliding scale—if it was a question as to the mode of giving protection, which was the most convenient and the fairest—would that be a question upon which to agitate the country as this had done—to set class against class, to rouse the worst feelings of our nature, and to create such a ferment throughout the country, as would render any useful consideration of the question utterly impracticable. The question could not be settled so. He would, if their Lordships pleased, say that both parties were guilty of exaggeration; but the dangerous and violent agitation, the agitation which threatened disorders, and the breaking-up of all social feelings, appeared to him to be on the side of those who clamoured for what they called "cheap bread," though cheap bread it would not bring, even according to the distinct and honest declaration of the noble Earl himself, who advocates so warmly the extreme principle of no protection whatever. When charges against those who supported the Corn-laws, of being hard-hearted monopolists, were spread amongst the people—he did not say by the Government—he did not accuse them, but by persons of influence—it was a most dangerous agitation. He regretted to find in a report—he would not call it a charge, but an insinuation—that, as the Legislature is composed of great landed proprietors, the people were led to believe, that they were ready to strain measures with a view to keep up their rents. Then their Lordships had been told to look at the question in connection with the existing law, and it had been said, that the existing law had entirely failed in its object. He would show, that the law in its operation had not only not failed, but that it had produced the effects which it had been intended to produce. Their Lordships would find, from a return of the averages of corn for several years to the last year, that the average price of corn, for the last twelve years, had been 58*s.* 6*d.*, which was not at all an extravagant average; and if they divided the period into two parts—and that was the fairest way—it would appear that the average price of wheat, in the first six years, was 59*s.* 1*d.*, and of the second six years 57*s.* 6½., so that the averages of the two portions very nearly agreed; showing that there had been in the operation of the act, something approaching to an equality of price to justify his saying, that the scheme had not failed. But, in order to make the point still more clear, he would divide the period into three parts: in the first four years the average was high, 63*s.* 10½*d.*; during these years, the averages being high, and there being therefore a necessity for the importation of foreign corn, the importation in those four years amounted to 4,936,822 quarters. In the last four years the price was nearly the same, 64*s.* 4½*d.* and the importation was 6,780,823 quarters; so that during these two periods, the law performed its office of supplying the corn that was wanted. In the second period the average was 46*s.* 8¾*d.*, considerably below both the first and last, and the importation was only 205,889 quarters. But it had not been an excess of importation that had produced the low price, but the increase of production here, and this shows that the law had effected its proper purposes. Those purposes being to admit all that could be wanted when the price was high, and our own supply scarce, and to exclude it when our own abundance caused the price to be materially reduced. It was said, that if there had been a fixed duty, there would have been comparatively no fluctuation at all; that commerce would have been free and easy, and everything would have gone on well. This, however, was contrary to experience in respect to many other articles. Upon a former occasion, he had shown their Lordships, that, taking a series of years, in the prices of wool, cotton, hemp, silk, and articles without end, imported in large quantities from every part of the world, there had been greater fluctuations than in the prices of corn. The noble Lord who seconded the Address had alluded to the objection made to the proposed scheme, on the ground of its making this country dependent upon foreign supply, which was a dangerous thing, and he had argued that he saw no danger in this; but it appeared to him that it was the true ground upon which he felt himself justified in supporting the Corn-laws, and he could not, after all the consideration he could give to the subject, divest himself of grave apprehensions, if we were to depend on the importation from abroad of the main part of our supply, and neglect the cultivation of corn in our own country, we might find the difficulty aggravated every year; for although the noble Seconder did not think that the importation of foreign corn would throw land out of cultivation, yet if he listened to the arguments of others who wished to abolish the corn laws, and who called this a landlord's question, they argued that land had been brought into cultivation, which would not have been so brought but for the corn laws. Why, if so, according to their argument, the abolition of the corn laws must have the effect of throwing that land again out of cultivation. He (Lord Ripon) did not say that land had been so brought into cultivation, he thought there were other causes. But if we habitually depended upon foreign countries for corn, we incurred risk—and risk in such a matter was a great thing; we ought to see the effect of the measure before we placed such interests in jeopardy by so tremendous a change. It was not clear to him, if they admitted foreign corn, and discouraged the growth of our own, that they would find foreign countries always in possession of corn to send us. In Dr. Bowring's report, a curious circumstance was mentioned. He was arguing against the corn laws as preventing the extension of commerce, and he says that the German League had a population of 22,000,000, and the total quantity of corn grown in the League for these 22,000,000 of people did not exceed 13,000,000 quarters, wheat, barley, oats, and everything, of which the people consumed 13-14ths: if so, the whole quantity they were capable of exporting would not equal 1,000,000 of quarters per annum. And yet the Government scheme assumed that we must import no less than 3,000,000 quarters of wheat, and 3,000,000 quarters of other corn every year, which exceeded the whole quantity ever imported in any one year, whatever might have been the stimulus of excessively high prices, and however remote the corners which have been ransacked to attain them. In no one year did the imports of corn ever amount to 2,500,000 quarters, and yet there must be an importation of 3,000,000 quarters of wheat per annum. Why did the Government set this up as a measure of finance? The Chancellor of the Exchequer had assumed that the customs on corn produced a given sum per annum, and he built his calculations on the produce of the customs for the last two or three years; in this period about 1,000,000*l.* a-year had been received on corn. The Government said they expected to raise by their project, 400,000*l.* But if they did get 1,600,000*l.* a year, the whole calculation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was wrong; and the result of the estimate, which was founded upon the last two years giving 1,100,000*l.*, was, that 3,000,000 quarters of wheat must be annually imported at the 8*s.* duty, and another 3,000,000 at the medium duty, in order to produce the required sum of 1,600,000*l.*; in fact, there must be a perpetual importation of wheat, whether it was wanted or not, before the expectations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, could be realized. But, on the supposition that the project of the Government were carried into effect, no man could entertain any reasonable doubt that a very large portion of the corn land in this country would be thrown out of cultivation—an evil, which, if it once commenced, no one could say where it would stop, or what would be its disastrous consequences. One of his noble Friends had laughed at the idea of foreign powers interposing laws to prevent the importation of corn into this country. But was it not true that there was a law now in force in Russia which permitted the importation of foreign corn. Why was this? Because the supply for the last few years had been below the demand. If, however the Emperor of Russia could permit the importation of foreign corn, for two or three years, it would seem that without his permission it could not be imported, so that there was not a free-trade in corn in Russia after all, for the Emperor could put an end to it whenever he thought proper. He could not help thinking, then, that it would be the height of imprudence to rely habitually upon any foreign supply of corn, for such a course must inevitably lead to the risk of exposing this country to want and even to famine. There was only one other part of the case to which he wished to advert, that was the mercantile view of the question. It was said, "If you establish free trade in corn, you will have such a great and increased exportation of manufactures, that our trade will flourish to an enormous extent, and the landholder will profit in the general prosperity that the increased trade would produce." No doubt, that if the prosperity was general, the landholders would profit by it; but he thought there were grave reasons for doubting, whether, if they were to alter their Corn-laws, they would acquire that extensive trade from those particular countries whence it was expected. Just see how the question became narrowed when they looked at those countries. The trade could not come from the greater part of Europe, because the greater part of Europe had protective Corn-laws. Holland, France, Belgium, Sweden, Portugal, Spain, Naples, Sicily, the Papal dominions, Austria, and even Bavaria, in the interior of Germany, had Corn-laws for their own protection. How then could any one possibly argue that those countries would be induced to take our manufactures by a reduction of the duty on their corn? It was said, that the Prussian league was entirely owing to the Corn-laws, and if they were repealed, nothing could be more easy than to induce the Prussian government to alter their system, and to receive our manufactures. Now, he begged leave to say, that he did not believe that the Germanic league had anything whatever to do with the state of the Corn-laws or the commerce of this country in its original conception. The fact was, that the real character of that league was political; it was part of a great political scheme, propounded and carried into effect by men who were under the influence of a spirit of devotedness to their father-land, and of zeal for the prosperity of their great and noble scheme—a scheme devised for the purpose of nationalizing the north of Germany, and giving to it a coherence and solidity which experience had proved to be entirely wanting in the antient German empire, and in that partial and flimsy substitution for it by Napoleon, of the confederation of the Rhine; and here he would remark, that the existence of that Germanic league, and whatever incidental obstacles it might impose upon our trade, the commercial scheme connected with it, was one of the safest guarantees for the peace of Europe that had been brought into existence since the termination of the last war. What reason, then, was there for thinking that any of those countries he had mentioned would take our manufactures if we said that we would take their corn? No man who knew Germany could fail to discover that the principle which animated the German government and people was that of securing protection for their own manufactures. They might be wrong, or we might be wrong; but it was a very natural feeling, and one which had pervaded all nations in all civilized times. It might have been carried to great excess; indeed it has been carried to very great excess in this and other countries, and he, as well as others, had been instrumental in checking that excess. But he believed that none of those governments would make any relaxation in their laws merely because we proposed to take their corn. As to Russia, if ever there existed a country whose policy was of a restrictive character against the productions of other countries, it was Russia. From the time of the Empress Catherine, the laws of Russia had been most rigorously enforced, under the severest penalties, against the introduction of foreign manufactures. The Russian government had made great sacrifices, whether wisely or not, he would not at present say, to establish manufactures in every part of the country: they had done so; those manufactures were greatly extended, and some were very flourishing, though others, probably, were not so, as all could not be expected to succeed there, any more than here or in other countries. But they had extended greatly, nevertheless, and the interests of a large portion of the people were bound up in them. Looking then at the history of nations, and the motives by which men were governed, he could not believe, that for the mere sake of giving a little extension to their trade in corn they would all at once abandon all their settled policy, upwards of a century old, and let our manufactures come in to what they could not but deem an injurious, perhaps a ruinous, competition with their own. It appeared, then, that the Government scheme was vicious and fallacious. At all events, it was uncertain. And it was part of the wisdom which her Majesty had expressed a hope would guide their deliberations, not to shut their eyes to such great evils as those to which he had alluded. Having now gone through these various topics at some length, he had to state that under all the circumstances of the case, looking to the course that had been taken with respect to the finances of the country —looking to the course which her Majesty's Government had proposed to pursue— and looking to the declaration which had been stated by the two noble Lords opposite, that they intended to stand or fall by those propositions, and deeming the propositions, as they stood, liable to the grave doubts and difficulties which he had stated, he should move an amendment to the Address, which would express a want of confidence in her Majesty's Ministers. He thought it needless to attempt to say anything to justify this course, beyond the grounds he had already stated. The Government, the country, and all parties were in a position which evidently rendered it impossible for the public business to go on. They must come to some plain and distinct expression of opinion as to the principles upon which the Government of the country should be conducted. He should, therefore, propose such an amendment as he hoped, and believed, their lordships would adopt. He desired that they should present themselves before her Majesty as her loyal, and faithful, and devoted subjects, whose attachment to the Throne was founded upon the principles of the constitution, not adopted to serve the purposes of the moment—as a body of men who, whilst they respect the prerogatives, and venerate the dignity and the person of the Sovereign, know how to appreciate the duties which their station imposes upon themselves, and equally desire to maintain the rights and liberties of the people. He should wish their Lordships to approach her Majesty with those feelings in their hearts, sensible of their human infirmities, and with the fear of God before their eyes, looking to him for that wisdom which was necessary to guide their councils and deliberations, and to direct all their efforts to the utmost—as, notwithstanding all misrepresentation and all gainsaying, he would assert, it was their earnest desire, for the welfare and happiness of the country.

The noble Earl concluded by proposing the following Amendment to the latter part of the Address:—

"We Humbly represent to your Majesty, that we observe with great concern that the public expenditure has of late in each of several successive years exceeded the annual income, and that we are convinced of the necessity of adopting measures for the purpose of remedying so great an evil:

We assure your Majesty that we are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations, to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct our attention, in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn:

That in deciding the course which it may be advisable to pursue with reference to such matters, it will be our earnest desire to consult the interest, and promote the welfare of all classes of your Majesty's subjects:

That we feel it, however, to be our duty humbly to submit to your Majesty that it is essential to the satisfactory results of our deliberations upon these and other matters of public concern, that your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country; and respectfully to represent to your Majesty that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of your Majesty:

We assure your Majesty that in the gracious expression of your Majesty's deep sympathy with those of your Majesty's subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment, we recognize an additional proof of your Majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your Majesty's subjects; and that we cordially join in the prayer of your Majesty, that all our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of your Majesty's people."

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* explained, that he did not say he was for a total abolition of the Corn-laws immediately: he thought he had said he was for a moderate or low duty on corn at first. But he was free to say, he hoped that in a very short time those laws might be repealed. He had not said that he did not think any foreign powers would not impose laws preventing the importation of their corn into this country; on the contrary, he referred to a time when such laws were imposed; but his opinion was, that no such laws could prevail against the reciprocal wants of nations.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* said, that curiosity had been excited on his part at the beginning of the speech of the noble Earl opposite, which had not been entirely gratified. He had undoubtedly thought, that the noble Earl in the task he had undertaken would have endeavoured to state to their Lordships what measures he would be disposed to pursue under the present circumstances of the country. Instead of that, however, the noble Earl had concluded with an amendment, in which he did not point out any one measure which it would be desirable to pass, but merely stated, that her Majesty's Ministers did not possess what was in Parliamentary language called the confidence of that House. That was neither more nor less than saying—and that was the important proposition involved in that statement—"we are the many, and you are the few." That was all that was meant by that statement, and it would appear from the words the noble Earl was desirous of adding, that he was desirous of nothing more than of avoiding a declaration of any mode which he would propose to extricate the country out of the difficulties in which she was placed—difficulties which the noble Earl admitted—but for which he did not condescend to point out the remedy. The noble Earl he apprehended did not deny the difficulty in which the country was placed, he did not deny the deficiency in the revenue, on the contrary, that deficiency formed the groundwork of the amendment he had proposed. Then, if the noble Earl did that, if he enunciated those premises, the logical conclusion of his amendment ought to have been, that such and such other measures would have been more advisable than those proposed by her Majesty's Government. *Nil horum!* The noble Earl said nothing but this, "We are the many, and you are the few." That, indeed, was what the people out of doors looked at when a change of administration was coming on. But that had not been the usual manner in which propositions of the kind had been stated within the walls of Parliament, nor the manner in which those who were to incur subsequent responsibility had generally conducted themselves on such occasions. He would beg to refer the noble Earl to his own conduct on a former occasion, some ten or eleven years ago, when the noble Earl was connected with a party then coming into power, as he was now a member of a party wishing to take office. What did the leaders of that party do on that occasion? Did they make a mystery of the measures they intended to propose? What did the noble Earl, under whom the noble Earl then served as a Cabinet Minister, do upon that occasion? He said there were certain principles which his party adopted, and which they intended to carry into effect. The great measure of reform in the representation was the measure they afterwards effected, and upon the principle of which they came into power. Earl Grey did not say, "we are the many, and you are the few," but boldly stated certain principles which he designed to be the basis of his policy. In like manner, in 1807, when the administration of Lord Grenville was overturned, and the Duke of Portland and Mr. Perceval came into power, certain measures were opposed, and contrary principles were avowed and carried into effect. And so, upon all former great changes, he apprehended that some principles were stated, and some measures propounded for the consideration of Parliament, as the groundwork for making them. But the noble Earl was a prudent man in his generation. The noble Earl had said, the country was in difficulties, but he left Parliament in a state of profound ignorance as to what their remedies were to be. The noble Earl said we had a deficient revenue—how did he propose to equalize the revenue with the expenditure? Did he intend to sweep away the taxes that now fettered the commercial industry of the country, and to substitute a new land or property tax? Would that be the measure the noble Earl would propose? He believed, that if any party in that House were to propose to accept the Government of the country upon the principle of imposing a new land tax, or property tax, there would not be so large a majority in favour of the amendment of the noble Earl as they might expect to see in the course of the present evening. If the noble Earl did not intend to propose that, what did he intend to propose? The noble Earl did not deny the difficulties of the country, for they were undeniable, and no man who had paid any attention to the state of manufacturing and commercial industry in the country, could by any possibility deny them. The noble Earl emphatically stated, that the chief ground on which he was prepared to defend the Corn-laws was the necessity of this country being independent of foreign supply. It was all very well for the noble Earl to make a flaming speech on that subject, and to call upon their Lordships to maintain the independence of the country, but how stood the fact? Could this country be independent of foreign supply? If their Lordships would refer to the last half century, and divide it into cycles of any number of years, they would find, that in each succeeding cycle the dependence of the country on a foreign supply of grain was greater than in the preceding one. He would prove that in a very few moments. In the twelve years which elapsed from 1775 to 1786, both inclusive, the average annual import of grain was 179,000 quarters; in the succeeding cycle, ending with 1798, the average annual importation was 324,000 quarters; in the next cycle, ending with 1810, the average annual import was 693,000 quarters; in the twenty-five years which had elapsed from 1815 to 1839, both inclusive, the average annual import was 614,000 quarters; and, taking the last eleven of those years, the average annual import was 863,000 quarters. Thus it appeared, that the average annual importation of corn which, in the first cycle of twelve years amounted to 179,000 quarters, had, in the course of half a century, risen to 863,000 quarters. Under these circumstances, to talk of this country being independent of foreign supply, was to talk of something that could not by possibility have any existence, and, therefore it would be better not to talk of it at all. The only subject which practical men ought to consider, was upon what terms the importation of corn should take place—whether under what was called the sliding scale, or upon payment of a low duty, or without any duty at all. Foreign supply we must have, and the simple question was, upon what terms should we have it. The population of the country was increasing at a much more rapid rate than any increased supply we were able to draw from our own internal resources. The enumeration of the population would be before Parliament in a few weeks, and then it would probably be seen, that the population of these islands was increasing at the rate of not less than 250,000 souls a year. To supply that increase of population 250,000 quarters of wheat would be required, and as many acres of land must be brought into cultivation as there were quarters of wheat wanted. Their Lordships, however, would be deluding themselves and the country if they held out the expectation, that the requisite quantity of corn could be supplied by any quantity of land which they could bring into cultivation in this country. He was aware, that under the stimulus of high prices, tracts of land had been brought into cultivation which, under other circumstances, it would by no means have been desirable to plough. This was the case with the downs of Sussex, and even Salisbury plain—land which was never intended by nature to produce corn, and to bring which into cultivation merely involved a waste of capital, without any advantage to the country at large. On the contrary, taking an agricultural view of the matter, he must say, that bringing such land into tillage was positively injurious. Left to itself the land was, to a certain degree, profitable, but, having been broken up, it was allowed, when a cycle of low-priced years came, to go to grass, and then a century would elapse before it would be as valuable as it was before it was first broken up. As he had before observed, the time had come when it was necessary for Parliament to consider upon what terms foreign corn should be admitted into this country. The pecuniary effect of the sliding scale was to encourage speculation, the object of the speculators being to raise the price of the article to the highest price, in order that they might import foreign corn at the lowest duty. The speculators had no abstract love of high prices, and did not desire to make the food of the people dear, but it was necessary for their purpose that it should be so, in order that they might get rid of the duty. The present price of bread corn (he **must** use the phrase, although he had before been rebuked for doing so) was between 75*s.* and 80*s.* a quarter. The rise of price had been owing, in some degree, to the prospect of an unfavourable harvest, and also to the operations of the speculators in foreign corn, who, not content with the ordinary sales which take place in the country, created a vast number of fictitious sales, in which the farmers were in no respect concerned. Farmers are deriving no benefit from the present high prices, for if any of their Lordships had had occasion to travel from the Land's-end, or from John O'Groat's House to London, they must have observed that the farm-yards were perfectly destitute of corn, and it was manifest, therefore, that no part of the present advance in the price of corn would go into the farmer's pocket. It went into the pocket of the corn-dealer; and at the time he was realising from 9*s.* to 10*s.* a bushel, it was exceedingly probable that many a farmer was actually obliged to buy corn for the subsistence of his family and his cattle. This was a state of things by no means beneficial to the agricultural interest, and he doubted whether it could be beneficial to the landed interest as distinct from the agricultural interest. That was the opinion at which he had arrived from a consideration of the evidence given before Parliamentary committees by land valuers and agents of the most respectable character. The effect of high prices was, to cause a higher rent to be demanded from agricultural occupiers than the actual state of things would justify. The noble Earl below him had correctly stated, that 57*s*. a quarter was a fair basis for the rent a tenant should pay; but if he would inquire, the noble Earl would find, that that was not the basis at which, under the operation of the present Corn-law, land-valuers look in settling the rent of land. It went considerably beyond that sum, and, in fact, the very construction of the law was calculated to infuse into the minds of both occupiers and landowners that the sum ought to be 63*s*. or 64*s*. a quarter, and that was actually the basis upon which the rent of land was calculated. If rents had been calculated at 63*s*. and 64*s*. per quarter, whilst, in point of fact, the average price of corn had been only 56*s*., 57*s*., or 58*s*., in that fact alone was to be found the history of agricultural distress. That was the true explanation of all the petitions presented to that and the other House of Parliament some years ago, in consequence of which committees were appointed to inquire into the distress of the agriculturists. Rent was, in fact, fixed at a higher level than circumstances could justify. He was anxious that the Legislature should retrace its steps with reference to this question. A great deal of very good language had been introduced into the amendment, but, after all, it told nothing, and it was intended to tell nothing. The agricultural interest would not be a bit the wiser for it. A great authority had stated elsewhere, that the sliding scale must be maintained, but not a word had been said as to the point at which it was to begin or end. As to that the noble Earl opposite also had said not a word. For the reasons which he had stated, he considered the sliding scale a very bad scheme, but he was willing to admit that it might be so adjusted as to obviate some of the objections which he entertained to it. It might be so arranged as to prevent the price of food being raised so enormously as it was at present, by taking 45*s*. or 50*s*. for what was called the pivot, instead of 62*s*. or 64*s*. Upon all these points, however, their Lordships were left in a state of blessed ignorance by the amendment of the noble Earl. Whatever might be the intentions of those who were about to succeed his noble Friends in the Government, he certainly gave them credit for concealing their intentions most effectually; but, after all, he would not be very much surprised if, after the lapse of a certain time, the law should be altered. He did not know how long it would be before the alteration took place—that would depend upon the nature of it. If the alteration was to be a small one, the country would have it soon; but if the alteration was intended to be a great one, it would be necessary, to save appearances and for decency's sake, to defer it a little longer. He, however, had a lively recollection of what in common parlance was called Catholic Emancipation. He came into Parliament when the battle began, and he had the satisfaction of seeing it brought to a successful issue. The battle of commercial freedom was now about to be fought, and he believed that the same spirit of truth which had led to success in the former battle, would lead to triumph in this. The fortress of monopoly, was at present, in appearance, vigorously defended, but he believed, and he was of opinion that the noble Earl opposite believed so too, that it would shortly be surrendered. He thought also that the noble Earl himself might very likely be a party to its surrender, and he would tell their Lordships why he thought so. The noble Earl was the author of the law of 1815, which was introduced to make this country independent of foreign supply. [The Earl of *Ripon*: Not so.] He recollected perfectly well that that was the ground on which the law of 1815 was introduced and defended. It was, however, abandoned in favour of the law of 1828, which was a great stride in the road of improvement, although he preferred the measure proposed in 1827 by Mr. Canning. We had now got to 1841, another cycle of thirteen years—just the time for a fresh change. It was probable, however, that the existing law would be allowed to go on for another year. Much, of course, would depend upon the courage of noble Lords opposite in facing public opinion. If they could not venture upon a radical change of the law, there would be a little tampering with it. It would be discovered that the harvest of 1841 was very bad—that there was a short supply in the country—that it was necessary to introduce a small supply from abroad—that there were 230,000 quarters in bond, ready to be brought into the market, and, perhaps, an order in council might be resorted to for that purpose. For his part, he congratulated the country on the present position of the question; it had made a great stride in public opinion, in consequence of having been taken up by the executive. It might cause the downfall of the present Administration, but that was a matter about which he felt comparatively little. He spoke sincerely, and he believed he might venture to say that his noble Friend near him cared as little for the result. The question had been brought fairly before the country by the executive, and men who never brought their minds to bear upon the subject were now attentively considering it. There might, to be sure, have been large numbers of persons, such as the anti-corn-law league associated in Manchester and other towns; but the great mass of public opinion had never before been brought to bear upon the question. For having produced that result, therefore, Ministers were entitled to the gratitude of the country, and whatever might be the result of that night's debate—whatever might be the triumph of noble Lords opposite, the time would come when the people of this country would gratefully acknowledge the obligations under which they stood to the Government for having had the courage to bring this great measure before them. He said, for having had the courage to do so, because whoever observed the power of the landed interest must be aware that any Government which ventured to place itself in opposition to them was committing an act of political suicide. The landed was the most powerful interest in the country, and he was anxious that it should continue to be so; but he wished it to unite justice with power. He wished it to exercise its power with justice to the rest of the country. The landed interest might rely upon this, that it could not long maintain itself against all the other interests of the country, when they should bring their minds to bear upon this important question.

Lord *Lyttleton* said, I cannot vote for the Address proposed by my noble and most respected relative, without troubling your Lordships with a few remarks. My Lords, I vote for that Address, in order to signify assent, as far as imperfect knowledge will justify me in forming an opinion, to those measures of commercial policy which are most pointedly alluded to in that Address; with the exception of that on the sugar duties, and that not on commercial grounds; and also to that general system of policy concerning trade, which would seem to be indicated by those measures, and which I suppose we may now take for granted that her Majesty's Ministers, had they the opportunity, would proceed to act on. But inasmuch as, considering the nature of this occasion, and of the Amendment proposed by the noble Earl, a vote given in favour of the Address might very fairly and reasonably, unless otherwise explained, be construed as a vote of general confidence in the Government, I hope to be excused if I explain to your Lordships some of the reasons why I cannot allow my vote to be so considered; both with regard to some circumstances connected with the introduction of those measures, and with regard to some other points not immediately connected with them. It is not that I can see much force in some of the objections commonly taken to the conduct of the Government: I cannot see that it was wrong in them to introduce those measures, as being a weak Government; because those same measures might fairly be expected to convert that weakness into strength. Nor can I think, even after the remarks of the noble Earl, that it was wrong in them to appeal to the people on those measures by a dissolution of Parliament, on the risk of what is called popular agitation. Popular agitation seems to mean little but popular discussion; and if ever it be allowable to let the people judge of public measures, these measures would seem to be such as they might most reasonably be supposed qualified to understand. But I cannot but accept another objection, no less commonly made—for I cannot pretend to novelty in producing it—namely, that at the time when Ministers introduced those measures, they had no right according to the constitution of this country to stand before the then existing Parliament as Ministers of the Crown at all; and especially that it was almost an absurdity and a contradiction for them to stand before that Parliament under those circumstances, and still to call themselves a Whig Government. My Lords, let me recapitulate a few facts. I will say nothing of what happened in the Session of 1840; something might be said; but I pass that over. But in the last Session, Ministers were beat on an important clause of the most debateable and disputed bill—indeed, the only party bill, as it is called, which they had yet introduced, on April 26, by a majority of 21; on April 29, on another clause, by a majority of 11; they gave up the bill, but still retained their places; they brought in their budget; they were beaten on the sugar duties by a still greater majority; they still remained in office, till this succession of negations by the House of Commons was changed into a most undeniable position, and they were declared unworthy of the confidence of that House. My Lords, I do not trouble your Lordships with argument on what has been already so amply debated; I will only say that I for one, am too much of a Whig to approve of such conduct. For what is the defence? What is the defence on the constitutional question? Precedents are appealed to. That we do not object to. But what precedents? Several; but chiefly, as the most recent and appropriate, those of 1784 and the property tax of 1814, the precedents of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh; what are we to say to this? Why, noble Lords opposite may find themselves pinched by such an argument; her Majesty's opposition anywhere may feel themselves bound to answer it; but for us who call ourselves Whigs in this matter; who hold, not indeed that the people are the true and ultimate source of all power, but that a popular constitution is the best mode of bringing into free action that wisdom and virtue which have a real, divine right to sway the destinies of nations—for us it is sufficient to reply that Mr. Pitt's conduct appears to us utterly unjustifiable and unwarrantable; justified, as the phrase is, by success, and drowned, as it were, beneath the flood of prosperity and glory that followed it; but in itself unwarrantable, and that of all the authorities that can be alleged on a constitutional question, Lord Castlereagh is about the one to whom we should attribute the least weight: I hope I may speak without offence of an historical character. Such at least is my view. My Lords, I must beg your Lordships' indulgence, if I leave the engrossing topics which have chiefly been the subject of discussion this evening, and say something of remote matters, which have weighed with me in refusing entire confidence to the Government. It may perhaps be supposed that what has had the most weight with me, has been the conduct of the Government with respect to ecclesiastical legislation. My Lords, I certainly have considered that the Government were not deserving of entire confidence, for their mode of dealing with an institution which I believed they did not rightly appreciate. But considered relatively to any Government that might be supposed likely to succeed them, I have not been in the habit of thinking it certain that their removal would benefit the Church. I had little confidence in the existing Government on these subjects; I had not much more in those who might be supposed to be their successors. Moreover, I did not consider it material to what are called the interests of the Church, what Government might or might not be in power; believing, that if the Church herself, by which I mean if we, every one of us, did our duty as churchmen and not only as citizens, the Church would then vindicate her position in the country, and any Government that might be in power would find that the best thing it could do for its own purpose, would be to let the Church alone. My Lords, in mentioning what has perhaps weighed most with me in my conduct, I must, beg your Lordships' pardon for reviving a very antiquated and perhaps defunct subject; I allude to the once celebrated appropriation clause. Of the circumstances attending that clause I need not remind your Lordships; the resolutions on which it was founded I will take the liberty of reading to your Lordships. On April 2, 1835, it was carried on the motion of Lord J. Russell, "that this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." On the 7th of April it was carried, "that it is the opinion of this Committee, that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the Members of the Established Church in Ireland, ought to be applied locally to the general education of all classes of Christians." On the same evening, "that it is the opinion of this House that no measure on the subject of tithes can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution." My Lords, I say that if ever words had a meaning beyond the mere letter; if ever circumstances and context should be taken into account in determining the meaning of words, the meaning of those words was, that coming into office on the adoption of those resolutions, nothing should ever induce them to be parties to a measure which did not embody their principle.

That is the plain common sense view; on that principle they came in; that principle they abandoned; from that moment I have not been able to avoid the conviction, that they stood in office on ground not their own, and in virtue of an unfulfilled covenant. No agreement in general policy, no private feelings should ever induce me to adhere fully to a Government whose public engagements were unfulfilled, and when political integrity was gone. My Lords, I will not dwell upon other points, in which it has seemed to me that the Government acted wrong, and specifically in contravention of Whig principles; such as the Jamaica bill, and their conduct on the Bedchamber question. My Lords, undoubtedly if I thought that the interests of this country, and the liberal principles to which I am attached, would suffer seriously from the removal of the present Government, it might greatly modify my conduct on this question. But I for one have little fear of this. I believe that whatever Government is in office, the principles of liberal policy will be pursued; that this is the real, permanent result of the Reform Bill, and that there is no danger of an opposite result. The question, therefore, rather is with me, whether the political character of the party which may at any time be in office, is such as will allow of their conforming to those principles without dishonour to themselves. My Lords, I am not prepared to say that those who will probably succeed the present Government are of character other than this; and I believe this to be the opinion of many whose liberal principles are undisputed. I do not forget the words of the great master of political wisdom: he that supports every administration subverts all Government. But when Mr. Burke wrote this, of the two parties whom he had in view, the one was in his belief partly the designing agent, partly the passive instrument of a system which went to subvert in an essential point the constitution of this country. It may be held by some persons that this is the intention of either of the parties who are at this time likely to be in power; I at least have no such belief. My Lords, aware of your Lordships' indulgence, I have ventured to trouble your Lordships, simply with the view to explain and qualify the vote which I feel it my duty to give.

Viscount *Melbourne* said: The nature of this motion, and the circumstances under which it has been made—notwithstanding its great importance, the arguments on which it has been founded, and the fair, candid, clear, and distinct spirit in which it has been submitted—do not make it necessary for me to trouble your Lordships with many observations. I listened to my noble Friend who moved the amendment with great deference for his abilities, with great deference for his information, and with great respect for his candour, and I must say, that seeing the superstructure he was about to raise, a more meagre, slender, or fragile foundation it would be impossible to have laid down. The noble Lord made a sort of *omnium gatherum* speech; impressed every thing into his service, as well what we had done last year as during the present; and on such a collection of heterogeneous materials he founds a motion of this magnitude—a motion so important in its consequences, and a motion, allow me to say, perfectly new to this House. My Lords, it came like a thunder-clap upon me. I own I was ignorant that there existed in this House the spirit on which that motion seems to proceed. We all know that there were a great many factious motions in the late House of Commons, and continual motions of want of confidence, but there was not the least intimation that your Lordships sympathised with, or countenanced any such proceeding. Your Lordships were reposing a tranquil confidence in the present Government, when suddenly, on the grounds stated by the noble Lord, unexpectedly, contrary to all former precedent, belieing in fact the manner in which you have heretofore conducted yourselves, the noble Lord has come forward with this distinct motion of a want of confidence in her Majesty's Government. And what is the ground for such a proposal? He states certain omissions in the speech from the Throne. He says there is no mention of the expedition to the north of the Indus, or the Affghanistan territory. With respect to that omission I can only say, that no events have lately taken place in that quarter of the globe which seemed to call on her Majesty's Ministers to advise her Majesty to make any observation on that subject. But the noble Lord coupled with that expression of regret at not seeing this expedition noticed, a complete condemnation of the whole policy which has been pursued, and wholly condemns the steps which have been taken with respect to Candahar, as well as the grounds on which they were taken. Why, my Lords, there was very full information lately laid before the House on this subject, and if the noble Earl disapproved of the policy on which the Government proceeded, surely he showed himself considerably wanting in his duty not to bring the question before your Lordships, instead of reserving it for the foundation of this new and unexpected proceeding with which he has threatened us to-night. But, then, it appears that we also neglected to mention the state of things in the Punjaub, and it is stated, that we formed improper alliances—with Runjeet Sing, for instance. The noble Lord added that Runjeet Sing died. I suppose he does not mean to say, that we are responsible for that. It is not so very unnatural an occurrence, that, on the death of an Oriental Prince, the country which he governed should fall into disorder. That is a circumstance sufficiently common. The noble Lord then finds fault with the expedition to China. I believe, however, that it is pretty generally admitted that the steps taken by the Chinese authorities did call for and justify this country in adopting such measures as those which have been acted upon by the Government. The present occasion is not a fitting one—nor is it my wish—to make any observations on the conduct of that expedition. It would be highly premature to do so. But that that is an expedition of great difficulty, and that it will have to contend with the passive resistance pointed out by the noble Lord, I fully admit; and all I can say farther with respect to it is to express an anxious hope that these measures may be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. My noble Friend condemns not only what has taken place, but what would have taken place under circumstances which have not arisen. He says we have not concluded a treaty with France, which, if agreed to, would have involved us in great difficulty. But as that treaty has not been concluded, and as those difficulties have not arisen, I certainly do not consider it necessary for me to go into a vindication of a policy which, in fact, has not been carried into effect. The noble Lord then proceeds to a further consideration of the whole state of affairs, and of those measures brought under the consideration of the House and of the country by the determination of her Majesty's Government. He finds very considerable fault with those measures, although he agrees on the principles of all of them. He says the principle of the proposed alteration in the timber duties is correct, but he is doubtful as to the manner in which it is to be carried into effect. He questions the propriety of raising the duty on Canadian timber, but at the same time he gives his adhesion to the general principle on which the Government measure is founded. Her Majesty's Ministers never asked for anything more—a general sanction of the principle of their measure, allowing Parliament to deal as it should think fit with the details. On the sugar duties, too, he only objects to one or other trivial part of the measures which have been brought forward; but his grand objection to the proposed change is, that it will encourage the slave trade. I must freely say, that having as great a hatred and detestation of the slave trade as any man in the country, and being anxious to take measures to diminish, and, if possible, to eradicate that traffic, I do not believe it is by means of commercial hostility, by cutting off the intercourse of slave-employing countries, and refusing the produce of slave-growing states, that that object can be effected. My noble Friend argues, that it is but justice to our Indian colonies that you should not interfere with the trade of sugar at the present moment, as supplied by slave states. But my noble Friend must recollect that if he makes that admission now, he shuts himself out from ever adopting those measures which at some future day he thinks might be right and proper, because his present objection will, by the lapse of time, grow stronger and stronger. That Indian interest to which he alludes will be on the increase, in point of importance; it will be more difficult to meddle with it; it will be stronger in itself, and will, consequently, give greater weight to any objections it may urge against tampering with the trade; it will, in fact, be in a position to put an end to all hopes of ever adopting such a measure as that contemplated by the Government and by the noble Lord. My noble Friend then comes to that great question which undoubtedly interests your Lordships most deeply, and that is the question of the trade in corn. My Lords, notwithstanding all the statements which he has made—notwithstanding all the deductions which he draws from the fluctuations in the price of other articles, I cannot but feel certain that the adoption of a fixed duty would give greater steadiness to our market in corn. It appears to me self-evident that such must be its effect. I know from the nature of the trade in corn that the prices will alter and fluctuate; but that a fixed duty will produce a greater steadiness of price, and a more even and regular current of trade, it is in my mind impossible to question. I will fairly state very shortly to your Lordships the great arguments which have always weighed with me on this subject. I have certainly been, on former occasions, for putting off the agitation and discussion of this question, which, whenever it came on, I knew must be attended with the circumstances which my noble Friend has described. But I always knew that come it must. I always knew that it was not to be avoided. I always knew that it was entirely a question of time. And I beg of your Lordships to consider what I have always looked upon as the pinch of this question, namely, that these laws have been introduced and supported by those who have a direct interest in maintaining them. They were sanctioned by two houses of Legislature, one of which is entirely composed of landholders, and the majority of the other consists of the same class. I say that is not a state of things which you should look on with complacency. I am not accustomed to speak in the language of dictation or of admonition; but I tell you it is not safe for the governing powers of a country to stand in such a situation as to be open to an imputation of so popular, so plausible, and so specious a nature as that which I have described; and I do assure your Lordships that you will find it absolutely necessary to put these laws some day or other on a more reasonable and satisfactory foundation. I do not think your Lordships fairly chargeable with the imputations which are often urged against you. I do not believe you passed these laws from interested feelings. No man more deeply regrets or more decidedly condemns the general language, arguments, and topics which are pressed into the discussion of this question. I do not think they are condemned by religion; I do not think they are contrary to morality; nor do I think they are the work of those who had nothing else in view but their own interest; but feeling sure that no such consideration influenced you (though I do not mean to deny, that you had that due regard to your own interest which, as the noble Lord justly observes, every man must feel) that nothing base, or mean, or sordid, ever entered into your intentions when passing that act—I call upon your Lordships to free yourselves from the imputation, to redeem yourselves from the possibility of being so charged. Nothing is so foolish as to have the discredit of that which you do not do. If you are really free from imputation yourselves, as I have no doubt you are, I earnestly entreat your Lordships to consider whether it would not be wise to attempt at least to put these laws on a more satisfactory and reasonable foundation. It is very well to say "what your arguments lead to is total abolition—that is what you mean." But that is not so. We know that there have been many measures founded on arguments which went farther than the measures themselves, and which yet have been acquiesced in and found sufficiently satisfactory. Depend upon it that that measure which is generally considered fair will produce the satisfaction which naturally results from it. It is on these grounds that I am for an alteration with respect to the duty on corn; and I am also persuaded (without going into any minute arguments upon the subject) that a fixed duty is a principle which would be found safe and tenable, and would answer all the ends of giving a sufficient protection, and, at the same time, of diminishing much of the general discontent and suspicion which at present prevail on the subject. My noble Friend contrived, as I said before, to bring a great number of small things into his speech, and being conscious, perhaps, that he was on stilts throughout a great part of his address, his charges became tempered down towards the conclusion, to the legal but not constitutional conversion of the funds in the savings banks, and to the imputation that there was but a small balance in the Exchequer. Why if there is no discontent on the part of the managers, and no distrust on the part of depositors of the savings banks, and if no inconvenience is felt from the state of the balance in the Exchequer, such topics can not be said to form a just foundation for a motion of this description. The meaning of this motion in plain English is, "we have now a majority in the House of Commons." To judge by some of the declarations at the hustings, I suppose there is such a majority. At the same time it must be recollected that Members are sent "ad consultandum de rebus arduis regni." We are not, therefore, to judge, what the conduct of Members may be by their declarations on the hustings; but I must say, that if I felt alarmed at some of the avowals made there as to the majority against Ministers, I derived some consolation from the arguments and speeches made by their opponents, for I hoped that a sense of justice and honour would never suffer them to persevere in the opinions which they announced, and which they rested on such shallow pretences. My noble Friend on the cross benches (Lord Lyttleton) has also excluded us from his confidence, and perhaps we should be as well off without his vote. I think, however, my noble Friend overstates what he lays down as a Whig doctrine, when he says that on the last Irish Registration Bill we did not resign. We acted on a tenable principle, according to reason and to the conduct of former Governments. He next makes a strong attack on us on account of the appropriation clause. All that was meant was, that no settlement of the tithe question would be satisfactory which did not appropriate some part of the revenues of the Church to some other general purpose, such as education. What was that but saying we would do our utmost to carry it. I am very sorry that clause was not carried, and I think it would very much contribute to the stability of the Irish Church if it had received the sanction of Parliament. We brought it forward two or three times in this House, and when we found it impossible to carry it, we gave up all hope of its being assented to by Parliament. And my noble Friend says this was wrong; that it was anti-Whig. Does my noble Friend admit Sir Robert Walpole to be a Whig? If so, I beg to remind him that Sir Robert Walpole introduced his Excise Act with professions very like those which we felt justified in announcing when we introduced those late measures which have been the subject of so much discussion. His testimony in favour of that act amounted to this:—"It will benefit land, it will greatly improve commerce, it will generally facilitate trade. It is impossible to state benefits of a far higher nature than those which this measure would confer; but if the interested clamour and prejudice of individuals should prevail against me, I will give up the scheme, and not only that but I will never bring forward another of a similar nature, and if I am defeated, I don't believe that another will be found bold enough to face the storm which has overwhelmed me. I don't think this measure absolutely necessary (for that can hardly be said of any measure), but I look on it as highly beneficial, and if I am obliged to abandon it I shall not only give it up, but I will never carry into effect its principle." That is all a Minister of discretion and prudence can do. It is nonsense to persist in measures which it is impossible can succeed. In conclusion I can only repeat that considering the nature and object of this motion, as far as I can understand them, I look on it as quite unprecedented, and certainly never was a motion supported on more weak grounds or more insufficient arguments.

Lord *Lyttleton* explained. What he said was, not that the conduct of Government on the appropriation clause was anti-Whig, but that it was a violation of constitutional principles.

The Duke of *Wellington* spoke to the following effect: I am happy, My Lords, to find that the noble Viscount repudiates these charges altogether which have been made by his supporters against your Lordships, and those parts of the noble Viscount's speech must, my Lords, be therefore, most satisfactory to your Lordships. But, my Lords, it appears to me, that the noble Viscount has treated the speech of my noble Friend (the Earl of Ripon) in a manner not deserved by him. My noble Friend in that speech said nothing that was not perfectly within the rules of Parliament—did nothing which was not perfectly correct. My noble Friend stated that he should make no objection to some portions of the address; on the contrary, my Lords, he expressed his concurrence in them; and in commenting on parts of the speech of the noble Lords who preceded him, and on some of the paragraphs of the address, he pursued a course which is by no means an uncommon one in this House. He observed, that no information whatever had been afforded the House by her Majesty's Ministers upon several topics; and he commented on the state of the war at present waging in China. In parts of the speech and the address, my Lords, my noble Friend only did that which has been always the practice in similar cases. But there were other parts of the speech on which my noble Friend thought proper to move the amendment he has submitted to your Lordships; and this is the course which the noble Viscount has thought fit to oppose on the most stringent grounds. My Lords, the noble Viscount states—and he states truly—that it is not a habit in this House of calling on your Lordships to give an opinion on abstract questions of policy. That my Lords, is perfectly true, and I have myself endeavoured to bring the House to that view on more than one occasion—that is, to prevent the expression of any opinion on abstract questions of policy, in the shape of an address or otherwise, until it should be brought before your Lordships in the shape of a distinct legislative measure. More than once I have succeeded in persuading your Lordships to withhold such opinion, and on some occasions even I have supported the Government against them, however much I may have disapproved of their policy in respect to it. But, my Lords, on this occasion there comes a question of the greatest importance before us—of the greatest importance, not only in principle, but also in the details—not in a tangible and distinct shape, but in the unusual form and manner of a Speech from the Throne; and it, therefore, behoves us to deal with it in the best way we can—in the only way left us. My Lords, it was but natural that, when my noble Friend was persuaded to move an amendment to those parts of the address that he objected to, he should state to your Lordships the grounds on which he based his opposition to them. It was a natural—it was a proper course; and yet it is for this that the noble Lord had attacked him. To these grounds, however, the noble Viscount did not reply or refer, though that would have been the more obvious course for him to follow. These grounds, my Lord, as stated by my noble Friend, are neglect and mismanagement of the finances of this country by her Majesty's Government, the future consequence of which, as he truly states, it is impossible to foresee, and the improper, impolitic, and unconstitutional means which they took to recover themselves. These things he proved by reference to the actual state of the finances, when it was found necessary to review them in the last Parliament; and he showed that, in point of fact, after a period of about five years, a debt had not alone been accumulated of five millions, but there had also been a vast deficiency in the public revenue. My noble friend likewise stated truly, that this debt and deficiency was to be attributed to the practice adopted by her Majesty's Government of carrying on extensive operations, of which nobody approves, mind you, more than I do when done as they should be, and at the same time not making due provisions for the increased expenditure occasioned by their carrying on war in several places with a peace establishment, being the most crying of these evils, and neglecting to employ the proper means for meeting the increased charge and putting an end to the impending danger. The next allegation against them, my Lords, is for not making financial provision in the way of ways and means for the expense and charge incurred by the country by the exertions made to put an end to the danger which menaced it. My noble Friend has stated that, though a large amount of army and ordnance was kept on foot since 1831, no provision had been made for the additional expenditure in the usual way of an application to Parliament, but that irregular and unconstitutional modes were adopted by her Majesty's Government for finding means of defraying those expenses. In this, my Lords, my noble Friend spoke but the simple truth. In one case the whole charge of a war had been thrown on the East-India Company, and then converted into a debt on this country; in another the funds of the savings' banks have been tampered with; in another the exchequer bills have been funded; and, in short, several most irregular modes have been adopted. Then, my Lords, what happened? Besides these expenses; besides the failure of the Government to make due provision by the mode of ways and means to defray the charges incurred by their military and naval operations; besides these, my Lords, her Majesty's Government thought proper to repeal a large amount of taxes, by which means they reduced the revenue of the country to such a degree as materially and inevitably left a most serious deficiency. This deficiency, my Lords, amounts to the sum of two and a half millions, besides the large debt incurred. Now this being the case, my Lords, I think that all these grievances, so clearly stated by my noble Friend, and it would only impair their effect for me to restate them here, were sufficient to justify him in calling on your Lordships to vote against the Address on this occasion. The noble Viscount taunts my noble Friend with having objected to the French treaty of commerce. If the noble Viscount had attended more closely to my noble Friend's speech he would have made less mistake in it. What my nobly Friend said was, that part of the scheme of the Government would have been destroyed if that treaty had been concluded, and that they should have to call on Parliament to undo the next year what they had done in that. My noble Friend only stated, that they were fortunate in not having concluded it; and I think my noble Friend is fully justified in the deduction he made from that fact; namely, a want of foresight, and a neglect of the finances of the country on the part of the Government of the noble Viscount opposite. What my noble Friend did say was, that the Government had been saved the disgrace inevitable to that portion of their proceedings by the treaty not being carried into execution. My noble Friend has clearly shown the unfitness of the Government for managing the finances of this country. And the reasons my noble Friend adduced would be sufficient to call for your Lordships' vote against them, if there were none others; but I confess, my Lords, I have other reasons for calling on your Lordships to condemn them, which I shall state to your Lordships fully and freely, however painful it may be for me to do so. My Lords, in the course of the months of May and June last, her Majesty's Government found themselves under the necessity of intimating that they should advise her Majesty to dissolve Parliament. My Lords, I hardly think the moment they selected for making this announcement was, to say the least of it, the most fortunate they could have chosen, and when you come to consider the excitement under which the country then laboured, brought on by the discussion of these subjects in question to-night, I think your Lordships will be of the same opinion. Considering, my Lords, what passed on the subject of the budget at large, and also on the subject of the Corn-laws, in the House of Commons during the month of May and the early part of June last, I cannot but think that it might have been more advisable of the noble Viscount to avoid counselling her Majesty to introduce certain words delivered in the speech from the Throne, in June last, in reference to those topics, and which were certainly calculated to excite animosity between classes of her Majesty's subjects in this country, especially at the period of a general election; these words being seconded by the expression of an opinion that her Majesty had a strong feeling on the subject of these laws; that she felt the depression upon the trade and industry of the country; the burdens of the community at large were entirely involved in the question of these laws; and that her Majesty had no other object in view in dissolving Parliament than the desire of securing the rights and promoting the interests of her Majesty's subjects. Now, my Lords, I know it has been said, that on former occasions the sovereigns of this country have adopted the same course as her Majesty, in dissolving Parliament, and appealing to the opinions of her people, and that words even stronger than those have been made use of by them at such periods. But, my Lords, I deny the fact.

Viscount *Melbourne:* I referred to the words of George the 3rd at the opening of Parliament in 1784.

The Duke of *Wellington:* I have the words here, and I beg your Lordships to observe the difference between the Speech of George the 3rd, and that framed by the noble Viscount for her Majesty. The language is very different:—

"On a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this Session of Parliament; I feel it a duty which I owe to the Constitution and to the country, in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people by a new Parliament. I trust that this measure will tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy divisions and distractions which have lately subsisted; and that the various important objects which will require consideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption and with happier effect. I can have no other object but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy Constitution, and to employ the powers entrusted to me by the law for the only end for which they were given, the good of my people."

Now, my Lords, begging the noble Viscount's pardon, the case of George the Third is totally and entirely different from the case of her Majesty. That case was one wholly within doors—this is one wholly without. That was a dispute within the walls of Parliament—a dispute between prerogative on the one hand and privilege on the other—a question in which I will not deny that many men felt a deep interest; but it was exclusively a question in the House of Commons. This is a question of a very opposite nature. I hope the noble Viscount will see the difference; I am quite sure your Lordships' perceive it. The circumstances of the two cases are totally different—the terms in which the two speeches are couched are extremely different. But there is another point, my Lords, which aggravates the case as against the noble Viscount—it is that he should have permitted her Majesty to make such a speech. I am willing to admit, that the noble Viscount has rendered the greatest possible service to her Majesty. I happen to know that it is her Majesty's opinion that the noble Viscount has rendered her Majesty the greatest possible service in making her acquainted with the mode and policy of the Government of this country, initiating her into the laws and spirit of the Constitution, independently of the performance of his duty as the servant of her Majesty's Crown—teaching her, in short, to preside over the destinies of this great country. My Lords, knowing this, I feel that the noble Viscount should not have embarked her Majesty, in the month of June, in that Speech from the Throne, still less should he have embarked her in the Speech of this day. In this Speech of to-day not only is her Majesty made to call on Parliament to answer on the part of those subjects—being, as they are, perhaps, the most invidious that can be presented to Parliament. My Lords, I frankly confess I am sorry for this. I respected the noble Viscount for the services which I have reason, as I stated, to know he rendered to her Majesty; and I could have wished him not to have embarked her Majesty in such a course as he has taken on this occasion. My Lords, it grieves me to say that the noble Viscount has given the country to believe, that those who are opposed to the proposed alterations, are therefore opposed to her Majesty. Give me leave to tell him that it is unjust to say so. My Lords, it is not more than fourteen months ago since I heard the noble Viscount himself making use of the strongest language I ever heard in opposition to a motion merely for taking the Corn-laws into consideration. The noble Viscount on that occasion declared before God, that with reference to the abolition of the Corn-laws, he believed the man must be mad who dreamed of such a thing. Now, my Lords, I do not pretend to say that the noble Viscount has not a perfect right to change his opinions. I believe he thought that he had good grounds for doing so, and I think I have myself read the report which induced him to change it. But this I do say, that before your Lordships and the country were placed in this situation with regard to the Queen, the noble Viscount was bound to give Parliament and the country an opportunity of obtaining that knowledge and information as to the true merits of the question, which he imagines himself to have obtained. I have, in the course of my life, seen many alterations made in the finances, the trade, and the commerce of the country. I was in the country at the period of the restoration of the currency, and also at the period of the inquiries into the China trade. I remember the occasions of other great financial and commercial alterations. How, my Lords, were these subjects discussed? In what manner were they brought forward, and in what way was this and the other House of Parliament enabled to judge of their propriety? Why, by the formation of committees, consisting of the first men in the country and in Parliament—of leaders in debate, and of men who by their varied qualifications were perfectly qualified to form opinions on such subjects. It is by such inquiries as these, my Lords, calmly and patiently conducted, that men are enabled to judge respecting the consequences of great changes of this nature, and of the bearings and tendencies of each particular part of what is intended to be done. But, instead of such a course being pursued, what has been done in the present instance? Nothing. No inquiry whatever has been made or instituted by Government. A gentleman in the House of Commons thought fit to move for a committee to inquire into the state of the import duties. Your Lordships are aware, that there exists a body calling itself the Anti-Corn Law League, consisting of a number of persons in and out of Parliament. When the committee in question was moved for, a noble Friend of mine observed,

> "The committee appears to be very comprehensive in its constitution. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman (alluding to the President of the Board of Trade) will state whether its inquiry is to extend to the subject of the Corn-laws?"

The President of the Board of Trade replied, that it was not possible to answer the question put by the noble Lord; that it was not easy to foresee to what points the Committee would limit itself; and he added,

> "I imagine the point is (observe, my Lords, it is not to inquire into the Corn-laws) to classify all the information that can be procured, relative to the duties on the importation of commodities, and state that information to the House. And, (continued the President of the Board of Trade) I think that the labours of the Committee will be found exceedingly useful."

And then, my Lords, we had the Import Committee, and its report from which the noble Viscount and others drew their convictions and conclusions. But the conclusion which I drew was this—that not one-tenth part of the requisite information was brought before Parliament and the public. I further think that the Committee and Report were *ex-parte* ones, upon which no legislative measures ought to have been founded. But what I chiefly complain of is this—that before the noble Viscount put this speech into the mouth of her Majesty, he did not give us fair and full information to guide us as to what we ought to do. I believe, my Lords, that conduct like this is sufficient to induce you to say that the noble Lords opposite do not deserve your confidence. And here, my Lords, I should finish what I have to say, but I wish to say a few words respecting the budget, about which so much has been said, and on which we shall have to give an opinion. As regards the timber duties, the noble Lords, before they attempt to renew the propositions made some years ago by the noble Lord opposite, ought to recollect the position of our American possessions at the present moment. They ought to consider whether, since that proposition was made by the noble Earl, vast quantities of land have been sold, covered with timber. I wish, then, my Lords, to submit, whether the purchasers of this land would not be entitled to some compensation for the loss they must sustain by the proposed alterations? And with respect to the alteration in the sugar duties, I wish to inquire whether, when the West-India planters were deprived of the labour of slaves—(the apprenticeship of the negroes have also ceased sooner than was expected)—I wish I say, to submit whether they were told that in a year or two afterwards they would be deprived of all the benefits arising from the fair protection of their sugar; and I wish further to inquire if they will not be entitled to some compensation for this loss? The noble Viscount has attempted to answer the arguments of my noble Friend (The Earl of Ripon) as to the encouragement of East-India industry. Now, I ask, your lordships whether, in consequence of measures lately introduced, many persons were not led to believe, that it was the object of Parliament and of the Government to encourage the introduction of sugar from India. A quantity of capital must have been invested in procuring this sugar, and in bringing it to England. And the persons who have laid out their money in this way, have, of course, done so on the faith of Government, and cannot they likewise fairly claim some compensation? This proposition will, therefore, require the greatest caution and consideration. But, my Lords, there is another difficulty which the Government have almost entirely left out of sight. I mean those points bearing on our relations with the government of Brazil? They have alluded to questions arising out of the commercial treaty; but I wish to know, will there be none raised about the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade which had never been carried into execution? I want to know whether it is proper to throw away all means of successful negotiation, instead of retaining in our hands something which would ensure proper attention to other matters that ought to be considered in our connection with Brazil? This great point the Government appear to have entirely forgotten. My Lords, with respect to the Corn-law question, my opinions are already well known. I shall not now argue the propriety of these laws, but I shall be ready to discuss them when a discussion is brought forward by a Government having the confidence of her Majesty's Parliament. But, my Lords, I earnestly recommend you, for the sake of the people of this country—for the sake of the humblest orders of the people—not to lend yourselves to the destruction of our native cultivation. Its encouragement is of the utmost and deepest importance to all classes. My Lords, I have passed my life in foreign countries, in different regions of the earth, and I have been in only one country in which the poor man, if sober, prudent, and industrious, is quite certain of acquiring a competence. That country is this. We have instances every day; we have seen only within the last week, proofs that persons in the lowest ranks can acquire not only competence, but immense riches. I have never heard of such a thing in any other country. I earnestly beg of you not to lose sight of this fact, and not to consent to any measure which would injure the cultivation of our own soil. I have seen in other lands the misery consequent on the destruction of cultivation, and never was misery equal to it; and, my Lords, I once more conjure you not to consent to any measure tending to injure the home cultivation of this country.

Viscount *Melbourne:* In consequence of the new matter which the noble Duke has introduced in the course of his speech, I feel obliged to trouble your Lordships with a very few words in addition to what I have already said. The noble Duke has referred to the Speech which her Majesty was advised to make at the close of the last Parliament, and says, that it is very much calculated to point public indignation against particular persons, and that I said, that those who opposed the measure proposed on the subject of the Corn-laws were opposed to her Majesty. Now, my Lords, I am totally unaware of having ever made such a statement. [The Duke of *Wellington* had not said the noble Viscount.] I certainly so understood the noble Duke's observations. With respect to the Speech which her Majesty was advised to make, at the close of the last Session of Parliament, it was framed upon the model of the Speech of his late Majesty, George 3rd, advised by Mr. Pitt, on the dissolution of Parliament in 1784. Parts, of course, were omitted, which did not apply to the circumstances of the present case, and when the Speech was drawn up I thought it was milder in form than the Speech of George 3rd. But however that might be, the Speech was that of her Majesty's Ministers, and did not in any way, as the noble Duke said it would, commit the Sovereign to its sentiments. Undoubtedly there had been much discussion on the subject of the measure we proposed, and all that we intended to state was, that it was adopted by her Majesty's Ministers as most likely to prove of advantage to the commerce of the country. Undoubtedly some allusion was necessarily made to this proposition, but I think, that it was not done in a way which was open to the animadversions made by the noble Duke. The noble Duke then said, that my opinions on this subject were probably changed in consequence of having read a certain report of a committee of the other House of Parliament. Now there is nothing at which I should feel more indignant than that I should be supposed to have learned anything from that report. The noble Duke says, that I have changed my opinions on the subject of the Corn-laws. Undoubtedly I have done so. We are all very much in the habit of taunting one another with having changed our opinions, but the fact is, we are always changing our opinions. No doubt the new Corn-law was a very great error, yet all the greatest authorities were in favour of that measure at the time. This is perhaps the measure on which there has been a greater—I should say progress of opinion, rather than change of opinion—than any other. The noble Duke has also referred to some observations which I made use of in reference to this subject, but the measure the advocacy of which I said was a sign of insanity, was the total repeal of the Corn-laws. In all the speeches which I have made on this subject I have opposed the projected alterations on temporary grounds only, owing to the circumstances of the time being such as to render it unadvisable to make any alterations of the kind. With regard to the changes now proposed, I know that violence and animosity are great evils, but great measures cannot be carried without them, and therefore, if the circumstances be considered otherwise favourable to a great and awful change, I do not think, that we should be deterred by apprehensions of temporary animosity and violence from attempting it.

The Duke of *Wellington* observed, that up to the moment when the noble Viscount declared, that any man must be mad who would propose a repeal of the Corn-laws, he had given no hint, that he thought any part of them might be touched. With regard to the contents of the Speech from the Throne, it was at all times desirable that the Sovereign should not be pledged.

The Duke of *Richmond* said, that he should follow his usual course of not addressing their Lordships at any length, but having been in the Cabinet with some of the Members of the present Government, and having since his retirement supported them when in his power to do so, he could not come to a deliberate vote of want of confidence in it, without stating his reasons for doing so. He hoped, that his noble Friends would give him credit for acting on this, as on other occasions, in an open and manly way. The question of the Corn-laws was, in his opinion, of paramount importance to the best interests of the country, and he was astonished to hear his noble Friend (Earl Spencer) so distinguished as a grazier, contend, that it was not the poor but the rich land that would be thrown out of cultivation, or converted to grazing land, if the Corn-laws were repealed. But even if his noble Friend was correct in his view of it, which he was satisfied he was not, by his own showing the farmer would be the loser, for if the change would not be attended with loss, he would make it at this moment. What, however, was the fact?—that the poor land, that which it cost the most to till, and which produced the least return, would be thrown out of cultivation, and become a barren waste, and not the fertile soil of Lincolnshire, where his noble Friend grazed such beautiful short horns. A great quantity of land in the county in which he resided would be thrown entirely out of cultivation. When his noble Friend asserted, that the English farmer could compete with the foreign grower, he forgot the heavy weight of taxation which the English farmer was compelled to bear. He had great respect for his noble Friend's opinion upon any other subject, but regarding corn, he was sadly mistaken, he was sorry to hear him declare himself favourable to the total repeal of the Corn-laws, for unless the malt duty, and the various other taxes pressing peculiarly on land were repealed, the English farmer could not exist without protection. To adopt the recommendation of Ministers, would, in fact, be to adopt a scheme which one of themselves had not long since pronounced the project of a madman. That great and influential class, the farmers of England, would be ruined in order to enrich foreigners. He called upon the House to recollect the debt of gratitude due to the farmers of England; for many years, but especially during the last twenty years, they had devoted their time, their talents, and their capital, to the improvement of the soil, and at the moment, when much had been done, and when they hoped to be repaid some of their outlay, or to realise a moderate profit on the capital which they had expended on the soil, the Government wanted to turn round upon them, and to compel them to compete with the serfs of Poland. Many of them have long leases of their farms, and therefore cannot quit them, even if they could find any other profession to follow. "What, my Lords (said the noble Duke), are the landlords to do under such circumstances? If they are honest men they must reduce their rents, but of what avail would that be if they could not be placed as to taxes and other charges in the same situation as the foreigner. I have no hesitation in saying, that if unfortunately a bill of this sort pass through Parliament, I will be the man to move, that every tenant, if he think fit, may have the power to throw up his lease. No similar declaration would be heard from the free traders and their friends—the farmers were to be ruined—they were to be driven from the land which they loved, and on which they had lived from youth to age, and, together with their unfortunate labourers and their families, were to be driven into the workhouse for their daily bread." He felt most strongly upon this question. It had been said to night, that the men who were to succeed the present Government in office would themselves soon turn round upon the landed interest and refuse it protection. If they did, he knew what course the landed interest would take. They would turn out the new Government as they had turned out the present one. If the new Ministers came forward with an 8*s.* duty, the same men who brought them into power would thrust them out of it. But he did not believe they would pursue so "mad" a course—they knew too well the justice due to the cultivators of the soil; and were also well aware that the home market was of great importance to the manufacturing interest, and that commerce and manufacture could not flourish if the agricultural interest were destroyed. Before he sat down he wished to say a few words on a rather delicate topic, which had been alluded to by his noble Friend the Mover of the amendment, who had expressed his deep regret, that the money of the savings banks had ever been touched. Although the Government had applied the money of the depositors to temporary purposes, he hoped that those depositors would receive an assurance that their property was quite safe. This assurance ought to be given by Government in the most distinct terms, for many of those who had placed their earnings in the savings banks were not well educated, and they would not understand it unless the plainest language were employed to convince them that their money was secure. He had commenced by stating, that he should only say a few words, and he hoped he had kept his promise.

The Marquess of *Lansdowne* rejoiced that he had given way to the noble Duke who had uttered his strong opinions in terms which had not caused him at least much surprise. He did not feel so competent, as his noble Friend (Earl Spencer) to discuss with the noble Duke, points peculiarly agricultural; but with reference to a general view of the subject, he could not but complain, after the explanation afforded by his noble Colleague (Viscount Melbourne) that the noble Duke had persevered in the taunt that his noble Colleague, according to his own confession, must be mad, because he had once stated that any man who proposed a repeal of the Corn-laws *in toto* would be so. No such proposal had been made by the present Government; and if it were meant that any man must be mad who contemplated some change in the existing Corn-laws, he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) apprehended that all who had taken part in the discussion already, and all who would take part in it hereafter, must be looked upon as insane. They all contemplated some change or other, be it more or less, and the only question was, as to the time of making it, and whether they should enter Bedlam by one door or another. He did not believe that the noble Duke himself was entirely exempt from this species of lunacy, and though he might not yet be so far gone as others, and possibly might be the last mad man of the day, mad he would go in the end, and would allow of a change when it could not be resisted.

The Duke of *Richmond* denied that he had ever said that his noble Fried (Viscount Melbourne) had proposed a total repeal of the Corn-laws. He was very sorry, by interposing, to spoil the joke of the noble Marquess; but it was necessary to set him right as to what he did say.

The Marquess of *Lansdowne* was glad to infer that the noble Duke did not consider it perfect lunacy for a man to recommend some change in the Corn-laws. Before he proceeded farther, he most willingly complied with the request of the noble Duke, that he would make some distinct declaration respecting the security of the money borrowed from those most valuable institutions with which this country was ever blessed—the savings' banks. He regarded them with the deeper interest from having been himself instrumental in their first establishment in England. Depositors might rest satisfied that their money was perfectly safe, and that the Government and the Parliament, in the face of the country, pledged the revenues of the State for the security of the most sacred of the public funds. All that had been done was to convert one species of security into another, and whatever suspicion might be indulged in by noble Lords for the purposes of debate, he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) did not believe that such a suspicion had ever entered the minds of that most suspicious class of persons, the saving portion of the community. He had risen before the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond) in order to offer a few remarks upon what had fallen from another noble Duke (the Duke of Wellington), who had delivered a speech which did him the highest honour, and to which he had listened with the greatest pleasure, although he felt it his duty to comment on some parts of it. No part did the noble Duke higher honour than what he had said respecting services of a peculiar nature rendered by the present head of the Government to the young Sovereign of this country—connected as he was, by office and personal intimacy, with his noble Friend, it was little for him to bear testimony, on his own knowledge, to the accuracy of the statement of the noble Duke; but whatever might be the issue of this night's discussion, he was rejoiced, that the recognition of those services went forth to the world stamped with the high authority of the noble Duke. The noble Duke, however, accompanied that declaration by some censure of the terms employed in two royal speeches, the one delivered on dissolving the last Parliament, and the other this day read from the woolsack. He must deny, emphatically, that Ministers had committed her Majesty to anything, but to the opinion "that the trade and industry of the country were of paramount importance," and to the declaration that "she felt the greatest anxiety to provide for the exigencies of the public service in a manner least burdensome to the community." The noble Duke had, moreover, expressed some dissatisfaction that measures, on which no definite opinion was pronounced from the throne, had not been preceded by an inquiry by which due information might have been conveyed to Parliament and to the country. The noble Duke and other Peers had adverted to a report of a committee, not proposed by any Member of the Government, but by an individual Member of Parliament. Their Lordships would, however, recollect that not once, twice, or three times, but constantly, within the last twenty or five-and-twenty years, all these subjects had been over and over again investigated by committees. Sometimes these inquiries were made at the instance of discontented manufacturers, sometimes by discontented agriculturists; and on no fewer than five separate occasions reports had been presented to one or other House of Parliament. To none of these committees had the noble Duke adverted, yet some of them came exactly within the category laid down by him of having been composed of the most eminent statesmen. In 1821 and 1822, a committee of a most important nature, connected with these questions, was appointed; and he would just inform the House what members composed it, and made the report. They were Sir Robert Peel, Lord Althorp, Mr. W. Lamb (Lord Melbourne), Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Robinson. What did the House imagine this combination of illustrious statesmen of different parties agreed in recommending? They recommended a fixed duty as the best protection that could be given to agriculture. Yet, if he were not very much mistaken, this Mr. Robinson was the same individual who had been afterwards created Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon. It might be supposed, after what that noble Lord had said to-night, that he could not be the same person, but he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had taken some pains to ascertain his identity; and, for his own part, he was satisfied upon the point. The present Ministers were, therefore, only humble followers of that great statesman, Mr. Robinson, who now wished to deny his own offspring, and to cast it, like a foundling, at the door of anybody who would be charitable enough to give it shelter. The report stated that "such a system is fit to be kept in view rather as the ultimate tendency of the law than as practicable, within a very short period," and this was delivered in the session of 1821-2, and from that date until 1841-2, that was to say for about twenty years, the noble Earl, instead of tending towards such a system, had, it seemed, been getting gradually further and further from it. The result would be, that Ministers were never likely to have the benefit of the aid of the noble Earl in this undertaking; the longer he lived the less likely he was to approach the fixed duty he had recommended in 1821-2. The noble Earl might recollect a Greek tragedy which begun with a soliloquy by a person who had waited ten years in vain for the signal to announce the termination of the siege of Troy; but the noble Earl had out-watched the watcher; he had doubled the ten years; and twenty years, instead of inducing him to think that a fixed duty on corn might be adopted, had convinced him that it was more dangerous than ever. The progress of affairs during a long peace—the advance of foreign manufactures—the proved uncertainty of supply—had no effect upon the mind of the Earl of Ripon, though they might have operated forcibly on that of Mr. Robinson. In the report to which he had referred, Ministers had placed some confidence—it was their harbour of refuge in the midst of the storm of opposition, and, backed by the opinion of Mr. Robinson and his colleagues of the committee, they had sought by a fixed duty to obtain a sure supply at a certain price, which, to the manufacturer the farmer and the labourer was the great *desideratum.* This system, the perfection of a law upon the subject, they had sought to establish, warranted by experiments already made upon the same principle in other spheres of commerce. They had been encouraged also in this course of policy by perceiving that the same principle in the case of wool had entirely succeeded. When it was proposed to remove the restrictions on wool, the same cry was raised, and the same prophecies indulged—the poor lands would be thrown out of cultivation, the farmers would be ruined, and the labourers starved; but, nevertheless, aided by a great portion of the opposition of that day, he himself having taken part with the Government (for they had not sought to unite themselves with powerful classes for the poor end of getting into office) the restrictions were removed, and the result had been a great increase in the importation of foreign wool, conjointly with an advance in the price of our own wool. Thus both landlords and tenants were benefitted by a change which, it was asserted, would be their ruin, and not an agriculturist had been found to suggest a return to the former system. His noble Friend had been taunted with making a distinction between the principles of fixed duty and total repeal. He (the Marquess of Lansdowne) was a friend of free trade, but he knew that perfect freedom was not consistent with the maintenance of the revenue. All that could be done was to make as near an approach to perfectly free trade as was consistent with the interests of the revenue; and in the instances before the House it had been thought that the changes would increase instead of diminishing the revenue; and, while it afforded relief to the subject, would be no disadvantage to the Government or to any party. Above all, it was thought that the condition of the farmer would be improved, and that a system might be established which would accomplish this object, while it insured regularity of supply to the community, without bolstering up the machinery of varying averages, the preservation of which would inevitably lead to feelings of dissatisfaction and discontent. His noble Friend had omitted many of the transactions which he might have recounted, he had overlooked treaties concluded, reconciliations effected, and expeditions that had been successful, but no wonder that with opinions from which he could not escape on corn, timber, and sugar, he should fly for grounds of attack to China and Affghanistan, the papers relating to which were not completely before the House. These were not, he thought, sufficiently broad foundations on which to build the superstructures that had been erected on them. This policy of his noble Friend evidently arose from no other motive than his desire to avoid touching upon the great questions at issue. He commended that policy, and the prudence which dictated it. He had been much struck, not only with what was expressed, but with what was omitted in the amendment. There was no point of the subject to which noble Lords were called upon to pledge themselves. If there were any who thought that the continuance of the sugar and timber duties, as they existed at present, were essential to the interests of the colonies as that of the Corn-law was to the prosperity of the agriculturist—if they were comforted and consoled by that amendment, they were certainly the most easily comforted and consoled people he had ever met with. There was little else said in condemnation of the Government. The noble Duke, the Duke of Wellington, with his characteristic manliness and fairness, had given his approval to the sums voted for defraying the expenses of the late various military expeditions, though frequently implying that the establishments were not large enough, but with those establishments and influence in every part of the world we had successfully maintained the national honour and interests, and they had been maintained—not only been maintained, but the power of England had been asserted and proved in a manner which would not be speedily forgotten. It would be a satisfaction to the Ministry, that in the face of an opposition the most formidable and active which had ever thwarted an administration, no opportunity had been supplied of proving that the honour of the country had ever been tarnished in their hands. It would be also matter for satisfactory reflection, that although for the present they were unsuccessful in bringing their great commercial measures to a satisfactory issue, they had fairly taken up and proposed these great measures. They were prevented from conducting them to the grand point they aimed at, but the situation of the next administration, when placed in such a position, as would enable it to enjoy a greater share of the confidence of both Houses of Parliament, than they had been enabled to possess, would be one of deep responsibility. "To whom much is given, of him much shall be required." The sooner the time arrived which should place them in possession of that greater share of confidence the better; for then he hoped that the cloud which seemed to hang over the opinions of the majority of that House would be dispersed; and that their views would at last become visible; and, when that event occurred, if their intended policy should appear to tend towards liberal measures and liberal principles, he was sure he was speaking the sentiments of every noble Lord near him, when he said, that they should have their most unanimous and cordial support.

The Earl of *Coventry* rose amidst loud cries of "Question, question." After silence had been obtained the noble Earl exclaimed—"I am Lord Coventry; a few words from me." "I think the country is in a safe state, and I hope to find it placed in the hands of the Duke of Wellington. My Lords, I hope I have not detained you."

The Marquess of *Northampton* said that, as he intended to vote for the Address, he thought it necessary to state to their Lordships the reasons which influenced him in so doing. When either House of Parliament passed a vote of want of confidence, they did something more than the thing itself. They passed not only a vote of want of confidence against the existing Government, but they passed a vote of confidence in favour of those who were supposed to succeed them. Their Lordships were called upon to pass that vote completely in the dark. He would never consent to any vote expressing approbation of any Government unless he knew what were the measures which that Government intended to bring forward. The finances of the country now required that something should be done. What could they do? They must adopt the plan recommended by her Majesty's present Ministers—or borrow a loan—or further increase the taxes. Which of these three plans were they prepared to adopt? There was another reason which induced him to support the original Address. In his opinion it was a very inconvenient course for the House to go out of the subjects contained in the Address to vote something on some other subject. He certainly did not quite agree with his noble Friends as to the sort of speech which they had placed in the mouth of her Majesty. It went too much into details. He was bound to confess that whilst he voted against the Address he did so with reluctance—for he disagreed with his noble Friends on the subject of the sugar duties, and also on the subject of corn. He differed with them as to the first point, because he thought that the change which they proposed would lead to an increased cultivation of sugar, and an increased cultivation of sugar must lead to an encouragement of the slave trade. He thought that some negotiations might be entered into with the Brazils by which this country would consent to receive their sugar if they entered into an agreement to abolish slavery. As to the Corn Laws, though perhaps they might be changed with advantage, he did not approve of the fixed duty sanctioned by the Government. The sort of Corn Law he would support would be one which contained the qualities both of a fixed duty and a graduated scale.

Lord *Brougham* said, that, with the opinions which he entertained as to the important subjects contained in the Speech then under discussion, and as to the conduct of the Government in bringing forward the great question of the Corn-laws, the timber duties, and the sugar duties—with these opinions, and having so often maintained the side which he supported with regard to these important subjects by argument, their Lordships would be aware that he would give his vote in favour of the Address in that form which had been recommended to them by his noble Friend behind him; but, in so doing, it would not be necessary for him to trespass upon their time by any argument at all. Yet he could not give his vote in favour of that Address without guarding on some important particulars against the inference that might be drawn from his vote that he wholly approved of the conduct of the Government even in respect to those questions to which he had alluded. Those questions had been that night fully and fairly considered in the most able, eloquent, and impressive address by his noble Friend opposite (Lord Ripon). His noble Friend, at the head of the Government, and in whose department this subject more especially lay, had certainly given no manner of answer to that speech. He seemed to think, continued the noble and learned Lord, that it was no duty of his to answer that speech, and yet he ventured to call upon your Lordships' House to disregard it. I differ entirely from my noble Friend, and when we are found sitting together, on the opposite side of the House, if a speech should be made on this side of the House, to recommend a measure which we together oppose—to propound a measure which we together resist—a measure, as we think, dangerous to the country, and hurtful to the constitution—if such a speech be then made on this side of the House, (and I hope there will not), I shall most sincerely hope to hear a more elaborate, a more statesmanlike, a more effective answer from my noble Friend sitting there, than it has been my good luck to hear to-night from my noble Friend sitting here. It was from no want of ability on the part of my noble Friend, it was from no want of knowledge on the subject, but he seemed to think—I know not how—that it was not worth his trouble to answer the speech of my noble Friend opposite. He seemed to think that there was an end of the concern—that the question had been decided, though no vote had been taken; that something which has happened elsewhere has put an end to all doubt, hope, chance, thought, anxiety as to the business, and he seemed to be giving himself and his Government up as martyrs to these propositions—to these popular measures. And he did this wilfully. It was not from the badness of his cause nor from his want of skill to handle it, but simply and entirely from the carelessness and indifference of my noble Friend. The noble and learned Lord proceeded to say that the defects of his noble Friend's (Lord Melbourne's) speech had well nigh been supplied by the speech of his noble Friend, who had last addressed their Lordships, but there was one thing which he had left unanswered, and, as it was a very material point, relating to the whole question of the Corn-laws, he would briefly solicit their attention to it. He referred to his noble Friend's (the Earl of Ripon's) manner of dealing with the averages. The whole gist of the question as to the comparative advantages of a sliding scale and of a fixed duty—indeed the whole gist of the entire question of the Corn-laws, was this—which of the two schemes would give the better prospect of a fixed, constant, and not fluctuating price. His noble Friend the noble Duke (Wellington) who always saw at one view what was the point on which every question turned, and who always manfully met and fairly argued it, when they had last argued the question he (the noble Duke on one side, and, unfortunately for him, he himself on the other) had applied himself to that point, and endeavoured to satisfy their Lordships that the present system was the more likely to secure a fixed, regular, and not fluctuating price. So had argued the noble Earl opposite to-night, and the way in which he had made out his case was this:—he took a number of years, and, having the price of each year, divided the whole number of years, and thus obtained the average of a certain period. He took the first four years of his calculation at 50*s*., the next four at a little more, the next series at under 60*s*., and then, dividing each series separately found out the average during that time. Why, he would undertake to prove anything in figures, if they would allow him to choose his own figures, and then to devide them as he liked. He objected to taking any one year. It did not answer the purpose they had in view. Suppose they divided the year into fifty-two periods, and obtained a quotient from the prices of all these fifty-two weeks, it would give no idea of the fluctuation which had taken place during the time. In one week the price might be 20*s*., in another 40*s*., in another 60*s*., in another 80*s*., up to 120*s*. Why, taking them altogether, and dividing them by twelve, you obtained an average of the whole period, but no one could possibly tell how steady or how unsteady, or firm, or how fluctuating the price of corn had been during the fifty-two periods taken in his calculation. So with respect to any given period. The list from which his noble Friend had argued was simply a list of averages—and the question was not a question of average, it was a question of price—and the average was the very thing which then they did not want to know. In the paper of averages during the last six years, the three first years of the series being 1835, 1836, 1837, and the three last being 1838, 1839, and 1840,—(and here he was meeting the noble Lord upon his own ground, and upon that he would show that there had been a very great fluctuation, even with this steady, firm, secure scale)—he found that during the first series of three years, the average price was somewhere about 43*s*. The average price of the first three years was 43*s*. Now, what was the average of the last three years? Why it was no less than 63*s*. or 64*s*.—a fluctuation, taking these two periods, of no less than from 43*s*. to 63*s*., or no less than 50 per cent. He thought it his duty thus to remind the House of the defective state of the argument, and of the extreme fallacy of any arguments founded on averages; and he was the more induced to enter into this part of the question from a conviction that it bore very closely upon the main point at issue. Upon some of the other topics which had been broached in the course of the present debate, it would be preposterous for him to enter, for many of these, as they had been taken up both on the one side and the other, appeared to him to have no relation whatever to the issue on which the House had to decide. With these remarks he might perhaps have been contented to sit down, did he not apprehend, that in voting for the Address as he intended to do, his conduct and motives might be misapprehended; he therefore should not vote without stating briefly, and in a manner as little offensive as possible, the grounds upon which his opinions had been adopted. His noble Friends were quite aware of his opinion of the objection he was about to state. If he were to allow the Address to be put to the vote, and should say to it, "content," then he could have no right to complain if there should afterwards be any misrepresentation as to the reasons by which he had been influenced in so voting. He apprehended, that he might be exposed to much misrepresentation, if he allowed the measures mentioned in the Address to pass without notice. The position in which her Majesty's Ministers stood, he deemed to be a matter of great regret in a constitutional point of view. It appeared to him, that his noble Friends behind him had been guilty of a great error of judgment on one subject, but he rejoiced that they had brought forward the question of the Corn-laws. Though not satisfied with the nature or the extent of what they proposed to do, he still rejoiced that they had brought the subject forward, for the bare taking it up gave a prospect of success to the larger, safer, wiser measure. As to the timber duties, he should, with the same qualifications, say, that he likewise rejoiced to see them brought forward at the present moment. On the subject of the measures regarding sugar, he should now only express his regret that the opportunity which they presented had not been taken advantage of for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the Powers which governed Cuba and the Brazils, with a view to the extinction of the slave-trade. But in counselling a dissolution of the late Parliament, it did appear to him that his noble Friends had been guilty of a great error of judgment. It was wrong towards the state, it was wrong towards the Sovereign, and it was doubly wrong towards the interests of those questions themselves, which, as responsible advisers of the Crown, they had brought under the consideration of Parliament. He could not for a moment doubt that his noble Friends entertained a sanguine hope—nay, they would not be justified merely by a sanguine hope—they must have entertained a confident expectation of receiving a favourable answer, when they advised the Sovereign to make an appeal to the country. They must, when they gave that advice, not only have entertained a confident expectation, but have felt absolutely certain, that a majority would be returned in favour of them, and of their measures, They could not have entertained the least doubt that they would have a majority—not a bare majority, not such a majority as that which for some time past had enabled them to linger rather than to live—not a majority of twos or threes, or now and then of eighteen or twenty; but such a majority as would enable them to carry on the business of the country—such a majority as might fairly be called a working majority. On this they could have felt no uncertainty when they tendered that advice to the Sovereign. He was not permitted to suppose that they entertained a shadow of doubt upon the subject. Why did he say so? Because on no other conceivable supposition had they a right to tender such advice—to advise the Crown to dissolve a Parliament—to council a Sovereign to exercise the highest and most important of the prerogatives; but to counsel the Crown to have recourse to that prerogative, for the purpose of what, if it were not to return a majority in their favour, and a decided majority? For the purpose of returning a larger minority than their adversaries might gain, if they succeeded to power and dissolved. He wished to use no offensive expression, and therefore he should only say, that that was an advice which no British Minister dared to avow that he had given to his Sovereign. But he went further, he acquitted his noble Friends of having, by possibility, been guilty of giving such advice. It would be to advise the Sovereign to become a party to a mere factious manœuvre; therefore he denied that it was possible that any one of his noble Friends could have given such advice. Wherefore it was evident that they must have held the most confident expectation of a large, or at least a very considerable majority, in their favour, at the general election. If it were said that an appeal had been made to the people on the subject of these measures, and that it had failed, and that the people at the elections had returned an answer opposed to that policy, he took leave to deny that position. He felt bound to do so from his regard to the best interests of that people, of those questions, and of that state policy. If he merely cared for the party that had brought these measures forward—if he were wholly regardless of the importance of the free trade, of the Corn-laws, and of the policy recommended by the Government,—if he wanted to make a pretext of this kind for the purpose of bolstering up a party, then he might say, that the country had returned a verdict—not against the Government—not against the men, but against their measures. But did those men suffer nothing in character who had given such a judgment? Would the interest of the people have suffered nothing by returning such a judgment; and, above all, would the questions themselves suffer nothing by such large majorities pronounced against them? Undoubtedly a great injury would be done to these measures; they would be sacrificed in the hopeless attempt to prop up the fallen fortunes of a party in power who brought them forward. He would not admit that that was the construction to be put on the verdict which the country had returned. He thought their Lordships would perceive that the verdict was on one issue and the trial on another—that the country had given their verdict against the men, but that on the subject of their policy no verdict had been returned, or opinion expressed. That policy had received a scanty measure of justice—first, as to the time, next as to the shape, then, as to the measures themselves. If his noble Friends two years and a-half ago, had opened their eyes to their own real position, and to the exigencies of the case with regard to the trade of the country, if they had only allowed that evidence to be brought to their Lordships' bar which had been tendered on oath in support of this question, and had been defeated by their Lordships, and on the renewal of the question the Session after had persisted in lending it their aid and support, and then, after two years' support, with no possibility of any sinister motive being imputed to them, they had found it expedient, for any other reasons, such as their defeat on the Irish Registration Act, to appeal to the country, by dissolving Parliament, he ventured to say, that they would have had a very different reception from what they had had, whether they put the question on the merits of the policy itself, or on the merits of the Ministers who had brought it forward. But though it was perfectly untrue that they for the first time took up the Corn-law question in the month of April last, when defeated on the other bill—though it was undeniably true that a considerable time before that they had directed their attention to it—though it was undeniably untrue that they had only conditionally come to a resolution to bring forward the Corn-law question if they should find it needful, and if they should be driven to straits—though it is undeniably incorrect to state that that was their course; ["*Some Lords laughed,*"] he had no more doubt of the fact than that he was standing before their Lordships. The correspondence with the Governor-General of Canada proved that the bringing forward of these measures had not been suggested after the defeat in April. Nevertheless, it was impossible to deny that the coincidence in point of time went out to the country in such a manner as to throw great suspicion on the conduct of the Government. He had stated to their Lordships why that suspicion was altogether groundless, or very much exaggerated; but that the suspicion did exist, and in every part of the country, was undeniable. It was that by which the advocates of the repeal of the Corn-laws were everywhere met—that of their having so long delayed taking this course, and then to have appeared to the people only to have taken it when driven to it—and that they did not take it up on its own merits, but as a handle for the purpose of regaining their popularity at the elections. That was the prevailing opinion at the late election, and if they would inquire of any of those who stood as candidates, or of any of those persons who were less liable to be biassed in their judgments, because they were bystanders and witnesses rather than parties in those contests, he would venture to say, that with extraordinary unanimity the same answer would be given by them all as to the character and the results of those contests. But that was not all. The shape in which the measures were brought forward appeared to be another and a very serious impediment to success. The measures were good in themselves. The principles upon which they were founded were sound. They were calculated to relieve the trade of the country, but they were not brought forward as measures for relieving that trade. Upon that foundation they could have stood, and stood firmly; but they were brought forward as measures of finance. That was a rotten foundation, and upon that foundation they could not stand. They were sound and well-constructed measures as measures of commercial policy, but as measures of financial policy, it was impossible to listen with patience to any argument in their favour. The smallest statement of figures, the most cursory glance at accounts, the slightest knowledge of financial matters, would make it impossible for any man to say that they ought to be regarded as measures of taxation and finance. Take the corn question for instance. His noble Friend had argued with respect to the timber and sugar duties, but taking the Corn-laws, could any mortal believe that any portion of the revenue could be regarded as certain, or that a source of revenue could be relied on, which was to be dependent upon the seasons and the price of grain at home? Look at the averages, look at the prices which had prevailed during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, and they would find that not one farthing of revenue could be got from that source. During every one of those years the duty, the freight, and the charges of shipping would have made it impossible for a single bushel of foreign grain to be brought into this country. His noble Friend had, with his usual ability, stated, that under the price of 64*s.* no foreign wheat could be imported. Perhaps his noble Friend had taken rather a large idea of that subject. [Earl *Spencer;* 56*s.*] Well, take the price at 56*s.*, or even lower than that, at 51*s.* or 52*s.*, still the prices in those successive years he had mentioned would have made it utterly impossible for one single bushel of foreign grain to be imported from either Dantzic, Rotterdam, or Hamburgh. Therefore, the answer he had to give was perfectly satisfactory; it could not be a financial measure, it could not be a tax upon which the revenue could place any dependence. The only argument on the other side of this important question was, that in those years of greatest cheapness at home there was an increased consumption of excisable articles; consequently, though the same amount of revenue was not to be expected from corn, the deficiency was made up in that way. It certainly was the duty of a prudent financier to take the bad as well as the good years into account, and to set one against the other, but they had no right to take the bad years and say that they were the consequence of the corn tax, and that the corn tax was a total failure. But the measures had been brought forward of a frame and an amount which was not likely to insure for them that success which might have been expected had they been placed on a larger ground. In that House their Lordships might calmly deliberate upon subjects which they might hold to convey lessons of practical instruction, for wise and sober legislation; but when they appealed to the people on grounds of a philosophical and commercial nature, they must take something more tangible than refinements upon principles. No doubt the measures proposed were improvements upon the present state of things; but the greatest defect of the Government scheme was, that it professed to be a free trade scheme, and yet it commenced with doubling the duty on colonial timber. It raised the duty of 10*s.* to 20*s.*; it added 100 per cent. to the duty upon colonial timber, and called that free trade. True, it took off 9 per cent., that was to say 5*s.* out of 55*s.* on Baltic timber; and though they who were sitting in deliberation there were aware, that upon the whole that was a considerable improvement; yet, if the Government went to the country upon the question of free trade, and called upon the people to support them because they were propounding measures of free trade, they should not let the people see that the first thing in their budget was, that they took off 9 per cent. from Baltic timber, and added 100 per cent. on Canadian timber. The effect must be, as it had been, that the people would see it was not a measure of free trade; and, therefore, they must withhold their concurrence. On that ground alone, therefore, free trade had not had a fair trial in the country, and a proper verdict had not been obtained upon it. Then, as to sugar, if they had shown the people that there was a measure in contemplation for which they deserved the support of the people; if they had so far reduced the duty on sugar as to make that all but necessary of life easily obtainable by the lower classes, most undoubtedly they would have a right to expect, and in all probability would have received, the support of the people. But what was the difference of price which they proposed to effect?—1*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., or very little more than half-a-farthing in the pound—six-tenths of a farthing in the pound! Why, every one who knew anything of trade, knew very well that the dealer alone, and not the consumer, would benefit by such a trifling reduction. As to the Corn-laws, it was a very considerable improvement upon the sliding scale to substitute a fixed duty. He was against any sudden, total repeal of the Corn-laws, or of what was called the protective duties, but he thought it ought to be gradual, yet total, and no doubt in a few years the repeal might be completed. He might be quite wrong, and no doubt many of their Lordships thought he was. But they were now looking to the measure upon which an appeal had been made to the people, who had been called upon to give their support to a free trade in corn, a free trade generally, but, above all, in that which formed the basis of all other commodities, and which was the staple food of the people. Free trade in corn was said, to have been the object of the Government in making an appeal to the people. But what did the people see? Instead of a free trade in corn it was a tax upon food—a tax of 8*s*. per quarter, upon every quarter of corn imported. That was the shape in which the question went to the country; that was the ground upon which the support of the people was asked; that was the plan of free trade for the purpose of bringing down monopoly. It must be clear that a fixed duty totally prevented the possibility of a reduction in the price of the commodity. Cheap bread could not come from that quarter; no one had a right to say that cheap bread had any connexion whatever with the imposition of that duty. The total repeal of the Corn-laws would certainly reduce the price of corn; but the Ministerial proposition would not at all. He had always argued before their Lordships, as elsewhere, that the agriculturists as greatly exaggerated the effects to be anticipated one way, from the repeal, as the manufacturers did the other way. A fixed duty, however, of 8*s*. could not possibly produce any reduction in price. Why, the average duty lately had been 5*s*. 6*d*. or thereabouts, so that here was a positive increase of some 2*s*. 6*d*. A total repeal would, certainly, producing a reduction perhaps of from 5*s*. to 8*s*. per quarter, be a relief to the people. The Government had not the right to speak of their measure as calculated to cheapen corn, seeing that it could not possibly lower the price of corn one farthing. Still, as a measure substituting a fixed duty for a sliding scale, it would produce most important and most beneficial results. It would reanimate drooping manufactures, and relieve the poor, not by cheapening bread, but by giving them more money wherewith to procure it. On these grounds he was clearly of opinion that the result of the late election could not be said to have been a verdict against the repeal of the Corn-laws, or against the principle of free-trade; but that it had been clearly against the general policy of the Government, and that it indicated a distrust of the Administration, which he could not but say he thought justified that statement in the amendment—of which, by-the-bye, not one word had been said by those of his noble Friends who had spoken upon it—the statement, that her Majesty's Ministers had lost, not the confidence of Parliament merely, but "the confidence of the country." "The confidence of this House" would have been a very incorrect expression indeed, inasmuch as the Ministers never had possessed it, but it could not be denied, that the elections had decisively demonstrated, that they had lost the confidence of the nation. Now, there was one other point, and one of paramount moment, to which he could not but advert. And lest it should be said (by those who might be desirous of destroying the effect of what he said), that he was "only wise after the event," he begged to recall to the recollection of his noble Friends and of their Lordships, that he had in this House on the 21st of June stated the substance of what he had now said, or was about to say, "before the event,"—that he had always declared that he would never agree to be bound by the result of the "appeal" (as it was called) "to the country," regard being had to the circumstances under which that appeal would be made, the time at which, and the shape in which, as well as the measures upon which, it would be made: he had declared, that he would not consider the election as any test of the opinions and the principles of the people; but now he came to a more weighty and momentous point, involving principles of the highest constitutional importance. He frankly avowed, that he conceived, after the result of the recent elections was known, it was the duty of his noble Friends to have resigned. They ought not any longer to have remained in office; they ought simply, straightforwardly, manfully, to have resigned. Two years and a half ago, when the Ministers, after having stated to Parliament that they had lost the confidence of the Legislature, returned to place under circumstances to which he would not particularly allude—it was unnecessary to do so—and when they assumed office without power, all real power being vested in the hands of the majorities of either House opposed to them, he had then foreseen what he believed then would be, no doubt had been, and was, the actual truth of the case—that this retention of office would be one main cause of their losing the confidence of the nation. He had then blamed them, but their remaining in office since the result of the recent elections was known was a mere "error in judgment,"—(he confidently believed it was no more than that)—he was persuaded office must have since been a burden to them. It could be nothing but a burden—but the consequences certainly had been most unfortunate. For it had happened that they had, through having thus retained office, had to advise their royal mistress upon one of the most important occasions on which the discretion and the authority of the Crown could be exercised—the declaration of the causes of summoning the Parliament—the statements of the Sovereign in opening the Imperial Parliament. Most unconstitutional would it be to hint, that any opposition to the Speech was an indication of opposition or hostility towards the Sovereign. Nothing could be more clear than that the Speech was the speech of the Ministers, and was to be dealt with as any other act of theirs with all possible freedom. At the same time it was just as clear, that it being most desirable to have a good understanding between the Crown and the Parliament, all things ought to be studiously avoided which could have any tendency to provoke or impel any thing that resembled a rejection, a refusal, a negation of the Address in answer to the Speech, even though that Speech was the act alone of the Sovereign's responsible advisers. But now, the Ministers having remained in office after the result of the elections was known, with a perfect knowledge of that result, had prepared a speech which was to have a fate as absolutely, as distinctly known, as any event could be before it happened—a speech which they knew—which they confessed they knew—must meet with rejection in both Houses of Parliament. If he were told that until men came to act in Parliament, nothing could be known of their votes, as hustings declarations did not always bind, or if he were told that until a division was taken, they could not tell which way a man's vote might be given, then would he again say, unfortunately, "*litera, scripta manet.*" A noble Friend of his had announced to his constituents, in a public letter, that an overwhelming majority of Members had been returned against the Government. The fact must, therefore, have been known to his noble Friend near him, and a speech was accordingly prepared, to be rejected by an overwhelming majority of both Houses of Parliament. The opinions which that speech contained could have been entered upon the journals of the House just as well and in a much more regular and constitutional manner, in a manner more conformable to the practice of the House, than that which had been chosen by his noble Friends. He wished he could close these observations without saying a word in reference to the conduct of late elections; but since they had occurred, the unprecedented corruption which had been practised at them in every form all over the country, had hardly once been absent from his mind. Bribery, to an extent he believed unparalleled, influence and intimidation of the worst description, violence, turbulence, threats, actual outrage by imprisonment, by wounding, and sometimes by murder, disgrace, he was sorry to say, very many of the recent elections. Such was the picture which had been presented to them, not merely by the addresses of disappointed candidates, and the reports of eye witnesses, but they had actually seen, by the records of courts of justice, not only that bribery and intimidation, and actual violence of a most hideous character, had been resorted to, but that they had taken place without any exception of party, and were common to both of the great parties contesting those elections. He could state just as bad cases on the one side as the other; but he would not now detain their Lordships by doing so. Of this, however, he was certain, that unless Parliament interposed—unless an inquiry were instituted, both the parties which divided that House and divided the country, must make up their minds to share, and share equally, the blame of protecting and screening, by refusing to punish persons guilty of those practices. He believed that their Lordships had great power in the matter. He believed, that if, with their means of inquiry, some of which were peculiar to that House, they were to institute an inquiry into the mal-practices which had taken place at the late elections—with no view to punish, of course with no view to seats in the other House, as in that they could not meddle, but merely with regard to future legislation on the subject—he believed that not only would the character of their Lordships' House be greatly raised in the estimation of the country, but that the inquiry could not possibly be gone through without such a successful result as would lead to some useful, and, to some extent, at least, efficacious remedy, for this enormous evil. One remedy was in the hands of all, a remedy in which, without legislation, every man might bear his share. Bribery was much too lightly talked of, and too lightly thought of. The old practice of paying so much a-head, not being considered a bribe, led to that which was actual bribery, to the giving of money for electioneering purposes, and eventually to a corrupt state of things, which no man could defend, but of which most men spoke far too lightly. It was not merely the purchase of a vote, it was not the giving of money to a man corruptly to influence him in discharging an important public trust, it was not merely that that turned elections into a perfect mockery, but it was the perjury which was thereby encouraged, by which corruption was sown, as it were broadcast, over the face of the electoral body in this country, which it behoved them to notice. There was not a man who received a bribe for the purpose of influencing his vote, who did not run the hazard of perjury; there was not one man in a hundred of those willing to take a bribe, who did not take it, and go to the poll prepared to take the bribery oath, and therefore perjure himself. He was certain, that if all those who were engaged in elections would take this view of the matter, a very different course would be pursued, and stronger reprobations expressed than those hitherto known. The result of the division to which they were about to come would, of course, create a change in the Government of the country. He could only say, that he did not join in the taunts which had been indulged in by some of his noble Friends near him, respecting the probable course of their successors. He hoped they would come over to his noble Friends. If they did, he should be the first to hail their arrival amongst them. He agreed with his noble Friend, the President of the Council, that so far from feeling the least disinclination to their adoption of the measures of the present Government, he would gratefully receive from them the smallest contribution, and instead of deeming it to be his duty to triumph over them and say, "You are doing precisely the same thing which you turned us out for attempting to do." He would say to them, "Do so and welcome, and you shall have my best support." A noble Lord had blamed the conduct of his noble Friend, the noble Viscount at the head of her Majesty's Government, with reference to the appropriation clause; and the noble Viscount had defended himself by referring to that of Sir Robert Walpole in respect of the tax upon excisable commodities. Notwithstanding the remarks of his noble Friend, he thought that that noble Lord had a perfect right to state as he had stated—but he had stated it far too strongly when he said that the noble Viscount had in that instance exhibited a total want of political integrity. He did not agree with him: he thought that he had only exhibited a great fulness of the desire to remain in office. The comparison he thought inapposite. The case of Walpole would have been like that of the noble Viscount, if Sir Robert Walpole, in the teeth of the Minister whom he afterwards supplanted, had brought in a resolution, as leader of the Opposition, that no plan of finance deserved the support of Parliament and the country which did not involve a tax upon excisable commodities, and if, after the lapse of a short period obtaining a majority in the House of Commons upon that motion, when he turned out his rivals and got into their place, he then brought in a budget in which a tax upon excisable commodities formed a prominent feature, and finding that he would be beaten upon it, withdrew it summarily, said nothing at all about it, and still retained office. Then the case of Sir Robert Walpole would have borne some resemblance to that of his noble Friend, and might indeed have formed some precedent for his conduct. Apologizing again for the length at which he had intruded himself upon their Lordships' attention at so late an hour, he would conclude by stating that he would heartily vote for the Address.

Their Lordships divided on the original question: Contents 96; Not-Contents 168: Majority 72.

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Norfolk
Somerset
Bedford
Sutherland.

MARQUESSES.
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Normanby
Clanricarde
Headfort
Northampton
Anglesea
Conyngham
Westminster.

EARLS.
Lichfield
Gosford
Effingham
Ducie
Chichester
Thanet

Uxbridge
Erroll
Albemarle
Scarborough
Fitzwilliam
Radnor
Craven
Minto
Spencer
Belfast
Yarborough
Camperdown
Cork
Clarendon
Surrey
Leitrim
Oxford
Morley
Fingal
Charlemont
Bruce
Lovelace
Zetland
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Melbourne
Duncannon.

BISHOPS.
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Norwich
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Worcester.

BARONS.
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Strafford
Godolphin
Cottenham
Leigh
De Freyne
Talbot, of Malahide
Carew
Campbell
Kinnaird
Say and Sele
Poltimore
Colborne
De Mauley
Mostyn
Byron
Beaumont
Camoys
Berners
Foley
Brougham
Vivian
Portman
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Congleton
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Marlborough
Rutland
Buccleuch
Montrose
Portland
Dorset
Wellington
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Lothian
Salisbury
Abercorn
Bute
Thomond
Ely
Exeter
Camden
Cholmondeley
Londonderry
Hastings
Ailesbury
Westmeath
Ormonde.

EARLS.
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Denbigh,
Lindsey
Winchilsea
Sandwich
Essex
Cardigan
Abingdon
Coventry
Jersey
Morton
Haddington
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Airlie
Leven
Selkirk
Balcarras
Aberdeen
Dunmore
Orkney
Seafield
Stanhope
Warwick
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Bathurst
Talbot
Digby
Beverley
Liverpool
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Clanwilliam,
Mount Cashell
Longford
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Clare
Lucan
Bandon
Donoughmore
Rosslyn
Wilton
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Powis
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Orford
Harrowby
Verulam
Brownlow
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Bradford
Beauchamp
Glengall
De Grey
Eldon
Falmouth
Howe
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Stradbroke
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VISCOUNTS.
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Sydney
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BISHOPS.
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Clinton
Willoughby d'Eresby
St. John
Saltoun
Colville
Reay
Rollo
Sondes
Boston
Walsingham
Bagot
Southampton
Rodney
Carteret
Berwick
Kenyon
Braybrooke
Rolle
Bayning
Wodehouse
Blayney
Carbery
Farnham
Clonbrock
Crofton
Alvanley
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Castlemaine
Churchill
Colchester
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Ravensworth
Delamere
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Bexley
Wharncliffe
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Wallace
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Proxies.

ARCHBISHOP.
York.

DUKE.
Northumberland.

MARQUESSES.
Winchester
Wellesley.

EARLS.
Plymouth
Buckinghamshire
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VISCOUNTS.
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Beresford.

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Lord Belhaven	Earl of Eglinton
Lord Dinorben	Earl of Galloway
Lord Sherborne	Earl Manvers
Lord Hastings.	Viscount Exmouth.

Address as amended agreed to.

The following Protests were entered against the Amendment adopted by their Lordships.

PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT:—

1. Because we are adverse in principle to all restraints upon commerce. We consider that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving the national industry to flow in its natural free current; and we think that practical measures should be adopted to bring our commercial legislation back to a straight and simple course of wisdom, instead of continuing a system of artificial and injurious restriction.

2. Because we think that the great principle of leaving commerce unfettered, applies more peculiarly, and on the highest ground of justice, to the trade in those articles which constitute the sustenance of the people. The experience of a quarter of a century has proved that the Corn-laws passed subsequently to the year 1815 have neither produced the plenty, the cheapness, the steadiness of price, nor any of the other benefits anticipated by the advocates of those laws; while, on the other hand, all the evil consequences predicted at the time by those opposed to monopoly have been realised.

3. Because the practical effect of the variable scale of duties has been to introduce a system of speculative jobbing and of fictitious sales, for the purpose of raising the averages, in order to enter corn at the *minimum* duties. It is impossible, under this system, to ascertain whether sales are real or fictitious, and it is well known that during the last two years the averages have been raised by bringing for sale, into the principal markets of the kingdom, only the best qualities of corn, and that the inferior grain has been withheld from those markets until the high average price reduced the duties to *minimum* rates.

4. Because the inevitable effect of a system which prevents a regular trade in corn is to derange the course of commerce, whenever the accidents of the seasons occasion a deficiency in the harvest. The fall of the foreign exchanges and exports of bullion, consequent on a sudden demand from large quantities of corn from countries with whom our restrictive laws preclude interchange in ordinary years, have already, on more than one occasion, brought the banking institutions of the country to the verge of bankruptcy, and occasioned general commercial distress.

5. Because the prosperity of a great manufacturing and commercial nation depends, in a great measure, upon foreign trade and access to foreign markets. The multitude of restrictions and prohibitions with which our tariff is encumbered, throw great obstacles in the way of trade, without any corresponding advantage to the revenue, and the system of excluding foreign produce has already had a most prejudicial effect in inducing those countries to encourage native manufactures, and to retaliate by corresponding restrictions upon British merchandise. In the present state of our relations with other powers, it appears impossible to persist longer in this restrictive system, without imminent danger of losing some of our best markets.

Lastly, Because we think it one of the first duties of a government to impose no unnecessary burdens upon the industrious classes. A system which excludes, or imposes high duties on foreign produce, for the sake of protecting particular interests, violates this obligation on the one hand, by impeding the free course of industry, and, on the other, by enhancing artificially the cost of subsistence.

Under present circumstances, the maintenance of this system involves, in addition to those indirect burdens, the necessity of imposing a large amount of direct taxes to make good a deficiency in the revenue, which would not exist, if all articles of consumption and merchandise were admitted into our ports at moderate duties.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,
SCARBOROUGH,
ZETLAND,
CHARLEMONT,
DE MAULEY,
MONTFORT,
CLEMENTS,
FOLEY, and
RADNOR,
HATHERTON, and
For the first, second, third, and last reasons.
GOSFORD,

PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT:

1. Because the Address adopted by the House, in failing to respond to the recommendations contained in her Majesty's gracious Speech from the Throne, is to be regarded as a deliberate condemnation of the policy of her Majesty's Ministers, and, as such, must tend to their speedy retirement from the service of the State, and to the substitution of others as advisers of the Crown, whose known maxims of Government afford no ground of hope that any measure emanating from their councils can adequately meet the difficulties of the present crisis of public affairs.

2. Because that part of the policy of those Ministers to which such condemnation most pointedly applies has been merely an endeavour upon their parts practically to enforce the enlightened and intelligible principle, that it is more just and wise, with a view to the

provision of a sufficient public revenue, to remove restrictions upon commerce, and thus extend its operation, than to perpetuate monopolies and increase taxation.

3. Because the political party from which successors to those Ministers must probably be chosen, has uniformly proved itself, whether in or out of power, to be hostile to the reform of abuses, to the rights of conscience, and to the freedom of the subject, and, consequently, must fail, as advisers of the Crown, to command that respect, without which the affairs of a great empire cannot be successfully administered.

4. Because the uniform practice of that party, when in power, has been to foster social differences and religious animosities among the inhabitants of Ireland, a system of misgovernment as injurious in its ultimate results to those whom it professed to favour as to the large number it directly oppressed, inasmuch as its baneful effect has been to divert the attention of the country from important national objects, and to prevent that cordial union of its intellect and strength which would render a continuance of bad Government impossible.

Most especially Dissentient:

5. Because that political party has, either by the actual enforcement, or the constant attempt to enforce, its own vicious principles of government, made itself justly odious to the large majority of the Irish people. Whatever may be the temporary professions of an Administration composed of members of that party, by the Roman Catholics of Ireland it can only be regarded as a government of their inveterate enemies, who, to the very last, approved and defended the iniquities of the penal code, and who, since its extorted repeal, have been foremost in every attempt to curtail their civil and political privileges. The Catholics must feel, if for no other reason, that the party which insulted when it could not injure, will be sure to injure whenever it can. Between an Administration so constituted and subjects thus justifiably distrustful, but conscious, at the same time, that they are now too numerous and strong to be outraged with impunity, there is little hope that the primary object of all good government can be certainly attained, viz., a prompt and cheerful obedience to the laws, founded upon the conviction that the laws are just and justly administered—on the contrary, in looking to the probable course of events in Ireland, there is too much reason to apprehend that the restoration to power of a party notoriously inimical to so many millions of her Majesty's subjects, must produce in the minds of the latter such a general and deep discontent, as in its consequence must speedily endanger the public peace, and ultimately impair the strength of he British Empire.

(Signed) Cloncurry.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, August 24, 1841.

Address in Answer to the Speech.] The Speaker having reported the Lords Commissioners' Speech, and read it to the House,

Mr. *Mark Philips* rose and spoke to the following effect:—I rise for the purpose of proposing that this House do present an address to her Majesty on her Majesty's gracious speech which we have just heard read, and which was delivered this morning to the newly assembled Parliament by her Majesty's Commissioners. I propose, that in the Address which we shall present to her Majesty, we shall convey to her our humble thanks for her most gracious Speech; and I propose that we should further express our satisfaction that her Majesty has availed herself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to the advice and assistance of both Houses after the dissolution of the late parliament. In these propositions I hope the House will concur with me, and after the sudden determination of the late Parliament, and the important topics which occupied its attention it can only be expected that we should, with the least possible delay, proceed to the consideration of those matters which are of so much importance in the present crisis, and which present themselves so strongly to our notice, in reference to the revenues of this country. I propose that we should assure her Majesty that we are much rejoiced to learn that her Majesty continues to receive from Foreign Powers the gratifying assurances of their desire to maintain with her Majesty the most friendly relations, and that we learn with much content that the objects for which the treaty of the 15th July, 1840, was concluded between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, have been fully accomplished; and that we share in the gratification which her Majesty derives from the fact that the temporary separation which the measures taken in the execution of that treaty created between the contracting powers and France has now ceased. I propose also, that we should add that we trust, with her Majesty, that the union of the principal powers upon all matters affecting the great interests of Europe, will afford a firm security for the maintenance of peace. If I may be permitted to express my own opinion upon that portion of her Majesty's Speech which has reference to her Majesty continuing to receive from Foreign Powers the gratifying assurances of their desire to maintain with this country the most friendly relations, I can only say, that holding the position which I do as one of the representatives of a large manufacturing community in this country, I am one of those who value peace more if possible—than most other hon. Members of this House; for the least interruption of the general peace of the world must produce to that class which I represent some of the greatest evils possible to be imagined. I, look on it therefore, not only as a christian duty on the part of a christian country to preserve universal amity, but, considering the evils likely to result in the effects which I have pointed out, I unhesitatingly declare, that we cannot overrate too much the blessing to be derived from its continuance, and that we should, on that account, view with great satisfaction that which we have heard in the Speech from the Throne, viz., that the temporary separation caused by the treaty of July, 1840, between this country and some of the other powers of Europe and France, has most happily terminated. I have always looked upon France as the natural ally of this country, and I have watched with the most anxious jealousy anything which might tend to create a want of good feeling between us. I have always considered, that as two of the great leading countries of the world, they should be looked upon as the bulwarks of civil liberty—and that if anything tending to produce a result the contrary of that to which I have alluded were to arise, it would be matter which would be most sincerely to be regretted. I trust, that with reference to the general peace of Europe, and the relation between this country and all other nations, nothing will occur to alter the amity which at present exists. With reference to the question of peace generally, I repeat that its advantages cannot be overrated in a great commercial country like this; and it would always be matter of great satisfaction to me, as a commercial man, to find her Majesty, in her Speech from the Throne, congratulating the country, instead of upon any successful termination of mere matters of diplomacy, or the great success of the British arms, that some new liberal commercial treaty with some commercial nation had been entered into, for it is to such means that we must look for the maintenance of the greatness of this country, rather than to the prowess of our fleet, or the deeds of arms of our gallant soldiers. I would propose further, that we should, in our address to her Majesty, state our participation in the joy which her Majesty has expressed, that in consequence of the evacuation of Ghorian, by the Persian troops, her Majesty has ordered her Minister at the Court of Persia to return to Teheran. I am sure that I shall have the feeling of the House with me, in congratulating her Majesty upon this renewal of our good relations with Persia, which have been for a time disturbed. I would propose further, that we should express our regret that the negotiations between our Plenipotentiaries in China and the Chinese government have not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that it has been necessary to call into action the forces which her Majesty has sent to the China seas; but that, with her Majesty, we trust that the Emperor of China will see the justice of the demands which her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries have been instructed to make. With reference to China the House will perhaps permit me to offer a few observations which suggest themselves to my mind. I cannot but regret and deplore most deeply, on account of our British commerce, that the difficulties which have existed in our relations with China have not been already brought to a successful termination; but it is matter of congratulation to this country, that in attempting to vindicate our honour we have not been driven into any act of violence or bloody hostility against a nation who have been distinguished for want of good faith in their relations with this country, and that in the attack which has been made on the Chinese forts by a British force, the loss of British life has been incalculably small. I trust, that by the mode in which that attack was conducted, we shall have gained honour in the eyes of the civilized world; for instead of attempting to destroy a city which was placed in our power, we did not retaliate for the injuries which we had received, but, by our conduct, we showed, that we came to demand justice, and not to exercise revenge. In this respect, it appears to me, that England will take a proud station in connection with this unfortunate affair; and I trust, that although the Chinese nation, in all its dealings with our plenipotentiaries, has shown a great want of honour—that it has been so uncivilized as to pay no regard to the importance of truth in the interchange of communications between her authorities, and the representatives of her Majesty, yet that the forbearance of those representatives, and the magnanimity of their conduct, will not fail to produce a good effect; and I am not without hopes, that although the trade of this country is suspended, so far as any present beneficial results are concerned, the consequence will be the ultimate establishment of our relations upon a much better basis than that on which they have heretofore stood, and that we shall be able to introduce into the practices of the Chinese somewhat of the system of commercial business, which civilized nations carry on one with the other. We should recollect, that we are not the only nation carrying on trade with China, but a large portion of the trade of that nation, is shared by the United States, and I have no doubt, that we shall have the co-operation of the United States to place that trade upon a better footing; for they must be as anxious as ourselves to place our relations with China upon a firmer footing. I trust, that this may be the ultimate result of the present proceeding, and it will be most satisfactory to me, who do not stand up here to justify the trade in opium, and who never vindicated the violation of the laws of China, which are opposed to the introduction of this noxious article, that we should see the money expended upon this pernicious drug coming to the shores of this country to be expended in our manufactures, and thus tending to improve the position of the Chinese nation in the civilized world, whilst, at the same time, the increased prosperity and happiness of our own manufacturing classes would be thereby greatly promoted. I propose further, that this House should express to her Majesty, that we rejoice to learn, that the differences which had arisen between Spain and Portugal, respecting the execution of a treaty concluded by those powers in 1830, for regulating the navigation of the Douro, have been adjusted amicably, and with honour to both parties, by the aid of her Majesty's mediation. It will always, of course, be observed, that the sense of justice and impartiality which guides the decisions of this country with reference to the disputes of foreign nations, tends to place England in the highest position among the nations of the world, and I sincerely trust, that that will be the result of the course taken by the Government of this country in this matter. I propose, further, that this House should thank her Majesty for acquainting us, that the debt incurred by the legislature of Upper Canada, for the purposes of public works, is a serious obstacle to further improvements, which are essential to the prosperity of the United province; and that her Majesty has authorised the Governor-general to make a communication on the subject to the Council and Assembly of Canada; and also that her Majesty will direct the papers to be laid before us, and express our determination, that our earnest attention will be directed to matters so materially affecting the welfare of Canada, and the strength of the empire. With reference to this portion of the Address, I may perhaps be permitted simply to say, that I am sure, there will be only one feeling in this House, and that all will be sincerely desirous to do everything in their power to carry on the dealings between this country and so important a colony as Canada. Further, I propose, that the House should assure her Majesty, that her Majesty may rely with entire confidence on our loyalty and zeal to make adequate provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of sums granted by the last Parliament. I cannot for one moment doubt, that her Majesty's confidence in Parliament will be fairly carried out. The public credit has been always held sacred in this House, and it will, doubtless, in this instance, be the object of the Legislature to make the necessary provision to meet the public expenditure, in such a manner as shall be as little burdensome to the people as possible. I propose, in the next place, that we shall express our entire agreement in the necessity of the extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive possessions, and that this House will proceed at once to the consideration of the means of increasing the public revenues, and to assure her Majesty, that we participate in her anxiety that this object should be effected in the manner least burdensome to the people. In proposing, that this should form a part of the Address to her Majesty, I am very well aware, that there may be in this House some difference of opinion with regard to the mode of relieving the people to the utmost extent, but as we are called on by her Majesty to give our earnest consideration to the subject, I feel, that the House will not refuse to give their attention to the matter, whatever may be the result at which we may finally arrive. With reference to the Import duties, permit me to say, that I have found the gentlemen throughout the mercantile world, unanimously in favour of such a change as was recommended by the committee which sat upon the subject in 1840. I am aware that in the last Session of Parliament many objections were raised against the report, and some cavils were raised at the description of evidence tendered on the questions on which the committee was called upon to deliberate. But it always appeared to me singular that an objection should be raised against the evidence, and yet that those who raised that objection should never have asked for the reconstruction of the committee or for an inquiry into their allegations, or whether or not the matters of fact were as they were represented, or whether there were other matters which should have been investigated. I can only say that the report of the committee has engrossed a very great portion of the public attention, and that the more it has been read amongst the manufacturers the more has that community expressed to me their deep sense of the necessity of some such change in the means to be adopted of raising the public revenue as that which is suggested. If I were to enter at large upon all the subjects involved in this question, I should trespass at greater length upon the attention of the House than they might be disposed to hear me; but, I must say, that it appears to me that on reference to many articles of import, I believe her Majesty has rightly expressed herself in her speech when she thus addresses us:—

> "It has appeared to her Majesty, after full deliberation, that you may, at this juncture, properly direct your attention to the revision of duties affecting the production of foreign countries. It will be for you to consider whether some of these duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, while they are vexatious to commerce. You may further examine whether the principle of protection, upon which others of these duties are founded, be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the state and the interests of the people."

I, look therefore, with great confidence for some alteration in the present system. What this country wants, I conceive, is an extension of its markets, to relieve those distresses which now exist, and which I do not look upon as mere matter of accident, or as a passing event, but which, it appears to me, is the result of something in our fiscal system which is at variance with the prosperity and the happiness of the people. I hope that on this subject I entertain no party views, for I cannot think that the distresses of the people of this country ought to be made the subject of party feelings. I hope that the House will in the best and fairest spirit of inquiry proceed to investigate the present position of the Import duties of this country, and that the more they inquire into this matter, the stronger conviction will be impressed upon their minds that that which is said is only just and reasonable towards the people who consume, and to those also who produce the various commodities referred to in the report. I will not detain the House by going into any details, but I cannot allow this opportunity to pass by without again recording my opinion in favour of the alteration of the duties upon the colonial articles imported into this country. With reference to the subject of sugar, I must say, that from inquiries which I have made, I have found that the quantity of sugar imported into Liverpool, and upon which duty has been paid for home consumption since the discussion of last Session, has shown a material falling off from the quantity for the corresponding period for the antecedent year (although that quantity of the antecedent year was decidedly less than the average), notwithstanding the price had been reduced. This appears to me to indicate most distinctly, that the power of the people to consume this commodity has decreased from year to year, instead of its increasing with the population of the country. With reference to those fears and apprehensions which were expressed in reference to the sugar duties, having expressed my opinion in the course of the discussions which have already taken place upon that subject, I have only to say, that after a most anxious investigation, I have come again to the conclusion at which I arrived at the early part of last Session, that unless we proceed to make some alteration in reference to those duties, we shall paralyse some of the most important branches of the trade of this country; and which, if once we lose them, we shall never be able to re-establish. I will only point out the treaty of commerce with the Brazils. In two years that treaty will expire, and it appears to me that it is a matter of the greatest certainty that we shall not then be able to renew it on the same favourable terms on which it now stands.

It appears to me that we run the risk of losing the Brazils, whose trade forms a most important branch of the commerce of this country—more especially that portion of it connected with our cotton exports, for it must be concluded that they will be disposed to favour the manufactures of our continental rivals, unless we meet them by accepting a due interchange of their productions for our own. But I will not occupy the time of the House on this point. I merely point out the grounds on which I feel that this subject should be placed, and I cannot attach too much importance to the great results which will hang upon the decision ultimately to be arrived at. I would propose next that the House should humbly state to her Majesty that, in obedience to her express desire, we shall proceed immediately to consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn, and endeavour to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community. Since the last Session of Parliament the importance of the consideration of the Corn-laws has come home immediately to almost every honourable Member whom I now see sitting within the walls of this House. It is a question which was discussed at the late general election. It has been the subject of discussion by parties on both sides of this House, and I know of no election where it has not engrossed a large portion of public attention. Since the question was last debated, I regret to say, that the privations of the people have increased, and their condition has become materially worse. I will not go into particular instances, but I have in my possession a sufficient number of communications, made to me by clergymen and others, which convince me that a very extraordinary depression is hanging over the heads of the people of this country. By all the letters which I have received, and all the investigations which I have been able to make during the time which I spent in the manufacturing districts, without any wish to exaggerate what I heard and saw—for God knows there is no necessity for that—I must say, that, I believe that never, on any previous occasion, has there existed such oppression and misery as now prevail within those branches of trade with which I am conversant. If I had had leisure, and had been aware that I should have been called upon on this occasion to address the House in the position which I now occupy, I should have made a tour of the manufacturing districts to investigate the condition of the manufacturing classes with my own eyes, I would have sought the assistance of some hon. Members of this House, if they would have accompanied me, in order that we might have come to some conclusion in reference to the exact position of the people, and the nature of the remedies proper to be proposed for the existing evils. But I had no time for this; and I can only state what I know of my own knowledge with regard to what I have seen, and call upon other hon. Members to state that which I myself may be unable to state, for want of that local knowledge which they doubtless possess. But if the House will permit me, I will state what I know to be the condition of a large body of the manufacturing population of this country. I am told that in many towns, individuals are existing, for it cannot be called living, upon the most miserable pittance. I will select the case of 102 individuals in Manchester in May last, living—or, as as it has been properly described, starving—upon 8¾*d.* each per week, or 1¼*d.* per day. Some of these paid 1¾*d.* each per week for rent, so that they had left only 7*d.* per week, or 1*d.* per day. This is a state of things most melancholy to witness, but it is only one instance of the dreadful facts described to me as existing in Manchester, Salford, and other places in that neighbourhood. The clergy complain that they cannot execute the duties which are imposed on them, because they have not the means to satisfy the physical wants of those to whose spiritual affairs it is their duty to attend. It is stated to me that parties are in such extreme distress that they are driven to subsist on the very smallest quantity of food—so little, that I will venture to say it is far less than was ever given in any gaol or union workhouse whatever in the United Kingdom; and I have heard of many cases where whole families are compelled to pawn the clothes which they wear, during the night, for the purpose of redeeming the bedding on which they are to take their nightly repose, and who are able to redeem their clothes in the morning only by replacing their bedding in the hands of the pawnbroker. Many families are compelled, also, to deal with the small shopkeepers for the smallest quantities which can be purchased; and instead of their transactions being carried on by pounds, they are conducted by ounces and half-ounces—a system, of course, highly injurious to the purchasers in the loss attending the mere turn of the scales. I understand that many of these persons have had their cases personally investigated, and I would mention the names of individuals, but I do not know that my doing so would advance the argument which I have brought forward. The number of tailors now employed in Bolton, is considerably less than one-half what it was a few years ago, showing the distress of the inhabitants, and the want of labour among all classes. The wants of the shoemakers, I hear, are the same, and the associated carpenters are so poor, that where formerly they were in the habit of giving two meals and a night's lodging to any of their trade travelling in search of work, I learn that they are now compelled to restrict their charity to the lodging only. With reference to the operation of the Corn-laws upon these people, it does appear to me that, so long as they are prevented by any laws from finding full scope for their industry—so long as they are pressed on in the manner in which I have found them to be—there can be no change in their condition, and we shall continue to see as much misery as now exists—founded too, upon a feeling that they are unfairly dealt with, in consequence of the system of monopoly being carried so far as it is. It was with extreme disgust that the people of the manufacturing districts saw it stated, just before the late dissolution of Parliament, in some of the journals of the opposition party, that if the ploughshare should be turned through Manchester and other manufacturing towns, this country would not suffer from the change which would result. I ask, will hon. Gentlemen here adopt such an expression of opinion? I would ask, supposing such a thing to be possible to be effected, what would be the state of things with one of the landed interest on the next morning? How could he obtain the common materials used at his breakfast table? Whence would he derive his sugar, his tea, his coffee? for all those are articles brought to this country in exchange for our manufactures. Supposing our manufactures to be destroyed, could we go abroad with our wheat or our corn, and offer them in exchange for foreign goods at a price far greater than would be their value in that foreign country. I believe, certainly, that such could not be the case, and I trust, therefore, that the importance of the interest of commerce and our manufactures will never be treated lightly in this House, but that hon. Members will agree with me that those interests are so dovetailed with the interests of agriculture, that they are inseparable. I have never seen any advantages afforded to manufactures by their protection, and excuse me for saying that all we ask is even-handed justice—that we wish for no protection. I will go back for a moment to the debates which took place upon the subject of the Corn-laws when they were first introduced in the year 1815, and I will venture to request the attention of the House to a most remarkable protest entered against them by some noble peers in another place. That protest, it appears to me, was dictated by sound wisdom, and the House will bear with me while I read a portion of it. It was signed by certain noblemen whose names will always command respect, and was in the following terms:—

"1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restraints on commerce. We think it certain, that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry; and we wish, rather by well-considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom, than to increase the deviation, by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restriction.

"2. Because we think, that the great practical rule of leaving all commerce unfettered, applies more peculiarly and on still stronger grounds of justice, as well as of policy to the corn trade, than to any other. Irresistible, indeed, must be the necessity which could, in our judgment, authorise the Legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase and sale of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.

"3. Because we think, that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves, that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearness, and of uncertainty. To cut off any of the sources of supply, can only tend to lessen its abundance—to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity, must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country, is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made, for equalising to man the variations of season and of climate.

"AUGUSTUS FREDERICK (Duke of Sussex),
WILLIAM FREDERICK (Duke of Gloucester,)
GRENVILLE,

WELLESLEY,
ESSEX,
TORRINGTON,
DUTTON (Marquess of Douglas),
CHANDOS BUCKINGHAM,
MONTFORT,
KING,
CARLISLE."

If the House will permit me, I will now read a short extract from a speech of Sir Robert Peel, the father of the right hon. Baronet opposite, which was delivered by him upon the same subject, and in the same year (1815). He said :—

"He was anxious to correct a mistake that seemed to prevail in the House, that the interests of the landholder and of the manufacturer were conflicting and incompatible. They were, in the view of enlightened policy, the same ; and the success or ruin of the one was, the success or ruin of the other ; inasmuch as the country generally had been enriched by the sale of our manufactures, the landholders had received their share of the wealth and advantages. It had been the wise policy of former Governments, to keep the price of the chief article of subsistence as low as possible ; upon this principle, Mr. Pitt had acted with success, but the system was now about to be changed. It was undoubtedly true, that the rent of the land would be diminished by the unlimited importation of corn ; but if the resolutions upon the Table, passed in their present shape, the manufactures of the towns would be destroyed, and the land must, consequently, be depreciated ; corn might be grown, but paupers would be the only customers for it. It was, in truth, impossible to separate the two interests. The value of land within memory had increased in some places threefold. The owners had derived their benefit from the political state of things, and now they must suffer the depreciation produced by an alteration in that political state. With respect to our manufacturers, it was allowed, that during the war our triumphant situation on the seas had enabled us to force a trade without rivals ; but now we were in open competition, it would be madness in us to throw fresh obstacles in the way of those who had so many to contend against. In his opinion, it might be fairly argued, that the manufacturer had been the great benefactor of the landed interest. He did not say, that his design was to serve the landowner. That had been the effect of the flourishing state of our manufactures, and in the difficulties now to be encountered, the landowner ought to participate. By the measures now upon the Table, the wise system pursued for years was about to be subverted, and the labourers prevented from putting the real wealth of the country into that marketable shape by which this country had hitherto been made the envy of surrounding nations."

Sir, I can only express my deep regret that the opinions so well expressed in the protest and in the speech of Sir R. Peel, which I have just read, should not have attracted more attention at the time, when they were indeed worthy of the most serious and deep consideration. Unfortunately, we have now really to deal with the state of things which was then only predicted by those parties, and I feel the most perfect conviction that our present position is not merely the result of temporary and accidental circumstances—that it is not a mere question of overtrading, or of the loss for a time of some of the most valuable markets, but that this country has now arrived at a position of difficulty which it will require all the knowledge and all the attention of Parliament, and some self-denial also to rescue it from. It has been often said that the present state of things is to be attributed to overtrading on the part of the manufacturers. Let us examine that statement. There has, in my opinion, been no overtrading since 1836. It is true that in 1834, in 1835, and 1836, credit was given to an extent, which every one must have deprecated who looked at it at the time as I did, and who was able to take a calm and dispassionate view of what was then being done. But, Sir, what was the real cause of that increase? If the manufacturers increased their manufactures and built new mills at that time, was there not then a population ready to be employed? Would the manufacturers have been so unwise as to borrow money for the purpose of erecting more mills and employ more hands if there had been any doubt upon their minds that there was ample population to work the machinery? Would they have attempted thus, as it were, to raise the market of labour against themselves by such an insane act? I believe that nothing of the kind can be imputed to them. Well, Sir, we have the same accumulation of population as then, but far less means to employ it. Still the population must be fed and clothed, yet large masses are at present in the position of being scarcely able to subsist, such is their degraded condition. It is, therefore, the duty of this House to ascertain by what means we can relieve the industry of the country, whether by the continuance of those existing fiscal regulations to which I have already referred, or by the adoption of a sounder and more liberal system—whether by abandoning monopoly we may not find markets open and people ready to take our produce, provided we will take their produce in exchange. Her

Majesty alludes, in her Speech from the Throne, to the effect which the Corn-laws have on the currency. It appears to me quite clear that neither the position of the Bank of England, nor indeed that of any of the banks of issue, can ever be one of security, or such as they ought to occupy, if the issues of the country are to be regulated by the state of the barometer, and if every time we are compelled to seek a supply of corn from abroad, a great drain of bullion is always to take place; I solemnly believe, that, under the best regulated system of currency, wherever paper is found to be a mixed portion of the circulating medium, the present system of Corn-laws of this country could not exist without inflicting constant and serious injury. The moment the Bank finds its bullion extracted and sent to the Continent to purchase corn, it is compelled, in self-defence, to contract its issues, and a natural sympathy exists between that and every other issuing body throughout the length and breadth of the land. So that at the very moment, when, in consequence of the insufficiency of the home crops, it is necessary that every possible stimulus should be given to industry, trade becomes paralysed, and the means of the manufacturers to employ the people become crippled; thus making the evil of an insufficient crop be felt in a still greater degree, and adding to that distress which the unfortunate state of the seasons brings on the community at large. Much reference has been made to temporary periods of prosperity, but I must now repeat, in conformity with views which I have repeatedly uttered in this House, that notwithstanding these temporary periods of prosperity, still the evil of the existing system has been running on not less certainly nor less surely, though it has not been seen so near the surface as now. It is my opinion, that in those very years to which allusion is thus made, in 1834, 1835, and 1836, these Corn-laws were working their pernicious effects upon the country, and that had it not been for the credit then given, the crisis would have arrived some years sooner. It has, however, been customary for many persons to state, that they conceived the trade of this country could not be in a state of paralysis, because looking at the exports they perceived an increase in articles of production exported. Now, it is true, that there has been an increase in the export of cotton twist; but I have always been induced to regret that increased export, because, although we increase our exports of cotton twist, we have lost the conversion of it into cotton cloth, and we are now driving on in that direction, that as soon as the continental manufacturers find themselves able to supply cotton twist as they have already done cotton piece goods, they will turn round upon us and say, "You have taught us to make cheaper than you can yourselves; can you expect us to have any consideration for you when you would not open your ports to our corn, and so forced us to make for ourselves?" This is what the continental buyer will say to us. Thus we have been forced to the most distant countries for markets for our manufactures; to countries where the currency is not fixed, nor the stability of affairs certain; and where, in consequence of the lengthened credit we are obliged to give, our own capital is employed in the improvement of their manufactures. Another fact connected with the supposed prosperity attending increased exports in 1839 and 1840, is, that there is no doubt that many manufacturers (I speak of the cotton trade and districts), who never in any previous year made shipments to the continental markets, have assured me that such has been the depreciated state of the market at home, that they have been compelled, in order to get rid of their stock, to consign considerably to foreign markets. Much of the supposed prosperity arising from increased exports is to be attributed to such operations as these, where the manufacturer, if compelled to sell in the home market, could only do so at a loss, or at best gain a fractional advantage by waiting for months, and where, therefore, he thought it better to make a sacrifice of the property abroad than at home, because, then it was out of sight, and would not depreciate the price of the article when regularly supplied to the home market. Many manufacturers have told me that they have thus been driven into those markets from the total failure of the market at home. I received a letter on the 20th of this month from a large calico printer in the county of Lancaster, who has been making purchases of cotton cloth at 5*s*. 9*d*. a piece, where before he had given for them nearly twice the amount. From the statements of this correspondent, it appears that there has been a gradual annual diminution of prices since 1835. In that year the price on the 1st of January was 9*s*. 6*d*. In 1836, it was 9*s*.; in 1837, 8*s*. 4*d*.; in 1838, 7*s*. 8*d*.; in 1839, 8*s*.; in 1840, 6*s*. 6*d*.; on the 1st of January, 1841, it was 6*s.* 3*d.*; in June, it fell to 6*s.*, and in the present month, at the time he writes, it had fallen to 5*s.* 9*d.* This description of power loom cloth is denominated twenty-seven inches cloth, which is of the greatest consumption in calico printing, and I take it therefore as the standard. Sir, I have to apologise to the House for the very dry manner in which I have been compelled to introduce this subject. I wish it had been in my power to have done so in a manner more worthy its attention, but the subject is too important to be neglected, and I must therefore crave the indulgence of the House. On that ground I crave its attention. It appears to me that we ought not to measure the probable consumption of the future by the actual consumption of the past. Since the alteration of the Corn-laws in 1828, we have each year been compelled to import some quantity of foreign grain, and this year we have imported a considerable quantity, but we still require more. It is not fair, however, to estimate that the consumption of past years, or of the present, is as much as the country could consume were the population placed in the situation in which they ought to be if the trade and manufactures of the country were in a sound and healthy state, and if the people, instead of being depressed and thrown out of work, had full employment, caused by the increased importation of corn from abroad in exchange for manufactures. Let us not be led to compare the present consumption of corn with what it would be under more advantageous circumstances. Experience has shown that the destruction of monopoly has always led to increased consumption. I would merely refer, in proof of this, to the great success which attended the endeavours made by Mr. Huskisson to liberalize our foreign commercial policy. Look how successful he was in his measure for opening the trade in the East. The most serious forebodings preceded that alteration in our policy, yet how futile were all those apprehensions and the prophecy that our trade with the East Indies would diminish if any alteration were made. Then, again, with regard to the silk trade; there were not wanting those who said that in two years it would be exterminated in this country. Its present state of increase is the best possible answer to those predictions. In other cases the same results occurred. In the article of wool—and I address myself here to the landed interest—in that article it is a most singular fact, that when wool was protected by a duty of 6*d.* a-pound the farmers were in a state of depression, but when the duty was reduced the consumption increased, and wool has become an article of general consumption at a much higher price than before. The most wonderful results have been produced in regard to the consumption and manufacture of wool under the reduced duty. I refer to the subject only to show how little reliance can be placed on such predictions as those which always precede such changes as those now under discussion. The protection for corn now enjoyed cannot be maintained. The country is languishing under it, and I solemnly believe that the best means of restoring it to that position which every well wisher towards it would desire to see, will be found in the encouragement of manufactures by throwing down all obstacles to free industry and enterprise, and making and maintaining this as the greatest manufacturing nation in the world. I solemnly believe that by doing this the Legislature would confer the greatest and most lasting blessing on this country and on mankind. The subject is one, however, which must in all its details occupy the attention of the House; and I will not, therefore, enter further into it now. I would only again refer to that portion of her Majesty's speech which expresses her Majesty's sympathy with those of her subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment; and urge upon the House to join in our address in the earnest prayer of her Majesty, that our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of her beloved people. Having seen so much of the distress to which her Majesty alludes as existing among her subjects, I cannot sit down without stating my honest opinion, that at the present moment the sufferings of the people, deep as they are, have been borne with a fortitude and patience above all praise; and I would only earnestly entreat the House to give the earliest attention to remedying the evils of the working classes; for on this House the eyes of the country are fixed, and from it the relief of sound legislation is most earnestly expected. The sympathy of her Majesty is felt by all. Sincere as it is, however, still in itself it will not create relief, and it is therefore for this House to adopt the course recommended by her Majesty, and take into its earliest consideration the subject referred to by her Majesty; and I am sure the House will join in the prayer of her Majesty, that "our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of her beloved people." The hon. Gentleman concluded by reading the Address.—(*See p.* 24.)

Mr. *J. C. Dundas* said, that, in rising to second the Address which had just been moved, he felt himself relieved from the necessity of offering many observations to the House by the very comprehensive speech which his hon. Friend had delivered. His hon. Friend had entered so fully into almost every question which the Queen's Speech embraced, and had demonstrated at such length the merits of the Address, that he scarcely knew to what subject he might venture to allude. It would indeed be quite a work of supererogation for him to go through all the various topics on which his hon. Friend had expatiated with so much ability and precision. In common with his hon. Friend, and he was sure he might say in common with the whole House, he felt he might congratulate her Majesty that the peace of Europe was likely to remain undisturbed. In acknowledging the benefits of peace, he was sure he spoke the sentiments of all present, on both sides of the House; and they would all agree with him in thanking her Majesty on the prospect of the continuance of friendly relations with the great powers of Europe. He trusted he might look upon some of the topics in the speech as a good augury for the future. He trusted that the nations, of at least the civilized portion of the globe, had at length adopted a mode of adjusting their differences in accordance with the advanced state of civilization, by friendly mediation, rather than by resorting to the ancient method of war, which was never satisfactory, and nothing but the right of the strong. He was happy to think that the estrangement of France, which had been so much prophecied, had proved but temporary. They had now the assurance that that estrangement had ceased; and he was sure the whole House would be glad to do anything which should have the effect of strengthening the alliance of France and England. Much as he desired the maintenance of peace, he felt that it was almost impossible that nations having large colonial possessions and extensive commercial intercourse should be able at all times to boast of tranquillity in all quarters of the globe; and it had unfortunately happened, that in consequence of war and rebellions, this country had been obliged to increase its expenditure to an extent which the revenue of this country could not meet. No one could be more sorry than himself that there should exist any necessity to call on the country for increased supplies; but if anything could in his mind mitigate the evil, it would be the fact that it had been the means of propelling her Majesty's Ministers in some degree into their present course of policy, and into the promulgation of those great measures on which the prosperity, and, he might add, almost the existence, of the manufactures and commerce of the country depended. He was not one of those who believed, that, though, under the present system, the commerce of the country might decline, still the agricultural interest would prosper. He was convinced, that the different interests of the country were so united, that if any distress affected one particular class, it must be felt by all. If the consumer of agricultural produce suffered distress, it was not possible but to conceive that the producer must also suffer from the diminution of the demand for the article. It was his earnest hope that the House might hit upon such measures as would to the utmost, mitigate the distress which had been so accurately described by his hon. Friend, and that, too, without injury to any class; but he was convinced that no such system could be adopted unless a large and liberal improvement in the commercial policy of the country were adopted. He felt confident, that if they allowed the manfacturing population to fall into a state of distress, the agricultural population must also suffer. Suppose the number of manufacturers out of employment were to be increased, the agriculturists would then find that the privations of the manufacturers would be reflected on them, and distress and disaffection would fill the union workhouses. However, he still had hopes that those evils might yet be averted, and that measures might be adopted which would effect an improvement in the condition of the people. He had the greatest confidence in the measures promulgated by his noble Friends near him; but he had not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining the views of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. That right hon. Gentleman had said, that until he had ascertained the condition of the patient, he would not explain his remedies; but doctors had been sometimes found to agree, and it might happen that the doctor to be called in would adopt the very remedies which had already been prescribed by the doctor in charge of the patient. That such might be the case was his anxious wish. He had on previous occasions seen the right hon. Baronet adopt the recipe of the noble Lord on the Ministerial bench. He had seen measure after measure brought forward by his noble Friend, and carried, some with the acquiescence and some in spite of the opposition of the right hon. Baronet opposite. He trusted that such might be the case on the present occasion; and that, backed by the phalanx which occupied the opposite benches, he would carry those great and popular measures which must one day or other, either with or without his consent, become the law of the land. He would not go into details on the various subjects included in the Speech, but would content himself with seconding the Address.

The Address read by the Speaker.

Mr. *S. Wortley* said, that he trusted he should not be accused of undue presumption, if he presented himself to the notice of the Chair, and of the House, at that early period after his re-appearance within those walls, in order to propose for the adoption of the House a different course from that which had been urged upon their attention by the hon. Gentlemen who had addressed them from the opposite benches. It would certainly have been more in conformity with his wishes if he could have remained a bystander, on this occasion, and kept his place without mixing in the debate; but, at the same time, feeling as he did, the most complete concurrence in the views and opinions entertained by many hon. Gentlemen on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and the most entire conviction of the propriety of the course which it had been proposed to adopt that evening with respect to the Address, by those around him, he felt, that however great his personal backwardness and disinclination from taking such a duty upon him, he could not, on the score of any personal considerations, suffer himself to shrink from coming forward to raise his voice against the course which her Majesty's Ministers had that evening thought proper to pursue in the speech which they had advised. But if he were liable to any charge of presumption for thus coming forward, perhaps he might hope to find something of a justification in the circumstances under which he appeared before them. The circumstances were these:—It was not long since her Majesty had put a question to the country, and asked them to return an answer which might serve as some guidance to her in the future conduct of her Government. Now he appeared there as the bearer of a portion of that answer, and he hoped that, without presumption, he might say, that he appeared there as the bearer of not the least significant portion of that answer. He felt therefore, that he was not wholly without justification in coming forward so early, because in giving expression to his sentiments on this occasion, he should do that which would be acceptable to his constituents, and that he should not only express the sentiments of his own constituency, but, as he believed, of the greater portion of the people of this country. Yes, he believed that he embodied the wishes of the great mass of the constituencies of these kingdoms when he asked the House whether the hon. Members who now sat in the position of her Majesty's Ministers were those Ministers with whom it wished to intrust the government of the country? He felt that in this course he could not be subjected to any imputation of impropriety, because such had been the ancient course adopted on both sides of the House, and because it had often been the practice to engraft on the Address other and different sentiments from those which the original Address contained, and from the views and opinions of its supporters. This course was, besides, he thought, desirable in many points of view—it was respectful to the Crown—it was constitutional—it was intelligible; and lastly, he thought hon. Gentlemen opposite had no cause to complain of the course which it was intended to pursue on that occasion, by those with whom he had the honour to act. In the first place, he said, the course he should propose for the adoption of the House was respectful to the Crown. The Crown having put the question to the country, and having desired that an answer should be given, the constituencies had sent him and the rest of the House there, to return that answer, and it was not disrespectful to the Crown that, at the earliest moment, they should make her Majesty acquainted with what was that answer, and communicate to her what they had learned from the country, in order that she might be relieved as soon as possible from any further state of delay and uncertainty. It was a constitutional course too, and not only was it constitutional, but altogether in the spirit in which it had been the practice of each of the great parties in their turn to act in that House. If he wanted a precedent, he might refer to 1835, when his own predecessor in the seat which he then occupied in that House, undertook that course with respect to the Address proposed by the then Ministers of the Crown, and undertook it, perhaps, without quite so good a ground as he (Mr. S. Wortley) had, because he told the House that he had no fault to find with the Address; but the noble Lord desired, nevertheless, that the House should agree to make an addition to the Address, which he proposed. If, then, hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House did not think that the address on this occasion was faultless, he (Mr. S. Wortley) and hon. Gentlemen whose views were in unison with his had a still better right, he thought to ask the House to consent to an addition to the address on this occasion than had his predecessor on the occasion to which he had referred; and with respect to her Majesty's Ministers, he thought that they had not only no reason to complain, but that, in fact, the noble Lord ought to consider the course adopted by his hon. Friends as an act of most obliging courtesy. It was not a long time since the noble Lord had published an address to his new constituency, in which were these words:—

> "As soon as the new Parliament meets we shall take the first opportunity of asking for a clear and decided judgment upon the policy we have proposed."

The noble Lord, it seemed, proposed to call on the first opportunity, for a judgment on his whole policy; and he said that in doing that for the noble Lord which amounted to granting him the opportunity he spoke of, in saving the noble Lord the trouble of asking specifically for a judgment, they were doing nothing but what was fairly attributable to pure courtesy. But there was a still stronger reason, in his opinion, why the House should assent to his proposition; for he thought the House ought not to separate without expressing a strong opinion as to whether her Majesty's Ministers were or were not entitled, in the circumstances in which they were placed, to dictate to the House of Commons what should be the course it should pursue. He wished to put as strongly as he could the nature of the case in which he stood with respect to her Majesty's Government, and if he were to endeavour to do so ever so earnestly he should not be able to do it half so well as was done in words which had been used by the noble Lord some years ago. In the year 1834, in the course of one of those repeated discussions which had taken place upon the Irish Church, the noble Lord said—

> "I consider that the Government of this country must be carried on upon the principle which I may venture to describe—that the Government ought to be formed of persons agreeing in principle with the majority of the House of Commons, and I think it necessary to state that the House of Commons have a right, if the Ministers of the Crown have not their confidence, to express their opinion to the Crown, and have a right to require that the Ministers of the Crown should be persons in whose character and principles they are disposed to confide." [" *Cheers.*"]

The noble Lord (Lord John Russell) cheered. No doubt he did not swerve from his principles; no doubt he adopted that doctrine, as genuine constitutional doctrine, from which he had no disposition to shrink; and he was on his part glad to concur with the noble Lord and to meet his wishes by giving an opportunity for the House of Commons to declare its opinion of the character and policy of her Majesty's present advisers. The hon. Gentleman who had proposed the address had taken great pains to impress upon the House that the distressed and unhappy condition of the manufacturing population was entirely consequent upon the rejection by the late House of Commons of that course of policy which had been recommended by her Majesty's Government. Now this was very well; but, for his part, he must say, that though it might be very convenient for her Majesty's Government to identify themselves as much as possible with these questions, and make the country believe that their course was wrapped up with free trade and the abolition of the Corn-laws, he should still insist that it was not on that occasion that they were to go into a discussion on the Corn-laws. Let it be understood that he was far from wishing that the hon. Member for Manchester should not be allowed to make his speech on free trade; or any other hon. Member his speech on the abolition of the

Corn-laws but he said, notwithstanding the speeches of the hon. Mover and Seconder, and notwithstanding the paragraph which her Majesty's Ministers had introduced into the Speech from the Throne, that that was not the question on that occasion, but the question was, whether her Majesty's present advisers were persons with whom the country would consent to intrust the Government. For his part he was not indisposed to discuss these questions on a fitting opportunity, he had never shirked them, he had discussed them often within a short period, and he said, the sooner the discussion of them came on in the House of Commons the better. But though he did not decline the discussion—though he wished that the House should have a speedy opportunity of apprising her Majesty of the sentiments of her people on these questions, still he said, that when the House had reason to believe, that the policy of her Majesty's present Ministers had not been in accordance with the views and opinions of the majority in that House—when they had reason to believe, that the present acts and policy of her Majesty's advisers had forfeited for them the confidence of the country, they ought not to discuss this question at present, or suffer their attention to be called away from the real question before them, which was, whether her Majesty's Ministers could safely be intrusted any longer with the management of the affairs of this country. On this occasion, therefore, he was tempted, and he felt it would be desirable, to go into a rather more extensive retrospect of the policy of her Majesty's Ministers than he should otherwise have supposed neccessary, if he had not felt, that he ought to state the real question before the House as he had done. Again, when he stated, that the Ministers had no longer the confidence of the people of this country, or of this House, he was bound, he thought, to state how that result had been effected. He thought, then, that it was caused by an oblivion of pledges, by an abandonment of principles, and of late in consequence of their tampering with the most serious and solemn questions which could by possibility affect the interests of the people for the sake of advancing their party interests. If, therefore, he took a greater range in the retrospect which he was about to institute than might be barely called for by the occasion, he thought that the Ministry could not complain; but at any rate he should go back a good way, even to the time of Lord Grey's Administration. He saw the noble Lord the leader of the Government in this House, who had been a member of Lord Grey's Government; the noble Viscount had also been a member of Lord Grey's Government, Lord Melbourne had been a member of Lord Grey's Government; and various noble Lords in the other House, members of the present Cabinet, had been members of Lord Grey's Government. Therefore he thought that it behoved the House to look back and see what were the principles on which Lord Grey's Government had taken their stand, in order to see whether the present Government had given effect to the principles to the promulgation of which at the time Lord Grey came into office they were parties. He supposed that no one could forget what were the principles on which Lord Grey's Government had come into office. The country about that time had heard much of the wasteful expenditure of former Ministries —of their propensity to war—of their hostility to reform. Lord Grey, therefore, had announced that he came in upon these three great principles of economy, peace, and reform. Let it be observed how far these principles had been carried out by the present Ministry. To begin with the subject of peace, in the first place:—They had been told that the new Whig Government were to keep this country at peace during the time they were at the head of affairs. What was the result? Notwithstanding this assurance, they had had a war, though it was only a little war, at Antwerp; then they had a somewhat larger, but an unintelligible, war in Spain; then they had a war in India; then a war in China; and, last of all, a war in Syria. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the noble Lord pretended to arrogate to himself and his Government exclusive praise for having supported a policy of peace. That exclusive credit was what Lord Grey's Government also assumed, and though he (Mr. S. Wortley) did not mean to say that they ought to question the whole policy of a Government because of one or two such results as these, and some of these results might be right, and others might be wrong. But what mattered that? He said, what mattered that? Though there might be justification for some of those results which were wrong, that was not the opportunity for entering into those justifications. At any rate, he maintained that the Government had no right to give it out that they had an exclusive secret for keeping peace with such results. If they looked to the period immediately subsequent to 1815, and from that year to 1830, they found that there had been nothing like a war, except that isolated, he might almost call it accidental, action of Navarino, yet in the last ten years there had been no less than five wars. Now, though there might be justification for some of these wars, yet he saw no defence in this against his charge upon the Ministry, which was not that they had entered into wars, but that after having claimed exclusive credit for keeping the country at peace and securing us from foreign conflict, they had nevertheless plunged the country into numerous wars. The next great principle which Earl Grey's Government vaunted was economy. They promised that they would be the most economical Government that the country had ever seen for many years. What was the result? They found that Government now with an accumulated deficiency in the revenue of between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 of money, and with the country in great difficulty. Now, he condemned not the Government wholly for this. God forbid that he should discourage or denounce the application to the various departments of the public service, to the navy especially, the money which it was proper should be applied to the current services; still, though he did not denounce or discourage such applications of money, he said, that a Government had no right to set out with vaunting propositions which had subsequently fallen to the ground. But now they came to the last article, the question of reform. He admitted that on this head they had to a considerable extent carried out their proposals. Parliamentary and corporation reform, were carried; but it was to be observed that whereas in the points of peace and economy little was to be gained but reputation, there were persons who would suspect that these reforms might not be wholly disinterested. He did not mean to say that there were not many who supported the measures of reform from pure motives, but many persons undoubtedly came to the conclusion that reform in Parliament and corporation reform might lead to more substantial advantage. There was undoubtedly that distinction between the cases. This, however, was the only point in which the professions of the Government could be said to be redeemed. He had no doubt that there were some Members in that House who recollected an observation made by Lord Althorp in one of the debates on the Reform Bill. That noble Lord said, "thank God, the day has for ever passed away when the Government of the country can be carried on by patronage." He would ask any one who had watched the proceedings of the Government for the last ten years, or rather for the last six years more especially, whether her Majesty's Ministers had not lavished more places and peerages amongst their supporters than any previous government? Let the House look almost to their last act in the last session, when they endeavoured to induce Parliament to pass a measure which would give them extensive patronage, but which could not be carried into effect during the probable period of their remaining in office. When a proposition was made by a right hon. Gentleman, that the patronage to be created under the Bill should be given to those who should be in office at the time that it would be brought into operation, and when there was no pretence for hurrying this measure through the House, her Majesty's Ministers made an indecent clutch at the patronage thus to be created; and because the House would not assent to their demands they abandoned the Bill. He felt that he should weary the House if he went through all the points in its recollection as to the delinquencies of this kind of which her Majesty's Ministers had been guilty. If they looked to various topics connected with the church — to topics connected with our colonies — to topics having reference to the internal government of the country, they would find numerous questions which gave rise to the same reflections which he had made on other parts of their policy, and which would give rise to the same charges against them as those which he had made for other of their acts. If they looked to the history of the appropriation clause in the Irish Tithe Bill, they would see a remarkable instance of the departure of the Government from its most solemn pledges. The hon. Member for Sheffield proposed the clause relative to appropriation in the Irish Tithe Bill of 1834. That proposition was strongly resisted by the Government on the ground that they intended to issue a commission to inquire into the state of the revenues of the Irish church. They objected to the motion on the ground that it would be absurd to declare that they would apply this appropriation clause until the result of the inquiry was known, and until they found out whether there would be any surplus revenue. What took place in 1835? Her Majesty's present Government came before Parliament and proposed a resolution to the effect that no settlement of the Irish Tithe question would be satisfactory unless it involved the principle of appropriation. The commission had, at that time, been issued, but the commissioners had not made any report on the subject. This, then, was the answer to the observation that it would be absurd to legislate on the subject without inquiry. They shortly afterwards obtained office, and in 1838, when the subject had gone through discussion after discussion, they recommended that the Irish Tithe Bill should be passed without the appropriation clause. This was a striking instance in which her Majesty's Ministers had not fulfilled a solemn pledge, and upon which they had obtained the support of the country, and the power and patronage of the state. He would now come to that subject more especially before the country at present, and would shortly point out what had been the conduct of the Government with regard to the budget and to the proposed alteration of the duties on sugar and corn. When a proposition was made last year for a reduction of the duty on foreign sugar it was strongly resisted on the ground that it would not be fair to the West Indian colonies to do so, considering the peculiar situation in which they were at present placed. If he wanted a clear and succinct view of the arguments against this proposition he had only to refer to the speech made on that occasion by his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. If they looked to that speech made in 1840 they would see a complete answer to the arguments in favour of the proposition which the right hon. Gentleman so strenuously supported in the present year. He not only resisted the motion when it was brought forward in June, but he continued to do so in the month of August, when a short discussion took place, when the right hon. Gentleman made a similar statement of his opinion in opposition to the proposition for the reduction of the duty on foreign sugar. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman said that the difficulties of the question were not of a financial or commercial character, but were founded on the reasons which the right hon. Gentleman explained in the former debate on the subject, namely the present state of the West Indies. But in 1841, notwithstanding the strong opinions expressed in the previous year, the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues came to the House and made the identical proposition which he had opposed before. This question and that connected with the Corn-laws had been mixed up with the view to induce the people to believe that, by rejecting them, they would be rejecting propositions for cheap sugar and cheap bread. In the course of the year he had seen with the greatest pain, the extensive sufferings endured by the people, and he must say, his sympathies had been strongly excited by the calm temper in which the people had discussed the subject, and had refused to make themselves the tools of the Government. The people of this country were enlightened by nothing more than by the course of proceedings of the Government. It had been proposed in a manner which had convinced the people that the proposition had not been made with just and legitimate intentions. If they had believed that such had been the case, the propositions might have had a greater effect, and they might have been listened to with greater attention. The people of this country, however, had been induced to look into the whole subject, and into the manner in which it had been brought forward, and the result had been that the people saw that much might be said on the other side of the question, and that they ought not to take all for granted because it came from her Majesty's Ministers. With respect to the corn question, it would be in the recollection of the House that the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, in a former debate on the Corn-laws, said, "it was his opinion, that if, upon a question of this kind, there was a general disposition to have an alteration of the law," (and there had been no manisfestation of any such disposition),

> "If," he said, "upon a question of this kind, there was a general disposition to have an alteration of the law, and a general wish to have the question settled by some new measure of legislation; but that there was a diversity of opinion as

to the measure that ought to be adopted, the Government might safely step in, and frame such a measure as might be most conducive to the national interests, and propose it for the adoption of Parliament, thereby securing a greater support for it than the measure of any individual Member could obtain. Such, however, was not the position of the Corn-laws. There were Members on both sides of the House constituting a considerable majority, who thought that there ought not to be any alteration of the present laws. That being the case, the introduction of a measure by the Government would have only been adding to all the arguments and prejudices which influenced the votes and opinions of Members on the subject, and giving rise to party strife and contention, thereby not promoting but retarding the settlement of the question."

These were the sentiments of the noble Lord on the 26th of May, 1840, yet, in the very next year, the noble Lord came down to the House to propose a measure of the very character he had described, though there was not an atom more of disposition to assent to it, on the part of the House than there was before. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side assured them that the great principles of free trade would take effect in spite of any opposition on the part of his Friends; the hon. Gentleman might, on his part, be assured that whatever was true and valuable and desirable in the principles of free trade, did not depend for its success upon individuals, one way or the other. If there was anything likely to promote the interests of the country in those principles, and he had no disposition to say there was not; he took the doctrines of free trade, not in the sense in which they had been attempted to be palmed upon the country by the present Ministry, but in the sense in which he had himself given them his steady support for many years. The Parliament might depend upon it that whether the present Ministry stood or fell, it would make no difference with respect to anything in those principles which was really worth having. The course of the Government on the Corn-laws had done more to forfeit for them the confidence of the country than anything else they had done; and this was, in a great measure, owing to the circumstance that in their conduct in this matter was exhibited a more complete dereliction from their former professions than in any other part of their conduct. Lord Melbourne, for instance, had repeatedly declared, in his place in the House of Lords, that any idea of meddling with the corn-laws was the maddest scheme ever propounded. In 1840, when a question was put to the noble Viscount on this subject, he renewed the announcement, that it was not the intention of Government to propose any change in these laws; and he added, that to attempt to introduce the subject of a fixed duty would stir society to its foundations, and that he would never consent to any such proposition; yet in 1841, though the arguments remained in every respect the same as those which existed in 1840, though there had been distress in 1840 as well as in 1841—though there had been for years past a deficiency, as well as in 1841—though the objections which they had stated to any such measure in 1840 were in full operation in 1841; yet, in 1841, Government did not scruple to come down and tell the House, in the words of the noble Foreign Secretary, that this was a question between the profits of the few and the interests of the many; and that it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to strike a blow at the great monopolies which had so long retarded the prosperity of the country. Now, if in spite of all these objections, they could see that the affairs of the country had been so conducted, on the whole, as to have led to a satisfactory and cheering result, he might consent to give the Government some credit; but what was the prospect before us? They were told, in her Majesty's speech, that she was enabled to inform them, that she continued to receive the most friendly assurances from the various powers of Europe; she told them that the question of the Ottoman empire was almost settled; but to those who were uninstructed in such matters, it would appear that the integrity of that empire was still in jeopardy; with insurrection in Candia, disturbances in Servia, and insubordination in Syria, the uninitiated in diplomacy were rather inclined to the opinion that things were not altogether in the best possible train in that quarter. Going on somewhat further, he said that in India we were engaged in a war of which it was difficult to foresee the end; we had overstepped one of the strongest of frontiers, and we had got ourselves into difficulties of which it was quite impossible to assign the extent or the termination. The noble Lord, in the Speech, told them that in consequence of events which had taken place of late, this war was likely to cease; but the country required to have much clearer information on this point, and to know in particular whether the dynasty which our Government in India had undertaken to support, was at all likely to stand in the existing state of things. Going further eastward, we come to China, and here again we found ourselves engaged in a war, of which the course and the object were alike very difficult to be understood, and of which he defied any man to say what was likely to be the result. God knew he was not disposed to doubt that the conduct and valour of the British troops in that country were likely to accomplish all that could be accomplished by any forces; but, at the present moment, he could not think the Government justified in stating that they saw any distinct prospect of the war being brought to a satisfactory conclusion. While upon these topics, he could not but express his astonishment that, throughout the whole of the Speech, there was not one syllable of mention made of the state of affairs in another quarter of the globe, where it was impossible to deny that things at the present moment were somewhat of a threatening aspect. He did not suppose that the House or the country expected any explicit declaration or information from the noble Lord on that subject; but at a moment when there was no point in the whole range of foreign policy which commanded more interest, and excited more anxiety, it was worthy of notice, that neither in the Speech from the Throne, nor in the Address now submitted to the House for its adoption, was there a syllable of mention made as to the relations of this country with the United States. He trusted there was no reason to suppose that the noble Lord at the head of this department would leave affairs in that quarter of the globe in such a state as would compromise the honour of this country; but still it was impossible to deny, that at this moment the original causes which gave rise to all our anxiety on this subject were in full existence, that no change had been made in the circumstances which gave the threatening aspect to our intercourse with that power; and that it was very difficult for any man not supplied with the information which might be in the possession of the noble Lord to say on what footing the interests of this country now stood with that power. He did not then think there was any case for congratulation on the state of our foreign relations. Was the aspect of affairs at home more satisfactory? On all sides there were to be seen general depression and stagnation of trade; much discontent: they saw the noble Secretary for the Colonies, in addressing his constituents of the city of London, telling them that he thought agitation justifiable, that he thought the Government justified in agitating the country, for the purpose of carrying certain questions [*No, no*]; yes, in one of his speeches to that constituency the noble Lord said, he had been accused of agitating on the Corn-laws, but he thought agitation on certain subjects quite justifiable, and he referred to the Habeas Corpus Act, which he said had been obtained solely by agitation; and here then was a Cabinet Minister, who, on the hustings had given his express sanction to agitation. Then, again, let it be remembered that the present Government was in close and intimate relations with and depended on the support of those who, in one breath, sullied the name of their Sovereign with the most fulsome adulation, and in the next gloated over the prospect of a foreign war, and offered a treasonable welcome on the shores of Ireland to the armed enemies of her Crown. He thought, then, it had become the first business of Parliament to consider whether such a Government was a fit one to be longer trusted with the administration of affairs. The opinion of the country, unequivocally expressed, was, that they were not worthy of the slightest confidence; the late returns showed that Ministers had not the popular support which they enjoyed some years back. The noble Secretary for the Colonies had confessed that the result of the late elections showed that Government was in a minority in the House of Commons; and it was, therefore, the first duty of that House to express to her Majesty the opinion which it held in unison with its constituents, and to inform her of that which it was most essential to know, before they proceeded to the business of the country; before they assumed those responsibilities which it involved; and this they must do by declaring to her expressly that the present Government did not possess the confidence of the people, Nor had their constituents merely sent them there to express this feeling. The constituencies regarded their delegation for the expression of this opinion as a means to an end. They expected that, as the right hon. Baronet had expressed it, new physicians should be called in; that those who, by the course objected to, had forfeited the confidence of the nation, should give way to those who would then be placed in a position in unison with the sense of the large majority of Parliament. It was on these grounds that he ventured to call on the House to adopt a different course from that proposed by the hon. Gentleman opposite, and to ask the House to return such an answer to her Majesty as they had been commissioned by the country to give, once more recording on the journals of the House the judgment against the present Ministers, which had now been recognised and corroborated by the general voice of the people The hon. Gentleman read his Amendment.—(*see p.* 53.)

Lord *Bruce*, in seconding the amendment, declared that he rose with great reluctance to occupy the attention of the House, and were he not under the influence of a paramount sense of duty, he should not at such a moment be induced to take up any portion of the time of the House. He had the honour to represent an important commercial town—a town which he believed was destined, ere long, to engross a very large proportion of the import trade of the country. Now, though his constituents widely differed in local situation and in local interests from the constituents of his hon. Friend who moved the amendment, yet he was rejoiced to be able to state to the House that his own constituents most cordially agreed in sentiment with those of his hon. Friend, and, he might say, were in perfect accordance with the sentiments embodied in the amendment. This circumstance, he frankly acknowledged, was not without its weight, in inducing him to rise for the purpose of seconding that amendment. There was one other consideration which emboldened him to address the House on the present occasion, which was, that as a new Member he felt bound to express his sympathy with the late House of Commons. He was bound to express his own and his constituents acquiescence and concurrence in the sentiments and the feelings of that House, when they declared that the Ministers of the Crown did not enjoy the confidence of Parliament. However insignificant a Member might be, yet perhaps the mere circumstance of his being perfectly new to that House would, in some degree justify his taking a prominent part upon an occasion like the present. On the fate of the amendment would depend the degree of sympathy which might be supposed to subsist between the Members of that House and their constituents, but the effect of the recent dissolution could alone show the sympathy which prevailed between the late House of Commons and the great body of the people; and they—the present House of Commons—ought not to feel themselves at liberty to proceed to any other business, and ought on no account, to enter upon the discussion of specific measures until after the expression of a general opinion upon the conduct and professed principles of the present advisers of the Crown. He felt that after the recapitulation of the grounds on which his hon. Friend moved his amendment, it would be unnecessary and unbecoming for him to trouble the House at any great length; but there was one point to which he could not help adverting, and that was, an admission contained in the address of the noble Lord opposite. From the style and composition of that production it was impossible to regard it as an ephemeral publication—it was formally and deliberately written, with a full consciousness that it was to be received as the carefully expressed sentiments of a Minister of the Crown. It was well known to the House that the noble Lord had therein described the late dissolution as a failure—that it had failed to produce from the country a verdict favourable to the Government. He agreed that in many cases success formed no sufficient criterion of merit; but if ever there was a case of ill success which unequivocally indicated demerit, he should say that the present was one—it was one by which Ministers were convicted of recklessness, incapacity or worse, from a House of Commons elected under their own auspices: they appealed to the country, and the decision had been unfavourable. The present conduct of the Ministers of the Crown could only be justified on the hypothesis, that the new House of Commons would reverse the judgment of the House which preceded them; but when the decision of the House should prove diametrically opposite to that which they seemed to expect, then such conduct would be an additional proof of their incapacity, and would materially tend to aggravate the charges already preferred against them, and under the weight of which they must continue to remain. It was true, that before the noble Lord had addressed his constituents, the Ministers of the Crown might, with some appearance of justification, say that they did not up to the present moment possess any means of ascertaining the sense of Parliament upon their conduct and principles; but the noble Lord had the manliness not to avail himself of any such subterfuge. He frankly acknowledged that they had been defeated by an overwhelming majority. After that admission a thrill of astonishment and dismay passed through the nation when they found, that notwithstanding the position in which Ministers found themselves, the stream of dignities and emoluments continued welling forth, and flowed as copiously, if not more profusely, than at any preceding period. The noble Lord issued his address under peculiar circumstances; he delayed it, as he himself stated, until after he could ascertain the results of the returns. Having then made his calculations, did he express repentance or regret? Did he not, on the contrary, use his best endeavours to stir and excite agitation respecting class interests? Did he for a moment say one word of surrendering his trust, and requesting a transfer of power to other hands? Having lost the reality of power—the only thing which could make office desirable, did he intimate any intention of merely holding it so long as the public service might require his continuance in office, at the same time abstaining from the exercise of any authority not absolutely unavoidable? The *Gazettes* gave the lie to any such supposition. The noble Lord told the public that he should face an adverse majority in that House—that he should be a party to such an anomalous state of things as a Government on one side of the House and a majority on the other; surely the country would say, that if any inconvenience to the public service arose from such a state of things there could be no one to blame for that but the present Ministers of the Crown, who had braved the indignation not only of two Houses of Commons but of the nation at large. There were two or three other points to which he wished to direct the attention of the House. He denied that the existing deficiency of the revenue was to be imputed solely to the expeditions which the Government had fitted out, and thought that hon. Members ought seriously to look at the amount of the miscellaneous estimates. Although opposed to the views of the present Government, he was not the enemy of free-trade, as explained and vindicated by Mr. Huskisson, of whose wise and cautious policy he fully approved. The cry of "cheap bread and cheap sugar" had been raised for party purposes; but the free-trade, based on reciprocity, of which Mr. Huskisson was the supporter, had not been adopted by the present Government, and therefore, their measures should not have his (Lord Bruce's) support. He should at all times be prepared to vote for a free-trade on principles of reciprocity, due regard being had to the interests which had grown up under our present commercial system, without which, as he conceived, the rights of the labouring classes could not be protected. Much had been on various occasions said about the interests of the capitalists and the landlords, but unless the measures of a Government were directed equally to secure the rights of the working classes, they never should be supported by a vote of his. It was true that the landlord might derive some increased value to his property from the increase of factories and other buildings upon it, and that the capitalist might more advantageously invest his capital, or he might withdraw it from a sinking concern; but the only capital of the labourer was his skill in his own particular walk, and it was a mockery to tell him that he could find a satisfactory compensation elsewhere. And that led him to say, that he sympathized from the very bottom of his heart with another expression in this amendment, and in which there was a coincidence between the amendment and the Address, namely, "In the gracious expression of her Majesty's deep sympathy with those of her subjects now suffering from distress and want of employment, we recognize an additional proof of her Majesty's tender regard for the welfare of her subjects, and that we cordially join in the prayer of her Majesty, that all our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of the people." He believed that a just regard for the interests of these very labouring classes was the most prominent and greatest reason of all that could be deduced for their proceeding warily in the application of those principles. He could not but advert to the very harsh, and severe, and unjust terms in which it had been the fashion to designate those who had taken an opposite view on these questions to that taken by her Majesty's Government. "In a day," said the noble Lord, "when all monopolies are denounced, I must be permitted to say that, to my mind the monopoly which is the most intolerable and odious is the pretension to the monopoly of public virtue. Never, to my mind, is that pretension advanced with a worse grace than when it is advanced by those who, but an hour ago — but a very short period ago—might with much propriety be classed amongst those whose opinions are now the objects of their reproach." He feared that he had trespassed at too great length; but, as this was his first appearance in that House, he could only return his grateful thanks to the House for the attention with which it had listened to him. But there was still one subject to which for a very short period he must draw the attention of the House. He had observed in the general tenour of the observations made by the Ministerial portion of the press, and the supporters of the Government generally throughout the country, especially since the result of the elections was known, that there had been an attempt at a studied and elaborate recapitulation of all the possible difficulties and dangers which, in the event of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth being called to the head of the Government, with the affairs of the nation in their present posture, he would have to encounter. When he had read over these statements, containing reference to the disordered state of the finances, and to dangers at home and abroad, it had always struck him that the authors might indeed have contemplated, most of these circumstances with feelings of most deep and poignant self-reproach, and that none at least could have regarded them with any other feelings than those of sincere and patriotic regret, had it not been for the tone, the under-current of exultation, which had pervaded them. But whatever might be the feelings of these persons, he trusted that the right hon. Baronet (under the hypothesis they chose to assume), on being called to extricate his country from these embarrassments and difficulties, conscious of the high hopes entertained of him by the country, and of the generous confidence reposed in him by all classes at the late election, and manifested by the large majority in favour of the principles he espoused, returned to that House, would be able to face those difficulties, whatever they might be, not with a spirit of presumptuous defiance, not with the pretensions of empyricism, but with a sincere reliance on the good sense and honesty and fairness of the people; and with a still more constant reliance on the kindly support of that Providence, whose watchful arm had ever supported Great Britain in her difficulties, and which, so long as she had been true to herself, had ever guided her in the paths of honour. And when the period should arive (which he hoped would be very far distant) when in the course of nature, or from circumstances, the hon. Baronet would resign, he trusted that those who were to succeed him, should find that he left them a flourishing exchequer, prosperity of trade, peace at home, honour abroad, and a happy and contented people.

Mr. *Labouchere* said: Mr. Speaker, the noble Lord who had just addressed the House with so much ability, as well as the hon. Gentleman, the Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who preceded him, have assured her Majesty's Government that they have arrayed against them a large majority. I do not stand here to controvert that assertion. The result of the debate in which we were engaged will show whether, and how far, that is the case. But if it should be true, I am too well acquainted with the disposition of the House not to feel assured, that, whatever may be the violence of party feeling, that state of things will only afford an additional reason for giving to any Member, however humble, of that Government, who feels it his duty to address them, a patient and indulgent hearing. Sir, both those Gentlemen have expressed a great eagerness that the House should decide on the question now before us. I can assure them that that eagerness is equally shared by her Majesty's Government—that her Majesty's Government are rejoiced that the time has come when they are able to put before the House the policy on which they conceive the affairs of this country ought to be conducted, and to take the opinion of the House of Commons on that policy, feeling that if they fail to receive that support from the House which can alone enable them to carry their policy to a successful conclusion, no time should be lost in devolving the responsibility of governing the country on other principles, upon those who may think fit to take upon them that task. I have listened with great attention and no small curiosity to the amendment moved by the other side of the House, and I confess, after hearing it read, I am at a loss exactly to understand what its import is, or to what policy it points. I clearly understand the expression of a want of confidence in her Majesty's present advisers, and I can assure the hon. Gentleman, the Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, that it was totally unnecessary for him to take up so long a time in establishing that the House had a full right to express that opinion. I should be the last person in the world to deny that this House, irrespective of any particular measure, has the right, nay, that it is its duty to express such an opinion, on the general ground that it does not feel confidence in the Government. It is due to the Crown—it is due to the country, and I may be permitted to say, it is due to the Government itself,to declare such an opinion when it exists, and to leave them no doubt as to their real position. So far from objecting to such a course, I am rejoiced that it has been taken by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I acknowledge that I think it the fairest that could be pursued. But I did listen with great anxiety to discover what was the policy which the majority of this House, if a majority it is to be, is prepared to recommend to the Crown, in answer to the Speech from the Throne. I confess that, after having heard the amendment, dexterously worded as it is, and hearing the speeches of the Mover and Seconder, I am at a loss to understand what the import of that amendment is. Before, however, I come to that part of the subject to which the amendment specially refers, I will take the liberty of adverting to some observations that have fallen from the Mover and Seconder of the Address. The noble Lord who has just sat down, complained and said that the Government had no right to come down and meet the House of Commons—that the result of the late elections having been unfavourable to her Majesty's Government, they ought at once to have resigned office, and that they had insulted the country and Crown, by continuing to hold the Government till the present time. The hon. Gentleman could hardly have observed in the neighbourhood of whom he was speaking when he made such an observation. I may remind him, that the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Tamworth, in 1835, when he was a Minister of the Crown, and when the result of the general election placed him in an acknowledged minority—the right hon. Gentleman thought proper to meet the Parliament, knowing that a majority was arrayed against him. If he had any doubt, it must have been very soon removed. The expression of opinion commenced with the division on the Speakership, to which I will not now further allude. Then, there was the amendment to the address, which blamed the dissolution, and in which other matters were introduced, implying that the majority of the House did not repose confidence in the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman was slow to take a hint, if he did not acknowledge that the amendment did not very decidedly express that the House of Commons was not disposed to give its support to his ministry. The right hon. Gentleman went on several weeks retaining office, exercising the power and patronage of a minister, and using all the executive functions of office for a period during which he was not able to carry a single vote or measure in the House of Commons. [An hon. *Member*: The malt tax.] I think that is rather an unfortunate suggestion, considering that that solitary victory of the right hon. Gentleman was obtained over his own ally, the present Duke of Buckingham; and those who enabled him to gain it were his political opponents; those who were opposed in principle to his Government, but who felt themselves bound as public men—and as he hoped public men always would feel themselves bound, when an improper attack was made on the revenue and public credit of the country—to support the Government which resisted it. I feel it right to remind the House of these circumstances, when I hear it made a subject of complaint, that her Majesty's ministers continued in office till the meeting of Parliament, after that my noble Friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, with that frankness which I own I think he sometimes does push to a very great length, had written to his constituents—"I know we are in a minority, and shall very soon be turned out." I only remind the House of these circumstances, that it may not be supposed we have acted in an unusual manner in retaining office until the House has formerly recorded its decision on our merits as a Government, and on those important measures, which, on the part of the Crown, we have laid before the House. The hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire went on at great length to state the reasons why he thought the Government had lost the confidence of the country, and said that we had abandoned all the principles on which Lord Grey came into office, and particularly those pledges which Lord Grey gave on entering office ten years ago for peace, economy, and reform. So far from being disposed to admit his allegations, I feel confident that the judgment of this country and of posterity will give us the credit of having maintained those three essential principles of Government, under very difficult circumstances, with as much steadiness and perseverance as it was possible to do. I begin with peace. The hon. Gentleman tells us that some cannon-shots had been fired in the world since we have been in office. That is not the meaning of a pledge of peace. The pledge which Lord Grey made was, that the Government would faithfully and anxiously adhere, as far as was possible, to a peaceful policy. As far as it was possible that endeavour had been crowned with success. No European war was suffered to arise—there was no general break up in that European confederacy which is the surest pledge of peace. At the time Lord Grey took office, it was said from high authority that it would be astonishing if peace could be kept for six months. However, notwithstanding interruptions of minor consequence, the inestimable blessing of general peace had been preserved for ten years. I can only say that if the prediction of hon. Gentlemen opposite be realised, and if the event of this discussion should bring their party into power for such a period as ten years—I think it will be, indeed, matter of congratulation for the country; and it will be most fortunate for the general interests of the human race if they should be able at the end of ten years to say, "The world has not suffered more from the calamities of war than during ten years of Whig administration," I next come to economy. The hon. Member for the West Riding says, "You came in on a pledge of economy but you never did anything to make good your professions." The question of economy is a question of details which it is difficult to discuss on an occasion of this sort. But I say, that if we have been a lavish Government, it implies the severest censure on our political opponents. It is the peculiar province and duty of the opposition to watch over the expenditure of the country. All Governments are generally too prone to increase establishments and incur unnecessary expense; but, with respect to us, the reproach against us from the opposite side has generally been that we did not expend enough of the public money.

Mr. *Wortley* said he did not object to the increase of the army and navy made by her Majesty's Government, but to the policy which had made extraordinary expense necessary.

Mr. *Labouchere* continued: I cannot suppose that Lord Grey's pledge meant, "I will only expend a certain sum of money." Its meaning was, "I will administer the public money in an economical spirit." Lord Grey did not mean to say that it might not be necessary to increase the establishments of the country if the public service required it. The truest economy is to keep the army and navy on an efficient footing. But if in this or any other respect we have not kept the pledge of economy, it proves that no opposition has ever neglected its duty as the present one has done during the last ten years, for not one word has it said against our expenditure. The hon. Gentleman charges us with having failed to keep the pledge of reform. Reform in Parliament, reform in the boroughs count for nothing, because he says we have had a party interest in those reforms. I do hope we shall always have a party interest in the reform of acknowledged abuses, and in promoting measures for the benefit of the people. I do not think that any reproach to us; but I may remind the hon. Gentleman that a great class of important improvements has been introduced during the time of Whig Administration, to which his observation cannot refer. We have introduced reform in the Church, in tithes, in the Poor-laws, and many other important improvements during the last ten years, which cannot be attributed to any party motive. It is a matter of just pride to me, and to those with whom I have the honour to be associated, to look back to those important changes which were carried forward in spite of predictions made by so many, by none with greater confidence than the hon. Member for the West Riding, who, in his opposition to the Reform Bill, accused us of subverting the constitution of the country, and introducing ruin and confusion. I rejoice to look back to that great reform, by which so widely beneficial an improvement was effected; and to feel that all that is valuable in the constitution of the country is more solid and sound than ever, and more loved and revered by the people than while it was defaced by those corruptions and abuses which have been removed. I hold the true object of reform to be to preserve by amending; and I cannot look back to the long series of measures which we have carried, without feeling that in that respect we have been successful in discharging our duty to the country. The hon. Gentleman says we are not now in the condition to discuss the measures of free trade which we have brought forward, and intimates that a notion has prevailed in the country, that those measures were not brought forward upon due reflection, and from a conviction of their paramount importance, but merely to serve a temporary purpose, and therefore they received no fair consideration from the public. I can only say I do not believe there ever was a measure more deliberately considered before it was brought forward than those measures which have been so characterised. Sir, when we brought them forward we were perfectly aware that they were likely to encounter great opposition, and it was impossible to look back to the history of our commercial legislation for a few years without anticipating that such would be the case. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that while of late years attempts to improve the constitution have been successful, with respect to commercial reform, scarcely anything of importance has been effected for a long period, notwithstanding that there have been most important changes in the commercial condition of this country and of the world during that time. I say experience showed that we were undertaking a task full of difficulty. The hon. Gentleman professes himself a disciple of Mr. Huskisson, with whose opinions upon free trade he still concurs. Undoubtedly Mr. Huskisson when in office did, with the support of the great body of the Whig party, who did not think it consistent with their duty to make the subject a party question, a course which I trust, Sir, whether sitting at your right hand or your left hand, the Whig party will always pursue—[*Cheers*]—I say Mr. Huskisson, supported by that party, did force upon his reluctant followers—and the hon. Gentleman opposite can recollect that many of them were extremely reluctant followers—some very important improvements in our commercial system. But when Mr. Huskisson went into opposition, what took place? The next year, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, Mr. Huskisson brought forward the very question of the sugar duties, in a proposition going much further than her Majesty's Government—giving less protection to the colonies, and being more favourable to the consumer, and less to the colonial interest, but it was opposed by Mr. Huskisson's former colleagues. The hon. Gentleman, I believe, voted for it, but the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Tamworth, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge, opposed it, and the proposition failed. I have no hesitation in saying, that if that measure had been carried at that time, the beneficial results to the commerce and finances of this country, as well as the general comforts of the people, would have been incalculable. What was the next considerable attempt to make a change in the commercial system of the country? It was made by the Government of Lord Grey, of which the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, was a Member. They brought forward the timber duties, and encountered the party opposition of hon. Gentlemen opposite. That party opposition was successful. I am afraid those protected classes are so strong in the country, and the Legislature, that if public men, in opposition, will make those questions party questions—if they make use of them to harass and embarrass the Government to which they are opposed—then there never can be a Government strong enough to carry commercial reforms into effect. The question of the timber duties failed in that manner. I am not surprised that the succeeding Government were slow and reluctant in proposing considerable alterations in our commercial arrangements. I admit that there is great evil in proposing questions of this nature, unless there is some chance of carrying them into effect. It is the duty of a Government fairly to weigh, on their own responsibility, the danger and evil of leaving things as they are, with the hazard of mooting such questions. And I must say, the conduct of hon. Gentlemen opposite, with the hon. exception of the lamented Mr. Peregrine Courteney, when the question of the timber duties was brought forward, was such as to greatly discourage all attempts at the improvement of our commercial system. After the experience of that question, the Government was reluctant to bring forward any great measure of this description. It was also to be observed, that whenever the question of corn-laws was brought forward by independent Members, it was defeated by large majorities. At the same time, this was very observable in the debates on the Corn-laws, in the course of argument taken especially by the right hon. Baronet, the the Member for Tamworth. Gentlemen connected with the agricultural interest desired us to look to the whole commercial system of the country, intimating that if alterations were necessary, justice should be done to all classes, and that in that case, they would not be indisposed to a re-consideration of the Corn-laws. We thought, therefore, (though the event has disappointed us), when we made up our minds to submit the whole commercial system for revision, that it was a fair and favourable opportunity to ask that powerful landed interest to consider whether their interests should not come under examination along with all the other interests of the country. I am told that the measure of the Government brought forward last Session, had all the appearance of precipitation and haste, and that it was impossible to believe the Government in earnest. I cannot make out the grounds for that imputation. Those measure were put fully before the House. We began with an important bill affecting the trade of the colonies, it being, I conceive, a necessary preparation before meddling with the duties on colonial produce, to redress the grievances of the colonies themselves. That measure, if it had been successful, would have given most important relief to the West Indies, by reducing the exorbitant duties now levied on all imports into that country. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to express a hope, that whatever course the House might think fit to pursue, with regard to the import duties of this country, they would take into consideration the hardships to which the West Indies were subjected; because, more particularly now that the produce of the East Indies had been admitted to the markets of this country on the same footing, nothing could be more unjust than to leave the West Indies, subject to those excessive burdens under which they were now labouring. He could not, therefore, help repeating that which he had said last Session, that he thought that the measure which he then proposed could never be characterised as a violent measure. It was, too, a measure that, whatever might be thought of other measures proposed by him, was one which could in a certain sense be said to stand well upon its merits. Whatever, then might be the merits of other measures proposed by them, the state of the West Indian interests were such as to call for their immediate consideration. Let them look, he would say, to the quantity of sugar imported into this country in the first six months of 1840, and then compare it with the quantity imported in the first six months of the year 1841. It would show how little could be relied upon the assertions of those who said that they could calculate upon a full supply of sugar from the West Indies. In the first six months of 1840, the imports of West India sugar was 899,000 cwt. In 1841, the supply was 707,000 cwt. being a diminution of nearly 200,000 cwt. from the West Indies. These were facts that justified him in saying that the attention of the House ought to be immediately directed to this subject; because he thought that these facts made out a case of the absolute necessary and imperative justice of the claim of the West Indians upon them. He hoped, then, that whatever might be the opinions of Gentlemen upon other questions, that, at least, this most crying grievance, as it affected West Indian interests, would not be neglected. It was felt by the Ministry that they were justified in coming before that House and calling its attention to the three greatest articles of consumption in this country. He must own that he had heard with great astonishment his hon. Friend, the Member for the West Riding, say, that he too, was a friend to free trade; but, then, he would not meddle with the articles which had been mentioned in their budget. His hon. Friend was a free trader; but then he would except from free trade the trifling articles of corn, of sugar, and of timber. Was his hon. Friend to say that he was a Friend to some alteration, but not to so great alterations as the present Government had proposed — surely his hon. Friend could not say that the alterations proposed by them were excessive. They were much more moderate than the proposal of Mr. Huskisson and of Mr. Grant. Their measure, it was to be remembered, would leave a protection of 50 per cent. If then there was a change in the sugar duties, the alteration proposed would not have been as great as that which had formerly been submitted to the House. As to corn, more violent proposals than these had been made by some who sat on the opposite side; and he did not expect to find the hon. Member for the West Riding to denounce their proposal with respect to the timber duties as very wild or very extravagant. For himself, he must say that, so far from having altered any opinion that he had expressed last Session with respect to the Sugar-duties, that everything that had occurred since had greatly tended to confirm the opinions that he had then given utterance to. But what was the state, what the present condition of the sugar trade? He held in his hand a return of the quantity of sugar taken into consumption for six months, that was from January to June in the present year. They had it was to be observed, been promised last year that they would have plenty of sugar for their consumption here, and that the revenue would not be injured. With this production full in their recollection, then, let them compare the amount of consumption and of revenue for the first six months of last year, and the corresponding months of the present year. He found that the quantity consumed in the first six months of 1840, was 2,050,000 cwt. of sugar, and that for the same period in 1841, the quantity consumed was 1,861,600 cwt. of sugar. The falling off in the revenue allowing for the 5 per cent. additional duty imposed, was, in the six months of this year, compared with the six months of the previous year 278,000*l.* Now, he really thought that the event proved that they were justified in seeking, as they had done, for a revision of the sugar duties, when they were at the same time seeking to improve the revenue, and to increase the consumption of the article in the country. But the hon. Member for the West Riding had expressed his surprise that he had taken this course with regard to the sugar duties, when he had opposed a motion on the same subject made in the year 1839. It was to be observed that the sugar duties were comprised in an annual bill, which it was the duty of the Ministry to propose. In the discussion that took place upon this subject last year, the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth had fairly admitted that the opposition which he had offered in the preceding year did not preclude him from adopting the course which he pursued in the following year. He had on that occasion stated, that he did not oppose the principle that was contended for; but it was only a question of time. There was no inconsistency in the course that he had pursued. The only inconsistency would have been, that when he was prepared for a general revision of their commercial duties, they had omitted such an article as that of sugar. Now, then, to the question of trade in corn. He must say, that he had listened with the most intense anxiety, and so, he was sure, must the country at large, that it would feel the most intense anxiety to know what were the views and opinions of the party opposite on the question of the Corn-laws. He must confess, that the manner in which they were mentioned appeared to him very enigmatical; however, he must say this, that upon the whole he gathered hope from it, because he could not conceive that any party would say the things in the solemn manner that they were uttered to her Majesty in the passage he was about to read to them, unless they had made up their minds to take the present subject of the Corn-laws into their consideration, with a view to their alteration. He could not conceive any course to be more dangerous; he could not conceive any course to be more pregnant with peril than *spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas* upon such a subject as this. No course could be more improper than to state to her Majesty—

> "That we are deeply sensible of the importance of these considerations, to which her Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct our attention in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn,"

The Address then goes on to say:—

> "That we feel it to be our duty humbly to submit to her Majesty that it is essential to the satisfactory results of our deliberations upon these and other matters of public concern, that her Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country, and respectfully to represent to her Majesty that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of her Majesty."

He could conceive no course to be more improper and no course to be more dangerous, than using language of this kind, if they were not prepared to look to the Corn-laws, with a view to their alteration; and sure he was, that it would be more fair, that it would be more just, that it would be more honest, that it would be more consistent with their duty, as a great party, if they were determined to crush the hopes of the country, if they had made up their minds so to act, plainly to have stated it, and not to have used such language as this, if they intended it as a mere delusion. He therefore confessed, that as far as he was able to understand the enigmatical language of the amendment, that, on the whole, he was inclined to hope from it, that the conviction was forced upon them, that the time was come when it was absolutely necessary to reconsider the Corn-laws. [*Hear, hear.*] If that time were not come now, he was at a loss to understand when it would ever come. He confessed, that when they had before them the experience of the last two years, and compared them with the predictions that the Corn-laws would produce steadiness of price, and at the same time give them an abundant supply and a regular trade—if, when they saw those predictions so completely falsified, he was at a loss to know what quantity of experience could ever touch their minds. He must remind the House, that it was not a question as to whether they were to have a corn-trade or not, for they had a corn-trade—a very large corn-trade—an increasing corn-trade with foreign countries. He held in his hand an average return of wheat consumed in Great Britain during the present century. From 1801 to 1811, the average return for each year was 505,500 quarters, including 70,000 quarters of Irish wheat consumed in this country. The yearly average for the next decennial period, from 1811 to 1821 was 606,000 quarters. From 1821 to 1831 it was 995,000 quarters; and from 1831 to 1840, the average on each year of corn imported was 1,500,000 quarters. The question then was, not whether they were to have a corn-trade at all, but on what principle that corn-trade was to be conducted. In that case, what then was to become of the propositions of those who spoke of making this country independent of foreign nations? They had not rendered themselves independent of the foreign supply; and he would go further, and say, God forbid that they could do it! It would not be to the advantage of themselves nor of the world if they did so. There was another consideration connected with this subject which he could not help adverting to. He did so, because he did not observe that it had been before alluded to in that House, and yet it was one that he felt to be of considerable importance. He had to observe, that in the return he had read was included the quantity of corn sent from Ireland, as well as from their colonies and foreign countries. It was a remarkable fact, that up to the year 1833, the quantity of corn sent from Ireland was steadily on the increase; but that since 1833 the quantity of corn from Ireland was steadily and constantly decreasing. In 1833, for he would not trouble them with the figures of the preceding years, the quantity of corn imported from Ireland was 884,000 quarters, that was including corn and flour: in 1834 it was 779,000 quarters; in 1835, 661,000 quarters; in 1836, 598,000 quarters; in 1837, 534,000 quarters; in 1838, 524,000 quarters; in 1839, 258,000 quarters; and in 1840, 174,000 quarters. It was, he felt, right to call the attention of the House to this subject, because in his opinion, it was an important consideration as connected with the corn-trade. He hoped and believed, that a diminution in the supply of corn from Ireland was not to be taken as a proof of the want of prosperity in that country; but that it was to be traced directly to the increasing prosperity in that country. The first reason he believed to be assigned for this falling off in the supply from Ireland was the consumption of more corn by the Irish themselves. Therefore it was, that the supply here was less than it used to be. The other great reason for the falling-off was the great extent of the cattle trade in Ireland. Owing to steam-boat communication, and the facility of having a better market for the sale of meat and live stock, the agriculturists in Ireland produced articles of that description, and they were thus in a great degree diverted from the cultivation of corn. As he did not recollect that this part of the subject had been particularly referred to before, he thought it worth while to call attention to it on the present occasion. But if, as he had said before, Gentlemen who had hitherto been opposed to the alteration of the Corn-laws, were not convinced, by the experience of the last two years, he must despair of anything short of a famine convincing them that an alteration was necessary. This was a very wide subject, but there was one branch of it so very important, and the entire system received so complete an illustration from it, that he could not help trespassing upon the indulgence of the House by adverting to it; it was as to the manner in which the system of averages taken together with the sliding scale worked. He could wish, while dealing with this branch of the subject, that he might be favoured with the attention of hon. Gentlemen. Connected with the landed interest, he thought he would be able to convince them that such a system of fraud and of gambling as the present Corn-laws had introduced, never before was permitted—it was a system, he was sure, ruinous to the fair dealer, injurious to the country at large, most baleful to those connected with the land, most ruinous to the honest merchant, and that only sustained a trade, that could alone be compared to that carried on at Newmarket and the hazard tables. His attention had been called to this subject last year. Some gentlemen connected with the landed interest complained to him that there were very extensive frauds carried on in the corn market, and that the object of those frauds was to affect the averages. He inquired into this subject, and he found the complaints made to him were perfectly true, that they were substantially correct; but then the means of preventing them were totally out of his power. He asked the respectable gentlemen, who made the communication to him, to point out the means by which the fraud could be prevented, and they acknowledged that it was totally impossible to prevent that which was then taking place. The information that was then received was, that there was a very large quantity of corn in bonded warehouses, and that corn merchants were combining together, by fictitious sales, so as to admit the corn then bonded at a low duty. He had moved for a return, which was then on the Table of the House, and which would elucidate the manner in which the fraud was effected. Those returns would show the number of quarters of wheat sold in the London market, at the end of July, and during the month of August. It would be seen that the quantity was very considerable. On the 24th July, the quantity sold was 11,000 quarters; 31st July, 14,000 quarters; 7th August, 19,000 quarters; 14th August 12,000 quarters; 21st August, 15,000 quarters; and 28th August 15,000 quarters. He compared then the quantity of corn that was sold at other times, in order that he might see how far this state of things differed from the natural state of the London market He found that the sales were four times as great as what under ordinary circumstances took place. He then endeavoured to ascertain what was the effect of these sales. Of course these sales were effected at fictitious prices. Sacrifices were made by those who sold, for the purpose of influencing the weekly average. He endeavoured then to ascertain the effect of all this. He asked for returns of the average prices in the London market, as well as in the rest of the country. He had his returns of the six weeks' averages in the country, exclusive of London, and a return, including the London market, and the effect of the averages which regulated the importation of corn. He found, then, this to be the case; that by the time the averages came into operation on the 28th of August, and that the object of the speculators was accomplished — on the 28th of August, the average price in the London market was 79*s.* 6*d.*, the average price in the whole kingdom including London, was 72*s.* 4*d.*, and by that the effect desired was produced. But then the six weeks' average price, exclusive of the London market was 70*s.* 10*d.*, therefore it was to be assumed 70*s.* 10*d.* was the fair and natural price of the corn; but instead of 70*s.* 10*d.*, the London market had made it 72*s.* 4*d.*; and the consequence was, that instead of the duty being 6*s.* 8*d.*, which the law intended it should be, the duty obtained was only 2*s.* 8*d.*, and this took place in the first week in September, by which 1,217,000 quarters of foreign corn were introduced on the payment of a duty of 2*s*. 8*d*. He wished to call especially the attention of Gentlemen of the landed interest to those facts, because they must see from them that the present system only furnished a protection to gambling speculators, who played upon the averages, and which really deprived the landed interest of that advantage which the Legislature intended to give them, and made the trade in corn most injurious to the public at large. The course of the corn trade at present was this, that it gave no protection against scarcity. It did not operate in reducing the price of food until after the lapse of several weeks, of very high prices, and until there had been great suffering and privation on the part of the people. At the very time that he was thus speaking, he was sure that there was no one who heard him who would not say, that the present price of corn was a national calamity. He did not expect to hear any gentleman connected with the landed interest who would not say that he deeply regretted the price which bread had reached during several weeks. And yet the warehouses were full of bonded corn. There were considerably more than 800,000 quarters of foreign corn in bonded warehouses, but none could come out of it. On the contrary, everybody knew that none would be brought out at the present extravagant duty—and great suffering there must be endured, until at length the averages were raised to the famine price, and then the corn would come in at a shilling. Thus it happened, that instead of the corn being gradually diffused over the country, and to its great advantage, it was now cooped up in their warehouses, and it would just come out at that moment when Providence might bless them with an abundant harvest—and when, instead of their farmers being able to rejoice in the blessing that heaven had bestowed upon them, they would find themselves encountered by a million and a half of foreign corn thrown into the market, at a nominal duty. It was obvious what the effect of all this might be. The price would be artificially lowered at the very moment when their poor and needy farmers would be obliged to go into the market and to dispose of their produce. And yet they were told that this was a system by which the landed interest was benefited, and that for their advantage it was to be maintained whatever might be the desolation, and howsoever great the misery it entailed upon other classes. His hon. Friend, the Member for the West Riding, had said nothing of what his opinion was as to the Corn-laws, but he told them that he came there to speak the sentiments of a great constituency. Feeling that he did so, he should indeed be greatly surprised to hear his hon. Friend say, that the opinion of his constituents was favourable to the present Corn-laws. He confessed that if he could have heard that the opinion of the West Riding, was favourable to the Corn-laws he should have heard it with despair, with the utmost despondency, considering that he attached the greatest importance to the satisfactory settlement of this question. His hon. Friend had been particularly cautious in what he said upon this matter; but he was quite sure that whatever differences of opinion there might be on other subjects, yet, as to the present Corn-laws, they were unanimously disapproved of by the mercantile and manufacturing interests. His present object was to urge upon the House to take the subject of the Corn-laws into consideration. Her Majesty's Government did not conceal from this House or the country what their opinion was on this subject; for they could not understand why there should be one system for trade in corn and another system for trade in other articles. There was something so strange and so paradoxical in asserting that a difference ought to be made, that the burden of proof rested, in his opinion, upon those who maintained a principle adverse to the true policy of this country. If it was thought right to give protection to agriculture, he believed a fixed duty would be the most rational and least burthensome mode of giving it. If that were done, then a merchant would know what was to be depended upon. Then men would embark in a trade in corn, because it would be certain, and not find themselves at one day met with a duty of 1*s*. and the next with a duty of 20*s*. Certainty was a sound principle as applied to corn, as well as to any other article. At the same time he must admit, that, without adopting the fixed duty, the present system of Corn-laws might be found susceptible of very great amelioration; indeed that it could be worse he could not conceive. There could scarely be a change proposed that must not be an improvement upon the present absurd system; but still he believed that the nearer they approached to a fixed duty the better. He did not say but that by preserving the name of a sliding scale, great good might be effected; but still, he observed, that as far as there was or might be uncertainty in the Corn-trade, there would be, *pro tanto*, injury done to the community. He, therefore, could only say, that he retained the opinions that he had given expression to last Session, namely, that whatever protection they gave to the agriculturists, they ought to give it in the shape of a moderate fixed duty; and that, considering all the circumstances, such an arrangement would be the most beneficial for the country. But these were the measures that her Majesty's Government had laid before the House and the public, and considering what were the finances of the country, they proposed measures that they believed would be advantageous to their commercial interest, while they supplied the deficiencies of the State. He was astonished to find his hon. Friend express surprise at the budget that was proposed by her Majesty's Government. They thought that the time was come when it was incumbent on the House to take a calm and deliberate view of the Import duties of the country, which at the same time would relieve their trade and increase the revenue. He did not mean to enter into the whole of this question, but he would take for instance one branch of the Import duties which was connected with the corn duties—the duties upon provisions from abroad. He could not conceive why they should prohibit, as in effect they did, the importation of live stock. He was very glad in the last Session to hear Mr. Herries say, that he entirely concurred with himself on this point. He hoped that this was an opinion that was entertained by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. They ought to have no duties prohibiting the importation of bacon, potatoes, and such other articles. These were things that he hoped would be amended. There was another important branch of these duties which he thought it was absolutely necessary for them to examine into. He meant the duties, that they imposed upon the raw materials of various manufactures. To give a single instance, look at the duties upon foreign copper, and the effect it had upon manufactures. Were Gentlemen aware of what was the effect of the present system with rega d to foreign copper? They prohibited foreign coppe from consumption in this country. They allowed it to be smelted in bond, but not rolled in bond. The Members for Birmingham would bear him out in this statement. The price of copper in England, compared with what it was abroad, was a great grievance to a great branch of their manufactures. The consequence of the present system was, that this country, where, owing to the price of fuel and their skill, copper could be smelted best and cheapest, allowed it to be brought in and smelted, in bond, and then to be sent to a foreign country, so that their own means of smelting copper were turned against themselves, and were given as an advantage to foreigners. We did not allow copper to be rolled in this country. We insisted upon restricting the manufacture to the produce of our own mines. What was the consequence to the shipping interest? and this was a most important question. The consequence was, that foreign ships were coppered more cheaply than English ships. These things had, he could assure the House, a great effect upon trade; and struggling as they were with foreign rivals, they could not afford to throw away any advantage. He did not refer to this subject as a matter of revenue—he only alluded to it to illustrate the position he had advanced, that he was satisfied, that they might, with perfect safety to the revenue, make those relaxations in the Import duties, which might very materially diminish the pressure that existed upon the commercial and manufacturing classes. Of the existence of that pressure, he imagined there could be no doubt. He apprehended, that they would not on this occasion, as on former occasions when they discussed the question of Corn-laws, hear a denial of any particular pressure. Unfortunately, its existence was so notorious, that it could not be denied by any one conversant with the real state of things in this country. His belief was, that this state of things was connected in a very considerable degree with the want of employment that prevailed throughout the manufacturing districts, caused, as it was, by the want of demand for our manufactures in the foreign markets—markets, which they were losing, because they would not consent to take in return the only produce that they could send. He wished particularly to call the attention of the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, to two important branches of trade, which affected the constituencies he represented; he alluded to woollens and to hardware and cutlery. In the last returns the export of British produce in the article, of hardware and cutlery in the year 1841, as compared with 1840, showed a diminution of 483,000*l.*, the export for the year 1841 amounting to 1,345,881*l.*, while that for 1840, amounted to 1,828,521*l.* In the woollen trade, the decrease was still more considerable. In 1840, the export was 6,271,645*l.*, while in 1841, it amounted only to 5,336,275*l.*, showing a diminution of 935,000*l.* Upon eleven articles of British produce exported there had been in the year 1841, a decrease of 1,383,000*l.* This was a state of things well deserving the attention of the House. These were not questions that could be postponed with safety. Foreign markets once lost, could not be recovered; industry once paralysed, could not be easily revived. He did believe and feel, that it would be indeed a fatal policy if that House were to suffer any consideration to divert their attention from the immediate discussion of those measures by which this state of things was to be met and remedied. He trusted, that the Members of that House, and especially those connected with the landed interest, who boasted of their predominance and power in the House, would not commit the fatal mistake of disregarding the present state of things, but that they would act the wise part of consulting the interests of the community instead of neglecting the complaints and interests of the manufacturing classes. He quite agreed, that the interests of the landed and the manufacturing classes were intimately connected, but he thought when they came to questions of protection, that the case had not been fairly stated. He did not think, that they had a right to protect the land as against the interests of manufactures. He thought it a matter of course, that if trade and commerce flourished, agriculture must flourish likewise. He defied any one to show him in any country of the world, at any period of history, where there was a great commercial and agricultural community, that such country was not prosperous. He would say, then, "Take care of trade, and agriculture will take care of itself." He would say, that if by artificial and unnecessary restrictions, they tampered with the commerce of the country, the ruin might begin with commerce, but it would end with agriculture. There was one other point he wished to advert to: her Majesty had invited the House of Commons to consider whether a variety of duties, trifling in amount, might not be removed without any danger to the revenue. Any one who had attentively considered the evidence taken before the Import Duties Committee would have no doubt upon the subject. There were 349 articles which produced 8,050*l.*; there were 132 articles which produced only 3,100*l.*; and 147 articles, which not only produced no duty, but upon which there was a drawback amounting to 5,000*l.* As far, therefore, as the revenue was concerned, he was sure, that if they responded to the invitation of her Majesty, they might, without any danger to the revenue, afford considerable facilities to the trade of the country. He did not wish to detain the House at greater length, and would only say for himself, that he truly rejoiced that the time had come when that House must decide upon what principles, and by what persons, the affairs of the country should be conducted. He hoped, certainly, before the discussion was brought to a close, before the House should be called upon to express an opinion, that some more ample information would be afforded as to what were the views on those most important subjects of Gentlemen opposite. [*Laughter.*] Really the Gentlemen who were so kind as to laugh at this observation seemed to think, that there was only one question of any importance to be considered, namely, who were to be the Ministers of the day. He, for his own part, was very far from thinking, that that was a question of no importance. He did not profess to be one of those who believed in the maxim of "measures and not men." He thought it was the duty and the privilege of that House not only to be satisfied as to the measures proposed, but also as to the general confidence they had in the persons proposing those measures. He thought also, at a period of great public expectation, when these subjects were discussed far and wide throughout the country, and when the country was anxiously expecting to hear the opinions of the representative body, he certainly thought the country, or at least a large class in the country, would feel considerable disappointment if the only result of their deliberations should turn out to be a decision as to the substitution, by her Majesty, of one set of men for another, and if they refused to express an opinion upon those important subjects which her Majesty recommended to the consideration of the House. Those questions had been alluded to in very doubtful and ambiguous language in the amendment. It might be possible, that before the termination of the debate, that ambiguity would be cleared away. That Gentlemen opposite should announce what course they would adopt with regard to particular measures, it was not reasonable to expect; but at any rate, it was reasonable to expect, and he thought the House had a right to demand, an explicit announcement of the line of policy which they expected the House to be prepared to follow out with regard to those questions. Unless such an announcement was made—unless the House was given to understand, that the object of Gentlemen opposite was fairly, deliberately, and immediately to consider those questions—unless they were prepared to look into those questions with a view towards redressing any grievances that might be proved to exist—unless that announcement was made before the close of the debate, he thought the country would have great reason to feel disappointment at what must otherwise be considered a factious course of conduct. Would not their proceedings be, on all hands, looked upon as a mere party struggle, if the mercantile, the commercial, and the colonial interests, who had been anxiously expecting a decision upon these questions, were to be told that the only opinion they would express would be, as to whether one set of men or another should be in power, leaving the country, as far as the result was concerned, entirely in the dark. He certainly did hope, that the discussion on this occasion would not end in so unsatisfactory a manner. He could assure gentlemen opposite, that although he was as warm a partisan as any of them, he had too deep a sense of the condition of the country, not to entertain a strong feeling of the necessity for public men of all parties to consider these questions at once, with a view towards coming to a satisfactory decision, and with a view to putting them upon a basis which should relieve the country from its present state of difficulty. He cared little, as far as he was personally concerned, for an adverse vote of that House, which should have the effect of transferring Gentlemen opposite to that (the ministerial) side of the House, provided he was satisfied that those who passed that adverse vote, would fairly carry into execution the measures of their predecessors. At least he felt confident of this: he had had a seat in Parliament for some years, and he had never seen any great question proposed, however powerful was the influence opposed to it, and whatever difficulties it might have to contend with, that had not, if founded on reason and justice, prevailed in that House; and because he was perfectly satisfied that the principles upon which the measures of the Government were founded were principles of reason and justice—because he was satisfied that experience would show, that the more these questions were discussed throughout the country, the more it would appear that it would be for the general interest that the Corn-laws, the timber-laws, the sugar-laws, and our whole commercial system should be placed upon a sound, practicable, and intelligible footing—because he was convinced of this, whatever might be the result of the decision of that house, he for one should feel no despondency, but should confidently look forward, and he expected the period was not distant, when those questions would be brought to a satisfactory solution; and whether that was effected by those with whom it had been his pride and happiness to have been connected during the whole of his political life, or whether Gentlemen opposite, as he had an opportunity of observing, not unfrequently, during the years he had sat in Parliament, would support and carry the measures of their political opponents, when they found the pressure so strong that they could not any longer resist it, he could assure the House, that to him it was a matter of comparative indifference, by which of these two methods these questions should be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

Mr. *D'Israeli* was somewhat surprised, after all that had been heard last Parliament, at the application which had been made by the right hon. Member, the President of the Board of Trade, to Sir Robert Peel. He should have thought that there would have been a sense of dignity which would have restrained such an application.

The right hon. Gentleman had concluded his speech with a patriotic peroration. He was so convinced of the necessity for these measures, that, if the decision should be adverse to them, he should support them in opposition; and he made this observation, and was still a Minister! He had drawn a parallel, which they had not unfrequently heard, between the situation of the country now, and in 1835, but he had forgotten, because it was convenient to forget, that Sir Robert Peel had not sustained a vote of want of confidence. He had appealed to the country, and retired when he perceived that he continued to have an adverse majority without sustaining the humiliation of such a vote. The right hon. Gentleman had entered into the budget, and spoken of ascertaining averages. Was the Parliament dissolved for that? Or about copper? Or to consider the commercial tariff? It was well for the right hon. Gentleman to run from Walpole to Pitt, and from Pitt to Huskisson, and say the prosperity of the country had existed in spite of her tariff. Had he forgotten the eminent services of Sir Robert Walpole, and the great alterations made by him in the tariff? Had he forgotten the services of Mr. Wallace when Vice-President of the Board of Trade? Why, the progress of commercial reform was only arrested by the Reform Act. Again—the right hon. Gentleman had forgotten, in the peculiar zeal which he and his colleagues now wished to exhibit for reform, all that had been done by the Administration of the Earl of Liverpool; and in the zeal the right hon. Gentleman now displayed, he owned he was surprised at the manner in which he thought fit to speak of the report upon Import duties. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the contents of that report as if they were emanations previously secret to the Government—he spoke of them as the discovery of a mass of knowledge teeming with conclusions which were so incapable of refutation as to make it absolutely impossible for the Government to hesitate instantly to legislate upon them. He (Mr. D'Israeli) had never underrated the value and interest of that important document; on the contrary, he maintained that the subject to which it had reference ought, long ere this, to have engaged the attention of the Government. He admitted that many of the conclusions were just, but he had yet to learn that the data upon which they were founded were new. So far from that, those data were founded upon information which had long engaged the attention of all men who could pretend to the character of statesmen; and he knew that, sooner or later, they must at the hands of some Government form the materials for legislation. But this was not the question now before the House, nor was it the question which had been put by the Government before the country. No man could pretend that the late dissolution of Parliament, or the want of confidence which the country had expressed in the Government, was in consequence of any sympathy in respect of the Import duties; but it was because the Government was weak—inefficient—incapable of carrying those measures which they themselves believed to be necessary for the country; but, after experiencing signal, and under other circumstances, and in other reigns, overwhelming defeat, it was that the Government, thus ricketty and staggering, proposed the reconstruction of the commercial system of the country, and this was the reason why the last Parliament had recoiled; this was the question which went to the country, and these were the feelings which induced the country, on the appeal thus made to them, to sympathize with the late Parliament, and say, "We feel the necessity of maintaining the commercial superiority of Britain; but we think that the question is of such magnitude as to call for and require that calm consideration, as to prevent us intrusting it to a Government whose councils were only held to deliberate as to the mode in which a majority was to be managed on the next division." This, then, brought him to the consideration of the real question before the House: the question was, not whether the proposed measures were necessary, but it was whether a discussion of those measures ought to be discussed or entered upon under the auspices of the present possessors of official power. The late Parliament had recorded its want of confidence in the present Government upon that single and intelligible ground, and it was now for the House only to inquire whether the conduct of the Government since that vote entitled them to the renewed and renovated confidence of Parliament and of the country. And what had they done since that event? Was the dissolution under such circumstances such an act as entitled them to a renewal of that confidence? Just or unjust as that dissolution might have been, one thing was certain—namely, that the result showed that the Government of the country had no knowledge of the feelings of the nation they governed. The noble Lord the Chief Minister of the Crown in that House must accept the alternative—when he dissolved the late Parliament he must either have believed he would succeed in the appeal he thus made to the country, or he was conscious that he must fail. If the first position were the case, the noble Lord had really been profoundly ignorant of the feelings of the country—or if, on the other hand, the noble Lord accepted the other alternative, he had agitated the country for mere party purposes. At best, therefore, the noble Lord must accept the crime or the blunder. If then the late dissolution—the first act of the Government since the vote of want of confidence—did not entitle them to a restoration of the confidence they had lost, he (Mr. D'Israeli) begged to ask whether the mode, the manner, or the spirit in which the Ministers of the Crown had conducted the late election contests—whether the tone and language in which they had appealed to the people, were or were not circumstances in regard to which they had abused their claims to the renewed confidence of the House of Commons? In the history of the country there had before been no instance of a Government dissolving Parliament under such circumstances, still less of addressing constituencies in such language as had been used on the recent occasion. There had been a time when even the allusion to the sovereign was shrunk from in this House; when, if made from the lips of a Minister of the Crown, such allusion would have called forth the indignant reprobation of every independent man;—the time had been when, if the name of the Sovereign had been mentioned as lately it had frequently been used and resorted to in the House in order to control and influence Parliament, such an attempt would have been held up to public scorn and indignation; but what would now be said of a Minister of the Crown, if, when, by a vote of the House of Commons, it had been declared the Government with which he was connected was no longer able to conduct the affairs of the nation, that Minister defied the House of Commons, by declaring the Government to which he belonged was supported by the Crown—the best support a Minister could have? And yet these words had fallen from the lips of one who formerly was the disciple of very different opinions, and no sooner had Parliament been dissolved than the Government had sent round their clandestine champions to every borough in the country, profaning the name of the Sovereign, as if the Majesty of England was a second candidate upon some paltry poll. Such has been the conduct of the party who claimed a monopoly of loyalty. The noble Lord opposite (Lord J. Russell), who had been an historical student, might, perhaps, remember some words written by one of the most brilliant ornaments this House had ever possessed: those words were to the effect, "that the Sovereign of a faction was only the Sovereign of half the people." He would not believe that the machinations of any men calling themselves Ministers—and why they still called themselves so was to him a mystery—could have succeeded in making, in this age, the Sovereign of this country the mere Sovereign of a faction; but this much he would say, that if such a miserable conjuncture could possibly arrive, that her Majesty should only be the Sovereign of the Whigs, she would not be the Sovereign of half, nor a quarter, nor an eighth, but of a miserable faction, in whose hands traditionary policy had placed the interests of the nation. Perhaps, the noble Lord would remember, that when Mr. Pulteney had been consulted by George 2nd, on the then state of the country, that right hon. Gentleman had recommended his Sovereign not to speak of the Tories as enemies, because "they formed two-thirds of the people." Now, it would be a good thing if the Whigs, who had made some Gentlemen "right honourable," since they had lost the confidence of the House of Commons and of the country, would bear in mind these words of Mr. Pulteney. If they did so, he owned he was surprised, looking at the use which had been made during the last two months of the Queen's name, that they could still presume to call themselves Ministers of the Crown, or refrain from a blush, when they remembered the position in which they had placed their Sovereign. If then, the dissolution of Parliament—if the spirit in which the elections had been conducted were not incidents upon which to found their claim for renewed confidence, was the House to yield that claim in consequence of the Speech which they had advised her Majesty to deliver from the Throne? On the contrary, was not that Speech the last effort of an expiring Government, desirous of laying the foundation of a nascent opposition? Was this the mode to treat the Queen, or the constitution of the country? It was the mere lip loyalty of the Reform Government, which was to re-model the institutions of the country. The Administration had, in this Speech, taken refuge in their budget—like a dog, they had returned to the vomit; they had attacked the constitution, and insulted the nation—they had raised the cry of "cheap bread and cheap sugar," it was true; but still they must answer one question before this debate ceased and closed their fate. They had yet to tell Parliament by what tenure they now held office. They had no right to pretend, according to old constitutional decorum, that they had not the right to presume that the opinions of the new Parliament were adverse to them because the noble Lord, their leader, had volunteered an explicit declaration that the opinions of the new Parliament were completely fatal to them. Whether that declaration had been declared in a spirit of frankness, or in that of defiance, the House and the country must decide; but as they had continued to exercise the powers of Government for a long period after, confessedly they had lost the support of the representatives of the people, as recorded by their chief, he (Mr. D'Israeli) must quote to them the words of Mr. Fox:—

> "That the party which continued in the exercise of political power, after they knew they had forfeited and did not possess the confidence of Parliament, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour."

This was the opinion of the great oracle of the Whigs—this was, he believed, a just opinion, and that it was one on which he thought the House ought now to act as it had been acted upon in times when Parliament was unreformed, and when Danby found himself in a dungeon, and Strafford on a scaffold. Now, however, the Whigs held office by abusing the confidence of the Sovereign, and by defying the authority of Parliament.

Mr. *Bernal*, jun. said, I am surprised, Sir, at the accusations brought forward against her Majesty's Ministers by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, for being returned to Parliament by the constituency which rejected the hon. Gentleman, I know that he understands free trade in politics very well. And I think that the accusation against her Majesty's Government comes with a peculiarly good grace from him, when I recollect that he went down to High Wycombe with letters in his pocket, one from Mr. O'Connell, and the other from Mr. Hume; and when I know also that he was proposed by his friend Mr. Treacher, the Radical, and seconded by his Friend Mr. Rose, the Tory. I leave it to the House to decide with how great force such a rebuke comes from him. But, Gentlemen—[cries of "order," and "chair."] I stand before you, Gentlemen, for I suppose you are Gentlemen. I hope, Sir, the House will make a little excuse for my inexperience; but, Sir, I stand before the House intimately connected with one of the great interests under discussion. By the West-India interest I must stand or fall, and I declare that I cannot

> "Compound for laws I am inclined to,
> By damning those I have no mind to."

I wish therefore to take this opportunity of recording my vote in favour of the reduction of the duties upon sugar, feeling convinced that the best interests, and the ultimate prosperity of this country, depend much upon the upper classes being willing to make some sacrifices. Having endeavoured to take out the beam from my own eye, I think that I can with the greater propriety enter into a discussion of the Corn-laws. The hon. Gentleman who has seconded the amendment has very strongly deprecated any discussion of the Corn-laws; and, at the same time, he has fallen into the error, that dear bread and high wages go together. I believe that the arguments upon the Corn-laws, both pro and con, were pretty well understood. Yet I think that if we refer to an early period, and look to the occurrences of 1795, we may learn something. For some years preceding that period, the price of wheat had been *54s.* a quarter; it suddenly rose to *76s.*; there was, consequently great distress in the country. The wages of the labourers did not rise, but fell, and the magistrates, when they were appealed to, directed the relieving officers to pay the labourers additional wages out of the Poor-rates. That was the first instance of wages being paid out of the

Poor-rates—and I ask whether it would not have been better, before we passed the Poor-law Amendment Bill, if we had first of all remedied the defects of the Corn-law, and founded a new system of Poor-laws on a new system of Corn-laws. What is the present Poor-law but a direct concession to the landlords, and no one else? I wish the landlords would follow my example—for what are we but brother monopolists? Let them accept the 8*s.* duty as a boon, now; else it may become—

> "Small by degrees, and beautifully less."

Sir *Charles Napier* would reply to the speech of the hon. Member for the West riding of Yorkshire, for he must confess that the speech of the hon. Member opposite, who had just sat down (Mr. D'Israeli), was utterly beyond his comprehension. The hon. Member for the West Riding, in speaking of the present Ministers, after throwing out his skirmishes pretty well, had made his grand attack upon them for not keeping the promises which they had made, on taking office, of peace, retrenchment, and economy. The hon. Gentleman said, that they had taken office in 1830, and eight or ten little wars had, during that time, been carried on by the Government. If the Government had carried on little wars, he hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite would allow him to say, that if those little wars had not been carried on with vigour and talent, they would not have been brought to the satisfactory conclusion to which they had been. If hon. Gentlemen opposite had been in power, they might possibly have had great wars, and with them great contracts and great loans. He doubted if any other person than the noble Lord, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, would have preserved the peace of the country in the manner which that noble Lord had been able to do. The hon. Gentleman had accused the Government of making little wars. He had told them, that the Government which had held office for eighteen years before the time the present Government came into office, had made but one war—the war at Navarino; but that hon. Gentleman had forgotten that that Government made war with Algiers, and also in India had engaged in the Burmese war, in which he believed a great deal of money had been expended. But he had not told the House that while they were in office, they had suffered France to go to war with Spain, and to march one hundred thousand troops into that country, and put down a constitutional Government in that country. What had been the results of the little wars which had been made by the present Government. They had given a free Government to Portugal. They had given Spain a free Government. [*A Member* here exclaimed "Spain is an absolute government."] An hon Gentleman said that Spain was an absolute Government. He only knew that there was a Cortes in Spain, as there was a Parliament in this country; he was therefore justified in saying, that there was a free Government in Spain. The noble Lord had put an end to the most despicable tyranny that had ever been inflicted on a country in Syria. He had restricted Mehemet Ali within the limits of his own territories; and he hoped that Turkey would have had the sense to act in accordance with the noble Lord's views.

Lord *Pollington* said, the hon. and gallant officer who had just sat down had done well to attempt to dazzle the question by the success which had attended British arms in Syria and elsewhere, but what man could doubt what British valour could achieve when brought forward under the command of a Stopford and a Napier? But were those successes any proof of the wisdom which dictated the campaign? He admitted that the best view which could possibly be taken of the policy of the present Government was that which was directed to foreign affairs, but even in that respect they had been much to blame. He might ask, in what quarter of the globe would the British Ministers, retiring in 1841, not leave the British name less honored, less loved, and respected than they found it in 1830. He might point to the ill-suppressed rebellion in Canada, to the imminent peril of war with that country with which, above all, a war was to be deprecated. He could not shut his eyes to the open insult directed against this country in the deprivation of the liberty and the jeoparding the life of as meritorious a British subject as ever had the misfortune to serve a liberal Government. He might refer to the blockades established by Russia and France, by which the channels for British commerce had been shut up; to the Bosphorus, closed against our vessels, and to the suspended intercourse with Persia. He might advert to the present state of the frontier of India; to our

Chinese war, and the causes of that war—causes as disgraceful to this country as the war itself. He might, he repeated, refer to China, where not even the successes of the British arms had atoned for the blunders of British diplomacy. But that portion of the globe to which he wished more particularly to advert was the Syrian province of the Ottoman Empire. The state of that province, before it came into the possession of the wonderful man who governed it previous to the last war, was well known. The state of the subjects of the Christian population, and the insecurity of life and property, were matters of notoriety. Under the sway of that great and wonderful man to whom he had alluded these things were much altered; and three years ago, when he was himself in the country, he witnessed himself the blessed effects of his domination. Aleppo had recovered much of its ancient prosperity, and British commerce had been extended in Beyrout and Damascus. Consuls had been appointed for the benefit of trade where they were never found before. The country seemed almost likely to obtain the same greatness in that part of the world which Britain enjoyed in this. But all was changed when the British Government interfered. He therefore thought the foreign policy of the Government had not been so very successful. With regard to our home policy, the country had passed its verdict on that. He could not forget how in the Parliament of 1831, the noble Lord, the Secretary of the colonies, then the representative of Devonshire, smiled with complaisance on the contrast then afforded by the two sides of the House. On the noble Lords side sat the Members of all the cities and towns in the kingdom, and the knights of the shires, while on the other were the Members of Old Sarum and Gatton. How much were circumstances altered since the Reform Bill! The county Members now sat on the Opposition side, while the Members of Richmond, Malton, Calne, and Tavistock, sat on the Ministerial. He left the Government to their own topic of condolence and consolation, which had been paraded daily in the public prints, and re-echoed in private conversations, that however weak as a Government they would prove formidable as an opposition. They would prove formidable only as those eastern barbarians whom the Roman legions learned to fear, but only on account of their poisoned weapons, which they hurled behind them in their retreat.

Mr. *Roebuck* wished to express his acknowledgments for the courtesy of his hon. Friend (Mr. Ewart) in giving way to him. If the question now proposed to the House were simply an inquiry into the character of the present Ministry, he would have had very little difficulty in coming to an opinion upon it, although he might have had some difficulty as to the vote he should give. His opinion would have been adverse to the character of the Ministry; but his opinion would have been come to upon grounds so distinctly opposed to those which had been alluded to, or which would be alluded to by hon. Gentlemen, and right hon. Gentlemen, and noble Lords opposite, that he could not have reconciled it to vote against those he disliked, only because they too much resembled honourable Gentlemen opposite. But the question was not simply as to the character of the present Ministry, it was a question of comparative character, and a vote upon that must be given upon a general opinion of the conduct pursued upon this side of the House and upon that; and here he must observe that he could not understand the analogy drawn by the right hon. Gentleman when he compared himself to a physician. He thought that he should be called in before he gave advice, but surely he was called in when he was returned to that House. He would put an analogy that was more to the purpose. He would not dismiss one servant, till he was convinced that he should get a better. He must have some servant. He must have for a servant some one; and although he might think that his present servant was not altogether as efficient as he might be, that he might be somewhat indolent—and although he might not be all that he could wish, or altogether such as he might like, yet if he dismissed him, he might discover that if he were a sluggard, he might get one ten times worse—if he were untrustworthy, he might admit some one into his house who was absolutely wanting in honesty. He was not prepared then to dismiss his present servant till he was sure that the servant who would come in his place would be better than the one he should turn away. That he believed to be a fair analogy. How, then, was he to learn that the new servants were better, or more likely to be better, than the old? The hon. Gentleman who had moved the amendment had passed over all other points, and had said that they had nothing to do with anything except with the character of the present Ministers—that they had nothing to do with their measures; now, they could know nothing of their characters, except by their acts. That was the subject he was called upon to investigate; he must compare the noble Lord and his supporters with the right hon. Gentleman opposite and his party; he must compare their conduct in times past as a guidance for the future: and he must determine as his judgment should then lead him, as to which conduct would be the most likely for the future to conduce to the well-being of the country. That comparison he would render by a retrospective glance, in the fairest manner, at the character of both parties, and upon this alone would he form his judgment, and give his vote upon the present occasion. He found, in the outset of the inquiry, that the present advisers of her Majesty—the party which in the first reformed Parliament, that met in 1832, was predominant and paramount in the country—having full power to do anything they might desire, who then ruled all before them, and who were forced into power by the will, and the strong will of the people—he found that this party had been day by day losing influence, till they had become weak, tottering, and wretched, unable to do anything they might wish. And he found the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who was at that time powerless, and who, it was thought, must thereafter lead a defeated and dispirited host, at the head now of a party eager to divide the spoil. How did this come to pass? The right hon. Gentleman, and the party opposite, were very willing, as it was their interest, to say that they had not only vanquished the Ministry in their persons, but in their principles. They were glad to say, "Here is the Ministry, the reforming Ministry, that was ever pushing on, the moving Ministry, conquered by the Conservative party." He found the Ministers interested in saying pretty much the same thing, although not in the same words, and in claiming for themselves the character of martyrs to freedom. He could not allow them to claim any such title. He could not believe that they were received by the Conservative principles of the people of England. They were ruined by forgetting—they would pardon him for expressing his opinion strongly — their principles. Flushed with their success in the year 1831, the party at present in power determined to act on the principles of the party opposite, and they believed that the only parties they had to fear, was an extreme section of those by whom they were themselves supported. From that moment they became what the party opposite consistently were, Conservatives. Thrust into power, where they ought to have carried out Reform, they had stopped short. They had cast contumely on those who represented to them that the natural order of things would take place, that the other party were strong in wealth, that they represented, as he was free to confess, a strong feeling in the country; that they had with them the clergy, almost all the landed interest, and many of those in the professions. The Ministers did not care for this. They considered that their victory was complete, they declared that they had obtained what they had all along intended, a preponderance of the landed interest of this country, and they declared for finality. That was the cause of their loss of power, for hon. Gentlemen opposite were the legitimate representatives of the party against all change; and he believed that it was salutary to have such a party in all such societies. But if the Ministers on that side of the House had understood their position when they had seen hon. Gentlemen opposite refusing to make changes, they would have known that it was their place to work out reform by giving to it a moving principle. The Ministry told their supporters they found the party opposite too weak to do harm; they bade defiance to their friends who gave the warning; they heaped upon them hatred and contumely, and they had now their reward. That being his opinion of the cause of their present downfall, he would ask whether, if that were so, he could congratulate the people? He said no. He was deeply grieved that the golden opportunity had been passed, he lamented that Ministers had lost the opportunity they then had; they had lost power, and they could only win it back by a long and virtuous course of opposition. But then it was said, that the last election tried the great principles of the freedom of trade, but he denied that assertion. The question put to the country was, do you like the Whig Ministry? He could not permit great principles to be sacrificed to party purposes. The country answered, he was grieved that the country had said so, but it did say, that it did not like that Ministry; and when he said, that the country had answered, let him not be misunderstood—he meant the constituencies. And when the Ministers complained, that the question had not been fairly tested, that there had been bribery, and intimidation, and corruption, he said that these were the natural accidents of that state of things which they had determined on. They had refused all means for putting down corruption and intimidation, therefore, he said, that they were condemned by that body which they had themselves created, and let them not complain that these bodies had acted according to their nature. Were the people, however, wise in flinging off the present Ministry? How was he to judge of the wisdom of his countrymen? He was prepared to review their conduct at home, in the colonies, and their conduct abroad, and wherever he found them failing, wherever he found them halting between two opinions, whenever they lost confidence, he found the right hon. Gentleman opposite as their evil genius. He said, that the right hon. Gentleman was their evil genius. In now making a comparison between the relative virtues of the two parties, he would take their conduct during the last ten years in the Reformed Parliament, taking one party as represented by the noble Lord, at present Secretary, he believed, for the Colonies, for they changed office so often he really forgot, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the Member for Tamworth, as the representative of the party opposite. Now, in judging of a party, or a Ministry, he thought it was but just and fair to take them in their large divisions, he would not look with microscopic eye into the smaller details, but he would take the whole scheme and scope of their policy. The first step which was taken by the noble Lord, who was the representative of his party, was the introduction of the Reform Bill. The right hon. Gentleman, the representative of his party, true to his nature, opposed and checked that improvement which he now admitted to be good, and to which he now gave his adherence. So far he was not the friend of the people. By this term he did not mean anything offensive, for no doubt the right hon. Gentleman, as others did, meant to be friendly to the people; but so far he was not the friend of the people of England; he did not in these views agree with the people of this country. Suppose the right hon. Gentleman had been successful, they would have had the old Parliament remaining, and they would have had none of those improvements which had followed since. Take that as an instance, and, as a test, were the people of England right in determining in favour of those who had been opposed to the parliamentary reform? The next great improvement he would take was the English Municipal Reform Bill. That bill was also opposed by the right hon. Gentleman. There was nothing that he could do in fairness that he had not endeavoured to do against it. His vote and his influence were against it. He was then in Parliament, and he recollected very well the fight they had on the Municipal Bill, and to the principle of that bill both the right hon. Gentleman and his party were from the beginning to the end, opposed. If he had ruled, he never would have given municipal reform. Well, then, he would ask all those in England who now had a voice in the government of their own towns, when the right hon. Gentleman and his friends would have refused them, up to the present time, everything like municipal reform, whether that was the party they would have in the Government, when they had to decide between the two.

Sir *Robert Peel* doubted whether the hon. Gentleman was right in the fact, he did not recollect giving any opinion against the English Corporation Reform Bill.

Mr. *Roebuck* recollected that the right hon. Gentleman's party did at the time vehemently oppose the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill; and further, that this bill was in many respects curtailed of its fair proportions by the noble Lord now sitting at the right hand of the right hon. Gentleman (Lord Stanley). He now took an act on which he was bold to say for one—and in the face of the great party opposite he did say it—he could not separate the right hon. Gentleman from his party. He was about to speak of the Poor-law Amendment Bill. During the elections which had just passed, the Liberal party had been met by the most illiberal artifices, and every vulgar appeal had been made to the lowest passions of the people upon the subject of a measure which the Liberal party had passed, which the right hon. Baronet himself had considered he was bound to support. Let them remember, then, that it was the Conservative party of England who had so put at defiance their leader, and that he dared not rebuke the conduct of his party. He might say that every hon. Member who had been a candidate at the late elections, had been compelled to submit to these foul means which had been taken by the opposite party for the purpose of winning for themselves a pitiful support in reference to that measure. He said that he could not separate the right hon. Baronet from his party. A few soft words were indeed heard from him—now and then he spoke of the advantages of the bill, but had he ever turned his face severely against those who had offered this opposition to its supporters. This should have been done, because there was not one of the leading Gentlemen opposite who did not know that the right hon. Baronet had supported this measure, because he believed that it would be for the benefit of the poorer classes. He had supported it because it was proposed by Ministers in the great spirit of wisdom and benevolence which had characterised their political life, and it had been fastened upon by the party opposite for all the base purposes to which they could apply it. Therefore he said, that, taking this broad view of the principles acted upon by both parties, blaming, as he had done, the backward conduct of Ministers, he placed the whole matter before the country, and he left them to await the result of the day on which they would see the decision of the last election. He knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite at this moment represented the opinions of the majority of the constituents of this country, and it was the duty of the House to await the result; but he believed that a change would come, and that the principle which actuated hon. Gentlemen opposite would work itself out, and that the mercantile interests of the country would rue the day when those principles first came into action, for they would find that they could not obtain that from the Conservative party, which the great interests of this country required from the Legislature. The people of England must rule themselves—that was his democratic opinion—and what was most wonderful, hon. Gentlemen opposed assented to it. He blamed the Ministry that they had made the constituency what it was, but they had got the reward of their own want of foresight, for the constituency, acting upon the principles of human nature, had returned the right hon. Baronet and his fellows, in ignorance of the scope of their policy. The hon. Member who had moved the Amendment had chosen to taunt the Ministry by a reference to what he was pleased to term a "small war." For his own part, he was one of those who of two evils was disposed to choose the least, and he was disposed to prefer a small war to a great one. But had any hon. Member opposite stepped in and said that the war, small as it was, was an unjust one? He found that our arms had been successful—that there had been an unanimous cry of approbation—that rewards had been scattered, and that very quickly—that thanks had been voted, and yet all these wars had produced no rebuke from the House. Why was not the majority of the House, he asked, employed, instead of being engaged in securing party objects, in picking out one of these wars, and saying, "Here I put my hand upon this which is an unjust war, and I lay it at your door—there is one of your evil deeds?" There had been no such motion. [*A cry of "China."*] China was mentioned. Had this been done? He had not been a Member of that House for some time, but he had read it in the ordinary chronicles, which were open to the public, what had taken place. The war with China was one which should have called for the indignation of every honest man, and he gave the greatest blame to those who prosecuted that war. He would now go on to another war—that of Syria. To this war there had been no objection made—on it no motion had been made. He had heard the remarks made by the noble Lord who spoke last night, respecting our relations with America; but the real difficulty had been to curb the warlike spirit of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The noble Lord had said, that a war in that quarter would be most sincerely deprecated, and yet he had sought to impugn the conduct of the Government in suffering the matter to proceed so far without some warlike demonstration. He was prepared to justify the conduct of the American government throughout all the proceedings in the case of Mr. M'Leod, and he blamed the noble Lord for having omitted to explain the real state of facts to the House. The truth was that, by the present law of the United States, and in the present state of our diplomacy, we could not reach the evil which existed. The House would permit him to explain why he stated that. He believed that much misconception existed upon the subject. Let him first state the facts of the case. A party of our troops and their commander crossed the frontier, seized a boat, and killed a certain number of American subjects. Some time after, one of the persons supposed to have been engaged in the proceeding was arrested, because he had left Upper Canada, where he had been an under sheriff, where he had got in debt through facilities afforded him by office. He passed over to New York, and there was arrested and committed for trial. A true bill was found by the grand jury, and M'Leod had to take his trial. The House should know that there were two sets of courts in America—the Federal Courts, which belonged to the United States, and the State Courts which belonged to the State of New York. The Federal Courts could not, by common law, take cognizance of murder; everything of which they take cognizance was by statute law, and they could have cognizance of murder in those cases only in which it had been committed within the peculiar districts assigned to them, such as the district of Columbia, or the parts of the States reserved for their jurisdiction; but in the State of New York, as a State, they had no jurisdiction whatever, the entire jurisdiction being in the hands of the State Court. The peculiar result of that system was that the power of pardoning a person found guilty in the State Court lay in the Government of the State, independently of any other power, while a person convicted by the Federal Court might be pardoned by the President, whose jurisdiction reached him. Mr. Forsyth, in his answer to Mr. Fox, stated that the government could not reach the case of M'Leod, and that it was entirely in the hands of the authorities at New York. There might be a deficiency in the legislative system of the United States, but they could not now remedy the evil. A similar case might have occurred some years ago in England. A woman might, under our old law, object to an appeal in favour of the murderer of her husband; and the king could not afterwards interfere for the purpose of pardoning the prisoner. Now, let them suppose that in Prince Louis Napoleon's late attempt at Boulogne, he had been accompanied by an English citizen, and that citizen had been murdered, while the persons who had killed him had been taken up, if the widow objected to their pardon, they would have had a case under the former English law precisely similar to the case of M'Leod. He did not think that Mr. Fox had been aware of the real state of the case, or that he had properly dealt with it in the first instance. If at the time that Mr. Forsyth had written his letter, to which he had alluded, a Minister had been sent over—ay, an ambassador extraordinary to the State of New York—that would have been the way to bring the matter to an issue, and some hope might have been entertained of our meeting the difficulty. But now September was almost come, the man might be found guilty, and then must be hanged. This was undoubtedly a most extraordinary case, and was not to be treated with that levity and heat with which he had heard it spoken of. He had read with great admiration the judgment of Judge Cowen upon the subject of the *habeas corpus*, and the matter had been thoroughly, and carefully, and gravely met by the judges of the land. All questions of policy, or political expediency, had been very properly thrown aside, and having considered the matters urged in behalf of the prisoner, the learned judge had said, that no power which he possessed could relieve him, but to trial he must go. It was urged before him, that he was acting under the command of a superior officer—that what he had done had been sanctioned by a British officer; but the judge, very properly said, that he could take no cognizance of that—that it might be pleaded elsewhere, but that plead it where they might, the two countries, not being in a state of war, England could no more defend or justify the murder, then justify a common larceny. He entreated hon. Members to read and understand this matter, and he believed, that if it had been better understood before, it would have been better for the negotiations which had been carried on. But he would ask the House, whether, in any part of the whole course of the Government proceeding, anything had been ever said by hon. Gentlemen opposite which would justify them in bringing forward any accusation against Ministers for their conduct in this matter. Had they pointed out any other course as being fit to be taken? Had they done aught to smooth the difficulty by which the Ministers had been beset? He asked those who might follow him to justify those of his party in anything which should give them the smallest ground for justifying their conduct in anything. There was one topic, on which he would only touch, and that he must be permitted to say placed a blot on both sides of the House. He meant the case of the Canadas—that tragedy had not yet been played out. The Government had acted with the most unheard of injustice to one large class of the community; they had already given an honourable title to one noble Lord for carrying out their early promises, but he thought, that they had given him the reward before it was earned, and history would show whether they had not been guilty of injustice. "*Divide et impera*" was the old rule; they had united the Canadas, and they would find, that they could not govern them. They were bound neck and hand to the Parliament of Upper Canada, and let any noble Lord go into the Colonial office, which already presented anything but a bed of roses, and he would find, that with all his eagerness, he would be totally powerless before the Canadian Parliament. He had now gone through the general matters of home and foreign policy which had been made the subject of charges against the present Ministry; but he had not referred to France, in allusion to which he would, however, now make a few observations. The noble Lord, the Foreign Secretary had exhibited an anxious desire to promote peace with France, and undoubtedly the noble Lord who had seconded the amendment which had been proposed had not complained of this, but he had complained of the promises which had been made. Their conduct, he admitted, required no great deal of justification, it might be perfectly justifiable, but if that were so, was it not puerile to look back and say, that whatever they might promise, they could not act up to their promises, and therefore were liable to blame. The want of economy on the part of the Government was another of the evil geniuses which had haunted them, and upon this point hon. Gentlemen opposite had sprung up every moment, like the keys of a harpsichord. Army, Navy, Ordnance, had each in turn formed the subject of their remarks, and he asked where there was anything ever proposed by the Government, on that side of the House, as a scheme of economy, which was not immediately condemned as a proof of the cheese-paring, cutting-down system carried on. The Government had, in truth, sacrificed themselves to every piece of bad advice given to them by their opponents, and they were now about to reap the reward of their folly. When great measures had been brought forward, he had found them halting in the path, and on that account blameable for their conduct; but, on the other hand, he had perceived in hon. Gentlemen opposite, a constant rejection of all measures of improvement—a steadfast opposition to all but the narrowest interests of this country. The people of England were about to await the result of a change of principle, in favour of which they been somewhat too precipitate in the change of their opinions.

Mr. *Muntz* should not have risen to trespass upon the attention of the House, but with a view to justify himself on the ground of some expressions of opinion attributed to him throughout the recent contest. It had been said, "Oh! even the Radical Mr. Muntz, the Member for Birmingham, says, that the repeal of the Corn-laws will lower the price of wages." He had no objection to repeat, that such was his opinion, but, admitting that to be the case, was it just, he asked, that the state of starvation to which the people of this country had been reduced, should be allowed to continue? He had, it was true, expressed the opinion which was attributed to him, but he had accompanied that expression with a declaration, that in his opinion, the present state of things could not continue. He was confident, that whoever might govern—whether it was the noble Lord, or the right hon. Baronet, the whole subject must be gone into, and all interests must be considered before any decision was arrived at. He had merely risen to explain what he had really said, and would not further trespass on the time of the House.

Mr. *Ewart* rose to move the adjournment of the debate. ["*go on.*"] He addressed hon. gentlemen opposite with all courtesy, and he begged to assure them that he made this proposition because hon. Gentlemen on that (the Ministerial) side of the House looked upon the questions involved in this discussion to be of too serious a nature to be passed over, after so short a debate as had taken place that evening.

Mr. *Brotherton* reminded the House that the Speaker had now been in the chair upwards of nine hours. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had not sat in the House for some years, which was perhaps, a sufficient reason, why he opposed the adjournment of the debate. According to the old practice, Members did not mind how late they spoke after twelve o'clock, and at that time the debates in the House were not of so much importance; but since the passing of the Reform Bill large constituencies had been created who expected their representatives to express their opinions on the subjects discussed in that House. More Members therefore, required to speak than under the old system. It was quite an error to suppose that the people disliked protracted debates in that House. Nothing could be more popular in England than to afford hon. Members the most full opportunity of expressing the sentiments of their constituents. He hoped no further opposition would be offered to the motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Sir *Robert Peel* acquiesced in the motion for an adjournment, on special grounds. The Speaker had taken the chair at one o'clock that day, and he conceived that this was a sufficient special ground for acceding to the adjournment of the debate. It was one which would not occur on another occasion.

Lord *John Russell* could not in the present state of the House (a great number of Members had left) do other than acquiesce in the motion for adjournment, There had been no expectation of a division on the question of adjournment, and therefore any division would be a loss of time. He hoped the House would acquiesce in the motion for an adjournment. He did not quite agree with the hon. Member for Salford, that protracted debates were desirable, but he did think that if the system were continued, there was one great evil attending them, though he did not exactly see what remedy could be provided. He alluded to the comparatively small attendance that took place on such occasions early in the evening, and indeed, until a somewhat late hour, so that although their proceedings bore the name of debates, yet the attendance of Members was not such as to attach sufficient importance to them. The adoption of a contrary practice would not lessen the duration of a debate, or deprive hon. Members representing the constituencies that had been referred to of their privilege of addressing the House, but it would certainly attach more importance to the proceedings, and give them more the appearance of a debate. He hoped, under the circumstances, that no division would take place, but that the House would agree to the motion for adjournment.

Debate adjourned—House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, August 25, 1841.

MINUTES.] Petitions presented. By Mr. Thomas Duncombe, from Working Men of Glasgow, Leicester, and Nottingham, for a Reform in the Representation, and for Universal Suffrage.

Election Petitions. Complaining against the Elections at Great Marlow, Nottingham, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Thetford, Clitheroe.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE SPEECH—ADJOURNED DEBATE.] Mr. *Ewart* rose, but was met by cries of "Spoke," from the Opposition. The hon. Gentleman appealed to the Speaker. [The *Speaker* said that the hon. Member having spoken last night only on the question of Adjournment, had a right to be heard.] Mr. Ewart then continued. After the interruption, which certainly proved the inexperience in Parliamentary usages of him who caused the interruption, he should proceed with the discussion of the subject before the House. Whatever different shades of opinion might be entertained by different parties in that House, it had been to him, and to many of those around him —he might say to all of them—a source of real congratulation that the important principle of free trade appeared to be on the advance. He had gathered as much as this from the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who moved the Amendment. He drew the same inference from the speech of the noble Lord who seconded his motion. Indeed, that noble Lord, if he (Mr. Ewart) understood him right, plainly and unhesitatingly expressed himself to be a friend to the principles of a free trade, while the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, declared himself to be nothing less than a disciple of Mr. Huskisson. He received that declaration with peculiar satisfaction, because if he was a real disciple of that distinguished statesman, he had to hail, in the hon. Gentleman the Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire a friend to the final, though gradual, abolition of the Corn-laws. If he had read the opinion of Mr. Huskisson aright—if he had read rightly the celebrated Report of Mr. Huskisson, second only to the works of Adam Smith, which that right hon. Gentleman drew up from the evidence given before the Agricultural Committee in 1821—if he had read that Report of Mr. Huskisson aright —that right hon. Gentleman contended for the final extinction of the Corn-laws. He rejoiced to think that in the objects they had in view, of establishing a free trade in Corn, they had with them the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire. On another point, too, he was glad to be able to coincide with the hon. Member. He had expressed his admiration at the conduct of the working classes during their recent privations, and stated that they had endured almost without complaining those privations and distresses. He agreed with him that they had borne these most patiently, but he thought that the working classes had a right to expect more from the hon. Member for Yorkshire and those who sat on that side of the House, than the mere cold expression of sympathy and commiseration. It was easy for him to bestow that cheap compassion, but the working man had a right to ask him for more than that. He had a right to demand from the hon. Gentlemen opposite the suggestion of some special remedy. But the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, with respect to the special remedy, was most mysteriously but discreetly silent. That silence distinguished the conduct of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and that silence was calculated to deceive, had it not been accompanied by commiseration. As he had said before, the country had a right to expect from them something like a remedy, instead of the easy commiseration of a few conservative fears. But it was said that the country had given its confidence to the party opposite, through the cries of the constituent body. Those Gentlemen, however, refused to declare the use which they would make of their newly acquired power. In the language of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, and to use the new metaphor which he, with less taste than usually distinguished everything which flowed from his lips—that hon. Gentleman said, they were not called upon to prescribe a remedy, until they had received the fee. He admitted that, as far as the constituencies were concerned, they had returned an answer to the appeal from the Crown which the Ministry could not resist, and he fully agreed with hon. Gentlemen opposite,that seeing the relative numbers of parties in that House, they had a right to call upon any Government to adopt that constitutional course, which it would be unsafe and improper of a Government under similar circumstances not to take. But he saw in distinct perspective before him, that the right hon. Baronet would be called on to adopt the very course of those Ministers whom he wished to replace. He might, indeed, do it with some slight modification in the details of the Ministerial measures, but with their principles he must coincide. The present Ministry had been vanquished by those measures. For a time they had given them a still and silent opposition, but the truth had at last forced itself upon their minds. The course they had taken, he felt assured the right hon. Baronet would yet be constrained to follow. He thought he could see in the distance ar epetition, with respect to the present measures, of the drama performed some twelve years ago upon the question of Catholic Emancipation. To the true principles of religious freedom the right hon. Baronet had gradually come round; and he believed, that in the true principles of commercial freedom he would gradually acquiesce. The time would come when the right hon. Baronet should treat them to a remedy, medical or political, of the present commercial distress of the country. Whatever medical scruples the right hon. Member for Tamworth might entertain whatever might be his reluctance to prescribe; yet, when he found himself with an empty exchequer, he would be obliged to adopt those very measures, and to say, with another celebrated medical character, he meant the apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*—

> " My poverty, and not my will, consents."

He would use, if not the same language, at least the same motto, as formed his device in 1829, " Something must be done." He only hoped that, on that occasion, there would be heard no such ill-omened words as " *Nusquam tuta fides*," which he recollected to have sprung spontaneously but most unfortunately on the former occasion, from the lips of a right hon. agriculturist, now again a Friend of the right hon. Baronet, whom he now saw opposite. But it was his (Mr. Ewart's) opinion that the right hon. Baronet would find this question the Catholic question of commerce. He turned now at once to the Speech from the Throne. If he might venture to state, that he regretted any omission, he hoped that the House would allow him to say, that it was the omission of any notice of the abuses of our present representative system. The extensive corruption, and not only the influence, but the force, exerted at our elections in this country, had excited not only the astonishment, but the disgust of foreign nations. The time appeared to be come, described in the well known words of Pope:—

> "At length corruption, like a general flood,
> (Too long by watchful ministers withstood),
> Shall deluge all; and avarice, creeping on,
> Spread, like a low-born mist, and blot the sun."

Such a description, he verily believed, was justly applicable to the recent elections in this country; and for such a stupendous moral, as well as political evil, a remedy, sooner or later, must be found. He was convinced, that the principles of the Reform Bill must be carried out, and some better appointment be made of the constituences of the country. With the spirit which breathed through the Address, he warmly concurred, for it was the spirit of peace. His hon. Friend, the Member for Manchester, knew too well the constituencies of the manufacturing districts of that country, and he (Mr. Ewart) knew too well the feeling of the commercial and manufacturing community, not to feel that they attached the deepest interest to the preservation of the peace of the world, and therefore that portion of her Majesty's Speech found a ready echo in the bosoms of all those who represented manufacturing constituencies, such as his hon. Friend represented. He particularly rejoiced, that her Majesty had been able to announce to the House that relations of peace had been restored with France, a country with which it was the desire, as it was the interest of this country, to maintain the strictest connections of amity and friendship. He was sure, that he spoke the sentiments of that portion of the country with which he was connected, when he said that Englishmen deemed their interests closely interwoven with the maintenance of the dignity and independence of France; and, therefore, they hailed with peculiar satisfaction the statements from the Throne, which confirmed the concord previously existing, and dispelled the unhappy shadows of discord which had begun to hover over that part of the political horizon. There was another portion of the world with which he trusted our relations would continue to remain undisturbed; need he say, that he alluded to the United States of America. The kindred ties which united us with that country rendered it a matter of feeling as well as of interest to do every thing to maintain those ties undissolved; and although he was sorry to say there appeared to be cause to apprehend the amicable relations between these countries might be interrupted, partly in consequence of the legal constitution of the United States, and partly in respect of the unhappy differences respecting the north-eastern frontier, yet, he trusted that the mutual interests of both countries would induce them to approximate, so that no alteration might take place in the harmony subsisting between them. Discord between England and America would shake the peace and commerce of the world. If England and America should ever be seriously at issue, the progress and happiness of mankind would be endangered. He trusted that such a misfortune would be avoided, if it were avoidable in any manner consistent with the honour and permanent interest of the country. He rejoiced to find that in her Majesty's Speech her Majesty had expressed her warm sympathy for her suffering people, and that sympathy had not been confined to mere cold and formal words, nor, like the hon. Gentleman opposite, did her Majesty confine herself to the mere expression of sympathy while the remedy was postponed to a distant day. Her Majesty suggested, that they should take what, in his opinion, was the best and only remedy, viz. the adoption of a system of commercial reform. In the cause of that reform—in the attempt to lower the duties both on articles imported from our own distant colonies, and on those produced in foreign countries—many poor friends with himself had been doing their utmost, although for a considerable portion of time, without success.

In that great cause they had been the pioneers, or he might more properly say, the forlorn hope, and he was happy to find that others were now advancing onward in that career which they had so long prosecuted. These measures might be said to have been begun in the memory of those now in Parliament, by a reduction of the duties on the East-India productions—measures of a more extended nature than had then been adopted by the Government of the day. The great question of the Corn-laws then came on. In the last Session there was presented to the House the celebrated report on the Import Duties. That report had awakened the attention of the country in such a manner, that he trusted it would not slumber until all the restrictions on commerce had been removed. He was convinced that there were scarcely any hon. Members connected with the landed interest who did not feel that nothing was more important, even to their interests, than the prosperity of trade and manufactures. The greatest trading nations had ever been the greatest agricultural nations. With the increase of its trade and commerce, the prosperity of the agriculture of this country had invariably increased. He hoped he should be excused if he referred to the conviction on this subject which was entertained by Members of that House a century ago, showing that the same truths existed in all time. So long ago as 1732, he found the landed gentry, who sat in that House, expressing their sense of the importance of the manufactures to to the prosperity of the country. It was then, that, on a question of taxing the commerce of the country, Gentlemen of the landed interest, declared that—

> "No landed gentleman in England would choose to save a shilling in the pound, when, by such a saving, he brings ruin on the trade and manufactures of his native country."
>
> "I only desire," says another, "that every landed gentleman would consider what he could make of his estate, if we had no trade or manufactures, nor any number of populous towns in England. The landed estates would not, in that case, bring in yearly to their landlords the rent they do at present; no, nor one quarter thereof."

Such opinions were as true in the year 1841 as they were in the year 1732. His hon. Friend, the Member for Manchester, had referred on the previous night to the opinions which had been expressed by a person deservedly of the highest commercial consideration when he sat in that House, the late Sir Robert Peel, and had quoted the observations of that experienced manufacturer and trader, on the subject of the Corn-laws. He (Mr. Ewart) would go still further—he would quote the opinions of another person on the importance of extending commerce and manufactures, namely, those of the present Sir R. Peel, and if the advice of the father were lost upon any hon. Gentleman opposite, at all events, they would listen to the more recent and equally valuable counsel of the son. He found, that, on the 8th of February, 1836, the right hon. Baronet gave them the following sound advice. He reluctantly disinterred his speech from the political mausoleum of *Hansard's Debates*; but it runs as follows:—

> "I," said the right hon. Baronet, "cannot help thinking that I see in the great prosperity of our trade and manufactures a more encouraging prospect of an improved condition of agriculture than in any other cause." And in the month of July, in the same year, he adds, "I am perfectly satisfied that the hopes of the agriculturists must eventually rest on their own exertions. I should rather tell the agriculturists to look at the farmers of Scotland, and to work out some plan of amelioration, and consequently of relief to themselves."

He trusted, that now, when hon. Members were called on to advance that trade, and those manufactures, they would consider, that, in the opinion of the right hon. Baronet, they would, in effecting that object, advance the agricultural interest of the country. He trusted that they would, at least, have some respect to the opinions of the right hon. Member for Tamworth. The right hon. Gentleman said, that he was perfectly satisfied that the hopes of the agriculturists should rest on their own exertions—that from them they would derive their best success. He thought it necessary to call the attention of hon. Gentlemen opposite, to the opinions of one whose wise counsels they generally followed. He had before ventured to refer to the Scottish farmers, to whom the right hon. Baronet referred, and with whom the principle of free competition succeeded. They had found that commerce was their best friend. It was well known to every hon. Gentleman who was at all acquainted with agricultural matters, that the cultivators of the soil derived from commerce the most signal advantages. To commerce they were indebted for the introduction of such improvements in agriculture as bone-dust, and nitrate of soda. The noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, at a recent meeting of the Agricultural Association at Liverpool, alluded to another article which was likely to be of the greatest importance in the improvement of agriculture, namely, *guana*, which was imported from the shores of the South Pacific, and for the introduction of which the agriculturists were indebted to the sagacity of an enterprising merchant. Nor was it to commerce alone, but also to manufactures, that agriculture was indebted. The steam-engine was now to be seen in the farm yard assisting in the operations of husbandry; and he was convinced that the largest advantages would be derived from more extensive application of the steam-engine in this branch of industry. An engine of six-horse power could be put up in a farm-yard for 150*l.*, or even for less, and the farmers would find that cheaper than the kind of power which they now employed. He hoped that the present race partook of the improvement of the times, and were more enlightened than their fathers, who rejected every improvement. He hoped that the landed proprietors did not still bear out the assertion of the most illustrious of Irish orators, the late Mr. Grattan, that in his days they "represented the inert capital and the inert talent of the country." Agriculture, like all other trades, was best promoted by free competition, and a steadiness of demand. Nothing could be more true than the assertion of his right hon. Friend, Mr. Labouchere, that the present system of corn averages caused the wildest speculation. It did not supply, but at one time it starved, at another time it inundated the market. It was familiar to him, from his connection with Liverpool (and no doubt it could be well known to his late colleague, the Member for Liverpool, Lord Sandon), that the corn dealer always, as it was said, went for the low duty. He kept his corn warehoused—as he well could do—till the averages rose sufficiently high; and then he poured his corn into a hitherto empty market. It was true, therefore, as he had said, that the market was starved at one time and inundated at another. The consumer was ill supplied—commercial gambling was encouraged, the foreign grower suffered by uncertainty abroad, and the farmer by uncertainty at home. The evil, as his hon. Friend (the Member for Manchester) had truly said, went farther. It was almost an axiom that irregularity of trade produced irregularity of the currency. This was the case in the present corn trade. Uncertainty in the market produced uncertainty at the bank. As all currency was only a representation of commerce, he was more and more convinced that a sound basis for the circulation could only be found in a steady and equable interchange of productions; in other words, a sound currency should be founded on "freedom of trade." But, perhaps, he might be pardoned if he went a step further than the Government. He believed that the measures now proposed were only the beginning of a more extensive reform in our system of taxation. That more extensive reform would consist in relieving commerce from taxation, and basing taxation more upon property. In fact, he owned himself the advocate of a property-tax. He was so on two grounds: it would leave commerce absolutely and illimitably free, and it would remove taxation from labour and place it upon wealth. Such, he believed, would be the final consummation of the reform now proposed, a consummation anticipated in the time of William 3rd, shadowed out by Adam Smith, attempted by Mr. Pitt, and to be attained, he believed, when the fullest development was given to our industry at home and our trade abroad. The words he had just used reminded him of the prodigious increase of foreign manufactures—one of the strongest arguments in favour of the adoption of the propositions of her Majesty's Ministers. The commissioners on the state of the hand-loom weavers had, some time ago, fully placed this fact under the cognizance of Parliament. He need scarcely remind many Members of that House of the statements of Mr. Keyser, one of the commissioners:

> "The establishment in Prussia of factories by the importation of British machinery and the influx of British engineers—the fairs of Leipsic, and particularly Frankfort-on-the-Oder, almost deserted by British agents—in Saxony almost every article of cotton manufacture now produced—power-looms erecting in Austria."

What is the opinion of the Germans themselves as to their own policy? A German writer, quoted by the commissioner, observes that

> "The English, who were formerly placed in a disadvantageous position as compared with

ourselves, have got over all their difficulties by the operation of machinery. Why shall we idly await this threatened blow to our commerce? Cheapness of raw material, and low wages, are on the side of Germany. England has overcome these advantages by the use of machinery. Let us then combat the English with our own weapons."

Mr. Symons, another commissioner, some time since described the increased manufacture of machinery in Belgium, and he adds that foreign manufacturers have this advantage: an Englishman is, of course, prohibited by law from combining different patents in this country, but it is not so abroad. There they combine them:

> "At Zurich I have seen (says Mr. Symons), a combination of self-acting mules, severally produced by Messrs. Sharp and Roberts and Smith, of Dearston, which their patents prevented our combining in England,"

A remark which may indicate the necessity of some day looking into our law of patents. His hon. Friend (the Member for Manchester), had referred to the loss of a great part of our trade in manufactured cotton goods. He was apprehensive that, unless we gave greater development to our commerce, we should materially suffer in our trade in yarns. Year after year, foreigners encroached upon us, and spun yarns of a finer quality, or, in technical language, of a higher number.

> "I am as confident as of any opinion I ever entertained (says Mr. Symons) that, at no distant period, the English yarns, at any rate those under 150, will find no market in Switzerland."

Perhaps he (Mr. Ewart) might here be allowed to add another citation in favour of free trade from the same report; it went on to say—

> "In Switzerland there is entire free trade. Her soil cannot produce sustenance for half her population, yet her people are better fed, clothed, and educated than any other people in Europe."

He was sorry to observe, from the most recent manufacturing documents, that not only was the foreign consumption of our manufactured cotton goods decreased as compared with the corresponding six months of last year, but the consumption of our yarn was diminished also; an indication that foreign manufacturers were making advances in the hitherto undisturbed province of our spinning, as well as of our weaving. Foreign nations had another advantage. They profit, in one short year, by our experience of half a century. The discoveries which it has cost us incalculable time, industry, and capital to attain, they adopt at once. It took us half a century to travel through all the intermediate improvements of our turnpike roads to the perfection of railways. Foreign nations without undergoing this intermediate apprenticeship, profit by our experience, and adopt our railways at once. This was also the case with our machinery. They pass over from the rudest systems of hand-loom weaving to the perfection of the power-loom, and excepting in capital and skill, are on a level with us at once. In designs for patterns they are still, and have long been our superiors. His right hon. Friend, the President of the Board of Trade, and many others, including himself, had seen our disparity, and made earnest efforts to remove it. But there is still (said the hon. Gentleman) a more powerful admonition to us of the necessity of free trade. What are those vast commercial combinations, forming themselves, as it were, by some spontaneous attraction, among the states and countries of the continent? What is the vast German Zoll-Verein, or German Customs-Confederation, the suggested customs union of Luxemburgh with Holland, or even of Belgium with France; what are they all but so many indirect homages to the genuine principles of free trade? It is like the process of small and isolated satellites springing at the command of a powerful voice towards a common centre, and forming a homogeneous and advantageous whole. Thus united they are infinitely stronger; and within the more extended circle, commerce comparatively free, circulates with new vigour, and diffuses a more extended light. We ask you to extend for Great Britain, to the world, the system which they are adopting in separate parts of it. Then shall you best meet any rivalry which the wise and just policy of Prussia has created against you in the great commercial confederation of Germany. Let me entreat you, further, to adopt these commercial reforms, because they are favourable to the peace of the world. America, supplying us with cotton, forms a bond of peace between two distant nations. Why do we refuse to take her corn as well as her cotton, and thus create, between her new states and ourselves, an additional security for the undisturbed peace and commerce of the world? Far better to strike off the iron fetters of restriction, falsely called independence, and to link distant nations together (as Heaven intended they should be united) by the golden chain of mutual dependency. In such a policy he saw incalculable benefits for his own country. England being the great capitalist, would form the great market of the world. Under a system of commercial freedom, she would become the vast entrepôt of the cotton, the sugar, the coffee, the corn, and timber of the world. But no narrow or isolated views ought to bind her. Her individual success was closely interwoven with the general advance of nations; and there was no other solid foundation for her splendour and duration than the peace, prosperity, and progress of the world.

Captain *Hamilton* said, he should be readily excused by the House from following the hon. Member who had just sat down through all the topics to which he had adverted in his speech. He had not intended to address the House, or trespass upon their attention, had it not been for some of the observations that had fallen from that hon. Member, and this, perhaps, would be a guarantee that he would not detain them. He did not consider himself the mere delegate of the opinions of his constituents, but he trusted, that on all great occasions, when he was called upon to give his vote, that vote would be in accordance with the opinions and wishes of a majority of his constituents. The hon. Member who had just sat down might carry them, as he had done that evening, through every subject that had engaged the attention of the Legislature, but that would not lead the House or the people from the real question at issue, which was, the confidence of the House in her Majesty's Ministers. The Corn-laws, the sugar duties, and general state of trade, were all very proper subjects to be discussed, but not in the present situation of her Majesty's Ministers in that House. What was there in the altered position of the Ministry that he (Captain Hamilton) was to give them the confidence now he had so lately withheld? Why were the Corn-laws so particularly introduced in the Speech from the Throne?—not with any idea of any practical result arising therefrom, but merely to force on a discussion, and allow the supporters of her Majesty's Ministers to draw away the public attention from the real state of affairs. He represented a more numerous, and quite as independent a constituency as the hon. Member for the Dumfries burghs, and having plainly stated his opinions to the electors, and been returned by them to Parliament without opposition, he thought he might fairly suppose he represented a majority of them. Of course, among all numerous bodies of men there must be considerable difference, and many shades of opinion, but he had most distinctly stated, that he could not, if again returned to Parliament, support the Government. He was frequently asked, "What will Sir R. Peel do when he comes into power?" His reply had invariably been, that not having been consulted by the right hon. Baronet, or having the honour of his intimate acquaintance, he could not possibly undertake to say. But this he would venture to predict, that it was utterly impossible any Government formed by that right hon. Baronet could be more inefficient than that of the right hon. Gentlemen, and noble Lords opposite. The late hon. Member for Kilkenny in the last Parliament had taunted him, and the Opposition generally, and warned them of the consequences that would attend their appearing before their constituents at a general election. The hon. Member said, they had miscalculated their strength, and the feelings of the country in their favour, but if this was the case, what had happened to the hon. Gentleman's own calculation—why was he not in his accustomed place? He was no ultra-Tory, or violent party man, but he placed no confidence in the present Government, and deprecated the course they had pursued. The noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, and now one of the Members for the city of London—he too had made a hustings speech before the close of the last Parliament, but that speech had failed in its intended results. He then would vote for the amendment, and not for the original address, for the reasons he had ventured to state, viz., that the one course must carry his approval of the Ministry, and the other his before declared want of confidence. The simple question before the House was, whether they agreed in a vote of want of confidence in her Majesty's present advisers or not. For his part, he thought a discussion of the Corn-laws was quite inapplicable to the question at present before the House, and he had no doubt, that the paragraph respecting them was introduced into the Queen's Speech for the purpose of giving hon. Gentlemen an opportunity to make speeches to go forth to the country.

Mr. *Ward* denied as the hon. Gentleman had stated, that the discussion of the Corn-laws was at present inappropriate, but this was not the word, for in fact it was the great question to which the country looked—it was the question which a sense of duty to their constituents should make them look for an intelligible expression of opinion in that House. If he wanted any justification of this opinion, he should find it in the speech of the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, last night, who said that he considered himself as a part, and an integral part of the answer to the question put to country by the Crown. He (Mr. Ward) also considered himself as a part of that answer as well as the hon. Member, and coming as he did from an important portion of the county which the hon. Gentleman represented, he would take the liberty of telling him that, if his constituents and the more intelligent classes in the country had more, or rather had their fair influence, the answer to the question of her Majesty would have been returned by very different hands. No doubt but that it was a great triumph to carry the election for such an important district as the West Riding. It was one of the greatest triumphs for that party which they could achieve, and it was one of the greatest disgraces for his side of the House which it could sustain. He, however, could tell the hon. Gentleman, that the people of Yorkshire were too intelligent to be deceived by the nature of the course that he had adopted, for it would appear as if he had one set of opinions for Parliament and another which he addressed to his constituents from the hustings. It appeared that both the Mover and Seconder of the amendment had wished to make it appear that they were in favour of free trade. The noble Lord, however, who seconded the amendment with such good taste, and in a spirit of such eloquence and singular ability for a first address in that House, was evidently afraid that he should damage his character as a free trader, if he made any attack on her Majesty's speech. It would appear, from the language which had been used, as if the only object which the party opposite had in view was their coming forward to save the country from the fangs of the manufacturing classes, of whom they spoke in terms of undisguised contempt. The hon. Gentlemen knew full well that the grounds which he took up last night were not those on which he came forward as a candidate for the West Riding, but he appeared there as the farmer's friend. He last night opposed the Government on a very different ground, and the bill of indictment which the hon. Gentleman drew up was directed as well against Lord Grey's as against the present administration; but the hon. Gentleman no doubt forgot that some of the leading Members of the party with which he acted were as responsible for the measures of the former Government, as the noble Lord below him. The hon. Gentleman had alluded also to the proceedings that had taken place respecting the appropriation clause, and had talked of the great change that had taken place in the opinions of the Members of the Government on measures connected with Ireland. It should be recollected, that that country was the classical ground of political tergiversation. The right hon. Baronet had, on a question connected with Ireland, sacrificed his consistency and political character for a purpose for which he gave the right hon. Baronet credit, but for which many of those who sat round him had not forgiven him to the present hour. He remembered, that in 1827, the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, refused to join the Cabinet of Mr. Canning, although the Catholic question was declared to be an open question, on the ground that the head of the Cabinet, being in favour of that measure, it obtained such a preponderance that it would tend greatly to promote its success; and yet within two years from that time the right hon. Baronet came down to the House and proposed the repeal of the Catholic disqualification act himself, and succeeded in carrying his measure into effect. The charge of tergiversation brought against the Melbourne Government was not nearly so great as this, but it was far from his intention to justify its conduct, for he thought that conduct such as he had alluded to was very bad in all cases. He thought, that it would have been better, both for the right hon. Baronet and for his noble Friend, to have abandoned the whole responsibility of the respective measures to their opponents rather than have adopted them, although they felt the necessity of having a settlement in each case. The schism of the Catholic question had broken up the Duke of Wellington's Government, and the surrender of opinion on the appropriation question had greatly damaged the present Administration. If his noble Friend below him had resigned when he found that he could not carry that question in the way that he wished, it was his firm belief, that a Government could not have been framed strong enough to take upon itself office, with the necessity that there would have been of increasing the taxation in this country, and with the intention of diminishing the constituency in Ireland, and supporting that monstrous grievance, the Irish Church. There could be no doubt as to the present policy of the Cabinet having had the effect of arraying against it all the interested classes. He saw on the Benches opposite a union of all these classes arrayed together to prevent the destruction or diminution of their respective monopolies. He warned Gentlemen opposite to beware, for they had yet to see a combination of consumers against them, and they might depend upon it that would soon be the case. From day to day the probability of such an event increased. He already saw that the hopes and fears of the party opposite rose and fell by the barometer; and Gentlemen must be aware that this day, which had been so blighting to the hopes of the husbandman, and which excited such well-grounded fears for the harvest, would do more to destroy the greatest of the monopolies than all the amendments to the Address which they could send up to the Throne. It was notorious, that the present harvest would be short, considerably short of an average one. [*No, no.*] He had consulted many of the most able and practical men connected with agriculture, residing in the part of the country with which he was connected, and they assured him that the harvest would prove considerably short of an average one. They must not make the weather a party question. At the same time, then, that hon. Gentlemen opposite made it a party question, they charged him with doing so. It would appear that their accounts as to the state of the harvest differed much according to their political wishes. For his own part, he believed that the fair result of the practical observations that had been made as to the prospects of the harvest throughout the country, was, that there would be a most serious deficiency. Many, as well as himself, who had inquired into the subject, were convinced that there were good grounds for believing that the harvest would fall short a sixth or an eighth of an average one. He sincerely hoped, that this would not be the case, but he was satisfied that there were good grounds to believe that such would be the case. Supposing that the deficiency was only to the smaller amount; namely, an eighth, which would be about two millions of quarters, according to the general returns for our average consumption, it must be recollected that the whole of this must be paid for in cash, and there must be a drain of gold on the Bank to this amount. They would have to go into the foreign markets under considerable disadvantage, for other countries as well as ourselves were suffering from a bad harvest. It must be well known to hon. Gentlemen, that such a drain on the Bank could not fail of operating immediately, and to an immense extent, on every branch of industry throughout the country. The time for consideration was rapidly passing away, and if steps were not instantly taken they would have a repetition of what took place last year; money would go out of the country, which could not be spared, and every branch of trade would become embarrassed at a time when the population of the country is most in want of food and constant work. During the last three years 10,381,000 quarters of foreign grain had been imported into this country, which had been paid for chiefly in money drained from the Bank. Of this quantity there was 7,000,000 qrs. of wheat, which cost 17,500,000*l.* and 3,380,000 quarters of other kind of grain, which cost 3,500,000*l.* This amount might just as well have been thrown into the sea, and it was wasted in consequence of our not keeping open the markets with foreign countries, by which a reciprocal trade would be created. He did not care one pin as to the men who might govern the country, he looked only to the principles on which the Government was to be conducted, and his support or opposition to it would entirely depend on its members supporting or opposing sound principles. At present, one side proposed that there should be a fixed duty on the importation of wheat, and that it should not be subject to any other charge; this was certainly an approach in principle to free trade, although not nearly to the extent which he desired. On the other side, Gentlemen had shown symptoms which indicated the course they were likely to pursue. The people might well judge as to what was likely to follow from the language of the leaders of the party opposite. The chief of those leaders had given a most distinct pledge, and it was rather remarkable that it was the only pledge that he had ever given during the whole period of his political life—that he meant to adhere to a fluctuating scale. He believed that there was good foundation to believe that the right hon. Baronet would adhere to his pledge, on this ground, namely—the great number of county Members sitting behind him—many of whom had declared that they looked upon the proposal of an eight-shilling duty as an insult to them, and that they objected to any alteration of the Corn-laws. This view of the subject was corroborated by what he found reported to have been said by a noble Duke who had influence with the landed interest. It had been said to-night that the men who were to succeed the present Government in office, would themselves soon turn round upon the landed interest and refuse it protection. If they did, he knew what course the landed interest would take. They would turn out the new Government, as they had turned out the old. If the new Ministers came forward with an 8*s*. duty, the same men who brought them into power would thrust them out of it. Again, they had another indication as to what would be the probable conduct of the future Cabinet on this question, in the language which fell from the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire at his election. After dwelling at some length on the proposal of the Government, he said, if such a resolution were to take place it would bring ruin to the farmer as well as to the landlords. The nature of the change involved the destruction of the landed interest. During the discussion which took place previous to the dissolution, several Members who took part in the debate said that they regarded the proposal of the fixed duty as nothing short of an insult to the landed interest. The effects of the present system had proved most destructive to some of the most important branches of industry in this country. He would refer to many instances in corroboration of this, but he would only mention one case, which had recently come to his knowledge. He alluded to one of his own constituents, one of the most extensive manufacturers engaged in producing steel goods, who sent a large cargo of his manufactures to the United States, when he found that the only produce he could get in return was flour. The flour was consigned to this country on board two ships, and the cargoes were insured. Fortunately for his friend one of these ships went down, and he recovered from the insurers the value of the cargo. The other shipload was landed at Liverpool, and was kept in bond for upwards of a twelvemonth, when it was sold at a loss of ten shillings a barrel. The obvious consequence of such a state of things must necessarily be a reduction of the number of workmen employed by the manufacturer. This was not a singular case, for the principle obtained in all branches of industry. A great deal of nonsense had been uttered with respect to the connection which was said to exist between the landed classes and the agricultural labourers. The fact, however, was, that neither the farmer nor the landlord kept a single agricultural labourer more than he required for the performance of his work, for the same principle of political economy influenced this class in the employment of labour as it did manufacturers. The landed interest were, therefore, not at all justified in claiming anything like peculiar merit to themselves for the employment of labour. The effect of the present system he knew had been most disastrous to his constituents during the few years that he had been connected with them. At present there were not less than 2,000 houses unoccupied in Sheffield, and the best hands engaged in the manufactures of this place were continually leaving and seeking refuge in other countries, in consequence of the injurious effect of the Corn-laws. He had seen in a paper which he had received that morning letters from some workmen who had emigrated from Sheffield to America, in which they strongly urged their friends to follow them; and what were the remedies which Gentlemen opposite proposed for such a state of things? They were told that they must place implicit faith in the soundness of judgment and in the profundity of wisdom of the leaders of the opposite party, and that, instead of requiring any pledges from them, or any information as to the future course of their policy, that they must at once place power in their hands, and wait for the result of the steps they would take. He would ask what was there in the policy and conduct of those Gentlemen to justify their doing so? There might possibly be some questions upon which the right hon. Member for Tamworth might be as ready to make concessions as his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. For instance, he, perhaps, might not object to a proposition for the admission of foreign-caught fish, and some of the coarser articles of food for the lower classes, on the same footing as turbot and lobsters, which were the food of the rich, into our markets. Was there, however, any probability that the right hon. Gentleman would take up the more important monopolies, with a view to their removal? No doubt a disposition would be manifested by Gentlemen opposite to deal sharply with the mode of taking the averages, and which his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade described last night as rendering the corn trade the most gambling in existence. Now he thought that the averages were the only good and redeeming point in the present system. The farmer, no doubt, might occasionally lose by it, but in all such cases the country gained. If, therefore, Gentlemen would have a sliding scale, they must take it with all its defects. If the present system was to be continued, the opposite party must be watched with the greatest care to prevent them effecting an alteration in the averages, and they must be kept to their present bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill. He would just as soon vote for the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire's Registration bill, which was to effect such a serious and objectionable alteration in the constituent body in Ireland, as for a change in the mode of taking the averages with the contrivance of a sliding scale. There were many other subjects with respect to which he would place as little confidence in the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends. For instance, the hon. Baronet, the Member for the University of Oxford, had a claim on the right hon Baronet and his Friends, on a subject which, in his opinion, was highly objectionable. Notwithstanding the deficiency which existed in the Exchequer, and the failing state of the revenue, no doubt the hon. Member for Oxford would remind the right hon. Baronet and his Friends, when they attained office, of the vote which they gave in favour of the motion of a large grant for Church extension, and would call upon them to support his proposition. He should like to know how this could be done without a large sum from the public coffers, and this, for the sake of consistency, the right hon. Baronet would feel himself called upon to allow. He could not conceive how they could remove the commercial and financial embarrassments of the country by such a proceeding as this; and yet, as a party, Gentlemen opposite were pledged in good faith to support the proposition of the hon. Baronet. Again, with respect to the new Poor-law Bill, the conduct of Gentlemen opposite had been most inconsistent. His hon. Friend, the Member for Bath, had principally alluded to the attacks which had been made at the hustings on Liberal candidates, in consequence of their support of this measure, and certainly few Members had been attacked more violently and unjustly than his hon. Friend for his support of that bill. He saw many Gentlemen opposite who he knew were acting as chairmen or members of boards of guardians under this bill, and who privately declared it to be one of the best acts which had ever passed; but they expressed the highest satisfaction at the temporary triumph which had been gained at Nottingham by the abuse of this law. At the recent election for the West Riding of Yorkshire, he, while standing on the hustings, saw cards showered about, containing the greatest abuse of that measure. On one of them was this address;—

> "To the Governor of the Whig Bastile. Admit the bearer and his family. Separate him from his wife and family, and give him skilligolee three times a day. (Signed) Morpeth and Milton."

He did not know what might be the language of hon. Gentlemen when they met across the Table in that House, but when they engaged in election contests, was it fair to bring such accusations against the Liberal candidates, and charge them with being the enemies of the poor?

He had never shrunk from expressing his approbation of that act, and the grounds on which he supported it, and he was anxious for its success when it should be brought forward. He doubted, however, whether the right hon. Baronet would be allowed to act as he wished with respect to this measure, as he knew that many of the right hon. Gentleman's supporters in that House had strongly pledged themselves in opposition to the renewal of this act on the hustings; and on this point, therefore, he saw no reason to transfer the right hon. Baronet to place and power. It was rather singular, that, during the discussion, not one word had been said on the subject of Ireland. In 1839, when the right hon. Baronet contemplated taking office, he said that Ireland was his chief difficulty; but what had been done to remove that difficulty. Was it by attempting to force on Ireland a measure which would render the constituency essentially different from that of this country and Scotland. He did not intend to charge the right hon. Baronet with desiring to pursue a policy otherwise than humane, but he could not help feeling that in Ireland the right hon. Baronet must act through his instruments. The right hon. Gentleman was distrusted by the moderate and the liberal party in Ireland; he, therefore, would almost be compelled to throw himself into the arms of the old Orange faction. He felt convinced, that, with a few more years of moderate and just government in Ireland, and by assimilating the institutions of the two countries, we should become a united people, instead of appearing, as it were, as two hostile nations. He feared that the opposition which would be excited would bring the country to the verge of civil war. He saw a thousand reasons to regret, and none to rejoice at the change of the Government. He saw a probability that the Irish people would be goaded into acts of violence which would serve as a plea for resorting to severities, and the result might be a return of the dreadful scenes of 1798. He feared this would be one of the results of the restoration of the party in Ireland to power. He could not forget that the ablest men of the party opposite, with the exception of the right hon. Baronet, had made themselves offensive to the Irish people by the attacks which they had made on them. The noble Lord, the most powerful debater, and one of the most able men of his party—had brought forward a measure to cut down and narrow the franchise in Ireland to such an extent, the success of which would remove all hope from the Irish people of their being placed on an equality with the people of this country. The present Ministers had been taunted by Gentlemen opposite, that they were unable to carry their own measures, and if their successors possessed this power, no doubt the very first measure which would be brought forward would be the very Registration bill which rendered his name so notorious in Ireland. Then who was to be the first legal adviser of the Crown? The man whose name was associated with terms applied to the Irish people, which that people would never cease to think of but with indignation. While he saw a thousand ills likely to arise on every side, and in every quarter, from the accession of the hon. Gentlemen opposite to power, he saw no one single good which could result from the change; and he should therefore vote for the Address.

Mr. *Manners Sutton* did not undervalue the importance of the subject which had been referred to; but he considered that before the House took those subjects into their consideration, there was one subject which ought to be at once decided, and that was, whether the present Ministry possessed the confidence of the House. The verdict of the late House of Commons had been given against the Government; the Government were not satisfied with that verdict, and had appealed to the people; and the noble Lord himself admitted that the result of that appeal had been decidedly adverse to him; it was, therefore, incumbent upon the present House, out of respect to themselves, out of respect to their constituents, and out of respect to her Majesty, who dissolved the late Parliament, at once to give her Majesty the answer which their constituents had deputed them to give. There was one point of a personal nature upon which he trusted the House would allow him to put a question to the noble Lord opposite. The noble Lord, in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman in the chair, upon his well-merited re-election to the Speakership, was reported to have said that he had had, on a former occasion, other grounds than those merely of a political feeling for opposing the re-election to the chair of the right hon. Gentleman, now a

Member of the other House, and a near relative of his. Now, he had reason to know that this observation, from the dimness and indistinct nature of it, had caused considerable pain to his noble relative. It was not that he, in the slightest degree, feared any charge that might be brought against him; but it was the indistinct nature of the imputation of which he thought he had reason to complain; and he flattered himself, he was sure, that the noble Lord opposite would feel obliged to him for thus giving him an opportunity of removing this dimness and indistinctness, by stating what was the nature of the charge he had suggested.

Lord *J. Russell* said, perhaps the House would at once allow him to answer the question. In the course of the debate on the re-election of Speaker, the right hon. Baronet opposite, in the course of his short arguments, assumed that the sole reason why Lord Canterbury was not re-elected Speaker in 1835 was, that his political opinions did not agree with those of the majority of the House. As he had made a different statement in 1835, he had not thought it right to allow the right hon. Baronet's assumption to pass without remark; and he, therefore, said, that though he did not wish to revive the discussion which had taken place on that occasion, yet that political feeling was certainly not the only reason for his opposition to Mr. M. Sutton, but that there were other matters connected with the conduct of that gentleman, which had induced him to oppose his re-election. He had not thought it necessary to revive that discussion any further than to state, that there were other grounds. These grounds he had stated at the time, and though he had not since referred to the debates, his recollection served him sufficiently to enable him to state, that what he had then advanced as a charge against the present Lord Canterbury, was not a positive breach of duty certainly, but what he considered conduct very unbecoming on the part of the Speaker of the House of Commons. The House of Commons at that time, in 1834, contained a great majority in support of the Government, of which Lord Althorp was at that time the leader. That Government was changed in the course of the recess, by the exercise of the royal prerogative, a Privy Council being called for the purpose of formally making that change, and transferring the Government to the hands of a party who at that time were in a very small minority in that House. The then Speaker of the House of Commons thought proper to attend this Privy Council, whereas, it was his (Lord John Russell's) opinion that he ought on the contrary, respectfully to have represented to the Sovereign, that as the Speaker of a House of Commons, the large majority of whom were opposed to the change, he ought to be dispensed from attending the Privy council, as his attending it would seem to make him a party to the change, in opposition to the House by which he had been elected. He had stated at the time, that though he did not regard this proceeding of the then Speaker as a positive breach of his duty, yet he certainly looked upon it as conduct of a highly unbecoming description; and when the new House of Commons was elected, he thought it very unfitting again to place in the chair of the House a Speaker who had thus set at nought and contemned the opinion of the House by which he had been chosen Speaker. That was his statement at the time; and when the subject was referred to the other evening, he thought it necessary to state that difference of political opinion was not the sole reason which had induced him to oppose Mr. Sutton on that occasion. He must confess that at the time the conduct of that Gentleman had occasioned him to feel very considerable resentment; he had regarded him as an admirable Speaker for many years; he had borne his willing testimony on many occasions to the propriety of his conduct; he had ever felt that nothing could exceed his just authority with the House, earned for him by his admirable temper and his intimate knowledge of the forms of the House; but he must at the same time confess that the right hon. Gentleman's conduct on the occasion referred to had appeared to him altogether unbecoming the character of a Speaker of that House. He had now stated what were the grounds to which he had alluded, and which he had thought it unnecessary to go into the other night; but as the hon. Gentleman had put the question to him now, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not find fault with him for stating what had been his impressions with respect to the conduct of his noble relative. He had no wish for a moment to suggest that Lord Canterbury on that occasion had intended or wished to show any disrespect to the

House of Commons; it was simply an error in judgment. Any feelings which he might have entertained on the subject at the time had long since passed away; but at the same time he must repeat his conviction, that it would have been more becoming on the part of Lord Canterbury had he respectfully represented to his Sovereign the propriety of his being allowed to absent himself from the Privy Council.

Dr. *Bowring* said, that connected as he was with a community whose deep distress had been more than once referred to, he felt imperatively called on to address the House on this subject. He knew it was no pleasant task to speak of the poor and suffering many in the presence of the privileged and the opulent few, but he must discharge his painful duty. In that House there was none who did not enjoy all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life, some of them its superfluities in abundant and embarrassing excess, and when he contrasted the scene around him with the wretchedness he had lately witnessed, and which he was sent especially to represent, and if possible to remove, he grieved to think how inadequately he could depicture that misery whose echoes were thrilling in his ears, and whose scenes fresh in all their mournful expressiveness on his mind. He well remembered how frequently it had been said to him during his late canvas, "Aye, Sir! you listen to the stories of our grievances now, you talk to us of your sympathy and your pity, but you will go to London and forget us and our suffering as others have done, and we shall hear no more about it, till you come again to ask the electors for their suffrages." But he knew he had undertaken a solemn trust and he hoped to show the House that the miseries of the working classes claimed, nay, demanded its prompt, serious, and religious attention; and let the House remember that to turn away from these miseries, to avoid inquiry into their causes, to refuse redress if their causes can be discovered, would be alike uncharitable, unchristian and perilous. For who are the sufferers? the unrepresented multitudes! those who in addition to their physical deprivations are denied the exercise of their political rights. With the augmentation of their distress, the sense of injustice done them by their exclusion from a voice in the representation has been greatly aggravated. Political discontent has been naturally mingled with social and individual grievances, and let not Parliament suppose that the wrongs which are fermenting in the popular mind are without danger to the peace of society. As a proof of the dreadful depression prevalent in Bolton, it would be sufficient to state the fact that at the present moment no fewer than 1,328 houses in that borough were unoccupied; while in the different townships which composed the Poor-law union there, the number of houses unoccupied was, 2,267, being one-eighth of the entire number of finished houses in the union. Official returns stated, that there was not a township without uninhabited or deserted houses. In Sharples and Entwistle, one in every five is empty; in Harwood two out of nine, in Edgelworth one to five and a-half, in Little Bolton one out of six, while there has been in the last ten years an increase of population, to the extent of more than 14,000 souls within that union. The House could not but feel that this was a state of things most perilous to the public and society, and could he venture to trouble the House with the details of cases of individual suffering, of which he held the records in his hand, from authentic sources, they could not but admit that something ought to be done promptly and efficaciously to remove this mountain mass of misery. True it was that the people were ignorant of the complications and perplexities of political economy, but they knew this simple and undoubted truth, that there were many countries producing an excess of food, and that this excess of food they were not able to obtain in return for the labour of their hands; and hearing and knowing this they could not understand the argumentation or the legislation by which those markets were closed to their industry, and by which they were prevented from carrying the product of their labour where they could get in exchange for it that food for the want of which they were famishing. Would the House bear with him while he detailed some cases of individual suffering, authenticated by the evidence of Poor-law guardians and magistrates? "I visited," says the informant, "a man and his wife, with four children; I found two of the children laying on a piece of straw, without any covering. I went up stairs and found the father dead on the boards, without bedding or bed. His wife told me that the day before he died he wished for a little bread and cheese, but in vain. The neighbours said he had died for want of food." Another wretched case. "A man, his wife, and two daughters (it is a guardian of the poor who speaks), lived in a cellar, the wife and daughters out of work; this man earned about four shillings per week by weaving; I was fetched by the neighbours, who told me the man had died of hunger, I found him laying dead on one of the looms; they had neither bed nor bedding. I caused a jury to be summoned. Their verdict was, 'Died for want of food.'" He felt a difficulty in selecting cases, from the many mournful examples he held in his hand. His correspondent had been called to visit a family which he was informed was in a state of starvation. He found the father had just sold all he had to pay his rent, and had removed, with his family, to his father's, whither he followed him, and found the man, his wife, and four children; another brother, his wife, and three children; a third brother, his wife, and one child, all the men out work, all the women far advanced in pregnancy, in a house four and a half yards square; they all slept in a room above of the same size, and lay upon little but straw. He would mention a case—it was authenticated by a most respectable magistrate, of a man who had been working for seventeen years with the same employer, having an excellent character for sobriety and industry. For the last three years he had had work only for three days and a half a-week, having a wife and three children, another daily expected; during five years he has been able to buy no Sunday clothing to enable him to go to church, and scarcely clothing of any sort for himself or family. For five years they had bought no bedding, for months together they had tasted no animal food, beyond sometimes one pound of bacon in a month; their food is oatmeal porridge twice a-day, potatoes once, and herrings sometimes; they borrow the pan in which they dress their food, and sometimes, for a month together, pawn their clothes at night to redeem their bedding, and their bedding in the morning, to redeem their clothes. He would mention a case that had come under his own cognizance, a good workman, earning, by fourteen hour's labour, nine shillings per week. For rent, fire, loom, and candles, 3*s.* 8*d.* spent, leaving 5*s.* 4*d.* for the food of father, mother, and four children; the six sleep in one bed without a blanket; the linsey woolsey garment of the wife was in pawn, the husband and wife spoke of each other with affection. They had applied for assistance, but only the workhouse was offered. The wife had been a teacher in the Church Sunday school, within the last six weeks the man had worked through two Sabbaths for the payment of his rent; he was owing fifteen shillings; the room was empty of furniture. Let not hon. Gentlemen believe that these are exaggerated tales of distress. They are, sad to say, the record of an every day history, of a common, a too general misery. These, and all such cases, he remarked, were the samples of an awful mischief, occasioned by that pernicious system of legislation which denied to labour its rights, to the willing artisan the liberty of finding that market which the world would be delighted to offer him. He (Dr. Bowring) had travelled extensively over various parts of the world, and he had seen in every quarter, harvests ripe for the sickle, and a superabundance of food wanting a market; while in this country hundreds and thousands of people were bordering on starvation, though producing in abundance the articles of clothing which would be eagerly purchased by those who were engaged in the labour of agriculture in other countries. The character of these laws had been but imperfectly understood; the Corn-laws were only a part of the system of vicious legislation. Animal food in every shape was wholly prohibited—prohibited in a country where, as in the case of the unfortunate people of Bolton, crowds of poor creatures might be seen congregated together outside the shops waiting to be served with pennyworths of bacon, and pleading to have the outside bits, because of these they had rather more for their penny than of the inside parts; on one occasion he had been deeply affected at hearing of a poor girl, who had purchased a pennyworth of bacon, exclaiming as she received it, "It is very little amongst six of us." He had in his hand an account of the aggregate earnings of five industrious weavers for a week's work; it was 21*s.* 1½*d.*, making an average of 4*s.* 3*d.* for each man, for the week's sustenance of himself and his family. The hon. Member for Manchester had referred, but without going into details, to some striking facts respecting those trades which depend upon the labouring classes. Now, in Bolton, where the population within the last five years had increased by 4,000 souls, the number of journeymen tailors and slop-workers, which five years ago was 500, was now but 250, and very many of these were almost unemployed. The number of shoemakers in the same borough had been reduced by one-third, and those who remained had a great difficulty in maintaining themselves. The number of associated carpenters had been reduced by one-fourth, and many of those who remained were unemployed. A large proportion of the trade of provision shops with the poor was now carried on in pennyworths of butter, cheese, bacon, sugar, and so on, and in very many cases the shopkeepers were entreated to give credit even for this small amount; and the kindnesses and charities which the working classes were accustomed to shew to one another were checked and sometimes annihilated by the pressure of their own distress. How could those who were struggling to save themselves from starvation extend the hand of benevolence to those who were even more miserable than they? Schools and churches were deserted for want of decent clothing, and the poor may often be seen washing their rags on the Sabbath, being unprovided with a change. And while such was the state of things in our manufacturing districts, the suffering must at last re-act upon the agriculturist, for a pauper population, and the population would be driven to pauperism—could be but indifferent consumers of the produce of the land. The state of our commercial relations with foreign countries was such as to excite the utmost anxiety. According to the last official returns, the quantity of goods exported from this country to the United States, was 8,800,000*l.* worth, but the United States had begun to threaten us with retaliation, for the pernicious system of trade upon which we acted, and to demand, in the most unequivocal manner, that if we exported our manufactures there, we should consent to take their productions in payment. The Brazils too, with whom we had hitherto enjoyed a most favourable trade for this country, now that the treaty under which we had traded was about to expire, gave every indication of an intention not to renew that treaty with us, unless we reformed our scale of duties, and placed the sugar trade with foreign countries on a fairer footing. The countries of Europe too, those which had hitherto been most willing to carry on a fair commercial intercourse with us, would lose all patience, if the dictates of justice and fair dealing were longer rejected by the British Parliament. He himself had again and again been the bearer of friendly messages from foreign powers to the Government of England, and what had always been the answer? "We dare not propose any alteration in the Corn-laws—we dare not propose a modification of the timber duties—we cannot even make provisional treaties which would enlarge the markets of England, for we are certain, from all experience, that Parliament would reject all such modifications." But, let the Parliament take good heed how it longer resisted the voice of reason; the difficulties of the matter increased year by year, month by month, day by day, hour by hour; that which could have been done in 1839, could not be done in 1841; they must go forward towards liberalism, or backwards towards perdition. Already the Commercial League of Germany, there was reason to apprehend, had it in intention to double the duties on our cotton twist and yarn. With respect to the great agricultural interests, he thought they had no reason to look with alarm upon a change in the present system. The extra produce of corn of all the corn-producing countries in the world was small—four or five millions of quarters at the most. Undoubtedly, that amount of corn would be consumed from the higher wages given to the labouring population of this country, provided its foreign trade was extended. He was convinced, that if our commercial relations were extended, as they might be, we should consume not only all our own corn, but all the corn that the world could furnish us with besides. He did not wish to trespass longer upon the House, but he felt compelled to represent to them that there was now a fearful mass of misery and a fearful mass of discontent. The people came to the House with a petition for relief, and he besought them not to turn to that petition an unwilling or unlistening ear. He implored the House to give some hope of a redress of grievances, to tell the producing classes that the field of labour should be extended to its utmost accessible limits—for so only could they anticipate peace—so only could they produce prosperity.

Mr. *P. M. Stewart* would follow the example of the Mover, and his noble Friend the Seconder of the amendment, and state the reasons which gave him the victory in the large and important county which he represented. The first that he would merely mention was, that his known determination to stand by the Church of Scotland in her present trials, and to rescue her independence. The other was his well-known character, as an unflinching advocate of free trade in every view that could be taken of it. He would limit duties nearer to the exigencies of revenue, and the sooner that principle was acted upon, the better for the country. He could not agree with the gallant Member who had said that all discussion should merge itself into the question of yes or no. Had the House confidence in her Majesty's Ministers or not? The questions had been fairly raised by her Majesty's Speech, and in his opinion the House had a right to speak to them as direct questions. In accordance with that opinion, he would, as the representative of a large and important county, embracing the agricultural, the commercial, and the manufacturing interests, every one of which were in a state of extreme distress from vicious legislation—he would address a few words to the House respecting the Budget, as it was called, and few they would be, because, from the state in which the country now was, it was perfectly clear that many occasions would occur for discussing the question *seriatim*. The first question that presented itself was that of the sugar duties. He did not know whether many in the House remembered his former appearance there; if so, they would know that he had a deep stake in the colonies; that he must stand or fall along with them; that, according to their prosperity, so would he be prosperous; and as a colonist, he felt constrained to thank the Ministers for the principle of the commercial code offered by them. He approved of the principle involved, but he opposed the details: but it had been said, in another place that the principle of commercial freedom was what ought to be established, and the details could be settled hereafter. In his opinion, and speaking as a colonist, he said the proposition for reducing the distinctive duty on the staple duties of the colonies, was one fraught with unmixed good, and would tend much to their prosperity. He congratulated the colonial interests on it, because it was a proposition to make the colonies an integral portion of the empire. As a matter of course, their produce must be admitted to all the colonies of the empire the same as the produce of Britain. Then with regard to the timber duties, he said, those connected with Canada were mad, or as they would more expressively say in his country, demented, if they did not at once close with the proposition made to them—they were offered a differential duty of 150 per cent., just what the country complained the colonies enjoyed, but they were quite willing to take 50. So absurd were the present duties, that it was a paying trade to take Baltic timber to Canada and then smuggle it in at the low duty. It was too absurd a system to last, and must sooner or later fall, and he said the sooner the better for all parties. Now with regard to the Corn-laws. It appeared from the tone of the debate, as if it was thought that there was an extraordinary opposition between the views of each party. No one was found seriously to advocate a total repeal of the Corn-laws. The proposition made was a fixed duty instead of a sliding scale; and he said that, considering that the latter had been tried for 200 years—ever since the time of Charles the second, during which period there had been forty changes of the law, they were now entitled to a trial of the fixed duty. In 1828, Mr. C. Grant, in bringing in the present act, admitted that it was a question of minor importance whether the protection was a fixed duty or a sliding scale. So also said Mr. Huskisson. He said he lamented the errors of the Bill of 1815, which had caused prices to be lower than they would have been had the corn trade been free and unfettered since that time, and he said he would be prepared to concur at the beginning of next Session in any measure for fixing the duty at a rate that should gradually descend to its proper level. He would remind the House that no commercial reform had ever been proposed, but had been denounced in the same manner as the present questions by the monopolists of that day. He was perfectly convinced, that, in a very short period, the Corn-laws would be settled on a satisfactory basis. Even the Mr. Peel of 1828 said a sliding duty would lead to a gradual importation. Now, had it not led to the very evil which he thought to obviate? From 1815 to 1828—thirteen years, we imported three-and-a-half millions of quarters; and from 1828 to 1840—other thirteen years, the importation was 11,200,000, but it was not gradual; for, in six years of the latter period, no less than ten million out of the eleven were brought in. Hon. Gentlemen complained that they agitated the country; but if ever there was a legitimate question upon which the country ought to be agitated, the present was that question. It appeared to him that on all matters of vital importance agitation was exceedingly beneficial; and, in corroboration of that opinion, he would quote six words from Mr. Burke, who once said,

> "I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen who are against any disturbing of the public repose. I like clamour whenever there is abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs

your sleep, but it keeps you from being burned in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the province, but it preserves the property of the people."

All such clamours led to the prevention of evils and the redress of abuse—and that brought him to the point which formed the main accusation against the Government—viz., that they had dissolved the Parliament. Now, he was one of those who had come to the conclusion that the Government would have been unpardonable if it had not dissolved Parliament. Before they had taken that step their responsibility was serious; but now that responsibility was light; and although the prospects might be more dreary, the responsibility of the rejection of these measures was with the people, and redress was in their own hands. His noble Friend, the seconder of the amendment, had stated that he was a disciple of free-trade, but he believed his noble Friend had qualified that expression by saying that he was a disciple of free trade, with the exception of those articles in which particular interests were involved. Now, so far as he understood his noble Friend, he would not interfere with any of the articles which were at present the object of legislative protection, and thus it appeared that exception was the rule and the rule the exception. He feared, notwithstanding the talents and abilities his noble Friend had displayed, that the Ministerial side of the House would gain nothing from him, unless he enlarged his views upon that subject. There was one point which had occasioned him some uneasiness, and that was what fell from his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bath, with reference to the case of Mr. M'Leod. And he did hope that the right hon. Baronet opposite, or some Member of the Government, would refer to that painful subject, which, in his opinion, his hon. and learned Friend had treated in a manner which was unwise, ill judged, and almost mischievous. These observations would reach America at the time of M'Leod's trial, and what would be their effect? Why the Americans would read, that at the opening debate of a most important Session such assertions as the following had gone forth uncontradicted—that M'Leod was amenable to the laws of the country which had seized him—that he must be tried—that he might be found guilty, and if found guilty, he must be hanged. Now, he was no lawyer, but it appeared to him that there was a good deal too much of professional intricacy in the statement of his hon. and learned Friend last night. He would take, however, the common sense and humanity of the case, and he must say that such a statement was, in his opinion, very ill judged. He was glad to find, that, upon a former occasion, the right hon. Baronet opposite had so far identified himself with M'Leod, as to say, that whatever was done to M'Leod was done to the country. He had no hesitation in stating, that, in his opinion, whatever was done to M'Leod, considering that he acted under British authority, was done to the British nation. That was the language which he wished to see go forth, if it came from some proper authority in that House, and not the sort of special pleading they had last night. He had taken the most important point in his hon. and learned Friend's observation, and his hon. and learned Friend said, that it was an old quarrel between them, as regarded the relation between that country and the colonies. With regard to Canada, the first experiment of Mr. Pitt was a dangerous one, and it was denounced by Burke and Fox, the former of whom foretold that they were planting the fruit of bitterness, which would afterwards spring up and embarrass them. There was another question alluded to by his hon. and learned Friend he could not forbear referring to. His hon. and learned Friend also said, he hoped the loss of the opium which had been seized by the Chinese government would fall on the owners of the opium. In that case he was satisfied that the honour and good faith of the country would be tarnished, and in his opinion the Chinese government had no more right to ask for the delivery and confiscation of the greater part of that opium, than they had to ask for the delivering up of cargoes now floating on the river Thames. It was beyond the power and jurisdiction of the Chinese government, and was under the protection of British vessels. He was not an opium proprietor in any way. He saw a smile come over the countenance of his noble Friend opposite, as if he thought him an opium eater. He could assure him that he had nothing more to do with it than viewing the question upon general principles, and he hoped that such opinions as those of his hon. and learned Friend would not be allowed to prevail, but that restitution would be had for every pound of opium destroyed. With regard to the vote of confidence in her Majesty's Ministers, he must say, that with all their faults he preferred them to those who were coming across the House to take their seats; and even if they had more faults than were laid to their charge, he could not part without a sigh from those who had done so much good in so little time. The hon. Mover of the amendment smiled of course, because his account was made up in a very different spirit in which he would cast his up. But, he thought, if the hon. Member had got a simple narrative of the ten acts which they had passed in the course of the ten years, it would puzzle the hon. Gentleman, or many other men of that House, to point out where so much good had been done by any other party. They had had an enumeration of their acts last night, and he would go over his list without comment. They had the Reform Act, the Negro Emancipation Act, the Poor-laws for England, and the Poor-laws for Ireland; they had the Municipal Corporation (England) Act, and the Municipal Corporation for Ireland; they had the English Tithe Act, and the Registration of Births and Deaths Act. [*Ironical Cheers.*] He did not understand those cheers. He would merely answer them by saying, the usefulness of that act was well known in the populous parts of the country; and those who had seen the evils it had counteracted, and the good it had produced, could have no other opinion. Then there was the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and though last, not least, the Canada Union Bill. They had given them these acts in the course of ten years, and for that he gave them his most unreserved thanks. All he saw to take from the merit of the Government was this, he admired their budget, and the principles on which it was projected, but he took from them the originality of projecting it. They had no more the merit of first proposing that budget as it now stood than he had. The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, alone had the merit of it. At page 100 of a half-bound pamphlet, intituled "*Corn and Currency,*" which had gone through four editions, and written by that right hon. Baronet, what did he find?—precisely the budget proposed by her Majesty's Government.

"The last object, said that pamphlet, a steady supply of corn at a moderate price, will be obtained by a repeal of the present Corn-laws, and by a constant import at a fixed duty—a duty, as I have before stated, equal to the burden borne by the land. Nor will it be wise to stop even at this point. If the landowner is to give up his monopoly for the public good, shall the East-India Company and the West-India proprietors be suffered for one day to retain the full enjoyment of their exclusive privileges? Shall the consumer be obliged to pay an exorbitant price for his tea, and for his sugar, that particular interests may be benefited; and shall the landed proprietors and the gentry of these realms alone be sacrificed? On the contrary, let us adopt the sound principles of free trade, but let us not permit their application to the staple produce of mere land. Let us destroy the heavy duties on timber, which add so much to the expense of building a ship or a house in the mother country, for the sake of conferring a paltry premium to our colonies. And, since we are bent on establishing a foreign competition, let us reduce largely those taxes which affect both the commerce and the manufactures of the country."

Her Majesty's Ministers had no merit in the original invention of this plan, which had been printed in four editions before it had been heard of from the Treasury bench, and he now claimed of the right hon. Baronet, when he returned to office to return also to his former opinions. If the right hon. Gentleman was present, he would call upon him to discuss his old opinions with his new friends; to turn to his right, and to discuss the Corn-laws with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Kent; and to turn to his left, and discuss with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, the currency question. If the right hon. Baronet would only discuss his new opinions with his old friends, and his old opinions with his new friends, they would have him, like water, finding his level at last. Before concluding, with many thanks to the House for the kindness and patience with which it had heard him, he would just remark to the right hon. Baronet, that he had read with great delight the graphic sketches he had made in his speech at the close of the last Session. One was with regard to a good man struggling with difficulties, and the other was a fishing sketch of bobbing for a Budget. He feared, that these sketches would remain Cabinet pictures. He thought they should still have the good man struggling with difficulties, and the right hon. Baronet, who was marked out as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, taking his station on the Ministerial side of the House, would himself be the good man he had so accurately described. Then, with regard to the fishing sketch. They had been bobbing for a budget, and lately the right hon. Baronet had been fishing for a majority, and having hooked it, the right hon. Baronet appeared not to know exactly how to land it. His brothers of the angle in that House, knew well that it was easier to hook a fish than to land a fish. They all recollected the lines of Pindar upon Isaac Walton, which he thought might be applied to the right hon. Baronet's present position:—

> "And when he tries to pull thee out,
> God give thee strength, thou little trout,
> To pull old Isaac in."

With regard to these principles of commercial reform, the course which the House was now about to adopt might decide the fate of parties for a time; but what was far more interesting to them, was that it would decide the financial prosperity and commercial features of the country. To that end he was sure it was hastening, and its thorough completion would be secured by the good sense and good feeling of the people of that country, although it had been boasted, not very tastefully last night, that the majority of the country Gentlemen in that House were ready, scythe in hand, to cut them down. He thought the returning good sense and the interests of the country would enable them ultimately to maintain their ground against any force that might be brought against them. He could assure the right hon. Baronet, that that question should have no rest until it was settled, and that he, as an humble individual, so long as he stood there the representative of the industrious and worthy, but now suffering classes would give him, and the Government to which he belonged, no rest by day or by night, until those principles were rescinded on the Statute-book, and the laws which at the present moment brought destitution and suffering on the people, were expunged for ever.

Mr. *Crawford* said, there were many parts of the Address in which he could not concur. It was stated that the great powers of Europe were united for the purpose of preserving the peace of Europe; but he could only regard that as a species of despotism for the purpose of exercising an undue influence over the rights and interests of the people. He could not, therefore, concur in that passage of the Speech. Again, they were desired to express their agreement with her Majesty that the extraordinary expenses should be provided for; but he could not express his concurrence in that part of the Address. In his opinion, the war with China was one of the most unjust that ever was undertaken by a nation. It was a war to establish a contraband trade, and if any lives were lost a charge of murder might be preferred against those who were the instigators of it. He would come to that part of the Address in which he might be supposed to concur. They were called on to revise the Import duties, and he was persuaded that they were a great evil, and the sooner they were removed from the statute-book the better. With regard to the repeal of the Corn-laws, he did not exactly understand what the Address meant. He objected to the principle of an 8*s.* duty, and he thought they should abolish the whole of the vexatious imposts called the Corn-laws, which conferred protection upon only a section of the community; for it was well known that the only parties benefited were the landlords, who were enabled thereby to obtain higher rents. There were other matters in the Address to which he wished to allude; and he must be allowed to express his regret that there was no notice in it of the necessity of reforms, which were advisable for the advancement of the liberties of the people, by giving them greater influence in the selection of representatives of that House. He had hoped that there would be some recommendation from Ministers for the extension of the suffrage to the working classes—that the use of the ballot would be recommended as a protection of their rights—and that the duration of Parliaments should be shorter. There was another subject to which he would advert, and which had been alluded to by one or two hon. Members—he meant the English amended Poor-law. It had been said that the party on the other side were sharers in the passing of that law, but he was disposed to condemn both parties in an equal degree on account of it. It was one of the most iniquitous laws that was ever passed. Though he did not defend the abuses of the old Poor-law yet he conceived it to be a cruel invasion of the rights of the people to take from them that law so long as they were subject to the Corn-law taxation. He had the honour of representing a manufacturing district and had witnessed the distress that existed there. But until he had examined into the subject, he had no idea of the extent to which that distress existed. The people of that district (Rochdale) traced all those evils to the operation of the Corn-laws. He advocated the total removal of all restrictions. He thought a fixed duty would be a fixed injustice. It was a crying evil that any law should exist which raised the price of food for the purpose of benefitting any particular class. With regard to the amendment that had been proposed to the Address, he could not see any inducement whatever to support it. That amendment did not offer any advantage which was not presented by the Address, and he could not, therefore, give his vote in its favour.

Mr. *Cobden* said, that in addressing himself to their notice, it was not his desire to trespass long upon their attention. He must own, however, that he felt some difficulty how to treat the question that was placed before the House. There did not seem to be a very good understanding as to their position on this occasion. They heard very different opinions expressed as to the object for which they had been sent to that House, and as to the nature of the principles that were determined at the last general election. They had heard, that the last general election was not a test of public opinion as to the monopolies that were complained of, that it was merely a question of confidence in the Ministry. He knew, that that opinion had been expressed by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, and he was happy to perceive the disposition that existed in the party opposite to take the *dictum* of that right hon. Gentleman as their law. They, therefore, said, that they were not to represent a monopoly. It would, indeed, be strange to hear a majority of that House coming forward to declare, that they had been sent there by the people of England to represent, to advocate, and to uphold monopoly. Let him just remind the House of the circumstances under which the late general elections had taken place. A recommendation had come from the executive, advising them to do that which was something unprecedented in the history of the country—namely, to propose a reduction of taxation, and this message was accompanied by an assurance from the executive, that not only would the reduction of taxation not injure the revenue, but actually increase it. It was, then, on such a message from the executive, that the late House had been dissolved. Had hon. Members on the other side then come forward and said, that a majority of that House was ready to tell the executive, that notwithstanding its assurance, yet they did not want the present taxation to be reduced on bread, timber, and other articles, and this, too, not only without improving the revenue, but increasing it; notwithstanding all this, they, the constituency of England, were for retaining monopoly and taxation, and all their mischievous results, and that they did so, because they preferred the advantages of monopoly to the well-being and benefit of the State. He was glad to know, then, from the other side, that the people of England, who were impatient of taxation—of whom it was said, that they were afflicted with "an ignorant impatience of taxation"—that they had not all at once become enamoured of monopoly. There was, too, another difficulty in addressing the House upon the present occasion. They were told, that the question now was, not whether the Corn-laws were to be repealed, or monopoly maintained, that they were not to consider those points which her Majesty had recommended to their notice, but that they were to discuss that and that only, which some Gentlemen on the other side of the House had thought proper to put after the Address to her Majesty's Speech; that all they were to think of, and all they ought to speak about was, whether or not her Majesty's Government was worthy or not of their confidence. And how came hon. Gentlemen on the other side to that conclusion? They went over the conduct of the present Ministers for the last ten years. They travelled after them to India, China, and to Canada. They touched upon everything but that which was the last and the most important of all their acts—namely, their recommendation to revise the Corn-laws. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side left that important topic untouched, but that was no reason why Gentlemen on his side of the House, knowing what the working of the Corn-laws was, what their effects, and that they were infinitely more important in the eyes of their constituents than Canada, or Syria, or the affairs of New York—there was then no reason why Gentlemen on his side should not give to such a subject the prominent attention it deserved, and at the same time treat with the proper deference and respect which any communication from her Majesty ought to receive. He was very young in that House, but still he was accustomed to read the speeches that were made there and, if he was not mistaken, he thought that in the olden time, Conservative Gentlemen especially were accustomed so treat the Speech from the Throne as if it were something appertaining to the monarchy. They did not like on these occasions to draw Ministers prominently forward, unless there was very great reason for doing so. They were not accustomed to draw forward Ministers, but to give their entire attention to the Speech from the Throne, as a matter entitled to a calm and respectful discussion. This is what he thought ought still to be done by hon. Gentlemen on the other side, and particularly with respect to a Speech from their most gracious Sovereign, who, since the time of Alfred, was the most popular monarch they ever saw in these realms. He would take up but a moment of their time while he glanced at that great and paramount question which had been attempted to be cast aside. He alluded to the food-tax. The people of this country had been petitioning for three years. They were anxious for a total repeal of the food-tax. He spoke, too, in the utmost sincerity—he was also for a total and unconditional repeal of that tax. He would not allow an aspersion to be cast upon the three millions who had been petitioning for four years on this subject—he could not permit it to be said that they were not sincere in what they sought for. He knew that they were, because he knew that what they asked for was just. What was this bread-tax—this tax upon food and tax upon meat? It was a tax upon the great body of the people; and hon. Gentlemen opposite, who had such sympathy for the poor, when they had made them paupers, should not refuse to give a calm, a marked, and a prominent consideration to this question, as affecting the working classes. There were twenty millions of persons in these realms who depended upon wages for their subsistence. There was about a million who lived upon the public alms. And he claimed from Gentlemen on the other side, who were hugging the paupers as their pets, to let some of their sympathies be extended to the twenty millions who were in that situation that entitled them to their support—these were the independent, hard-working men, who maintained themselves by their honest industry. He told them that their tax on bread pressed more severely upon that class of men than upon any other. He had heard that tax called by a multitude of names. Some designated it as a "protection;" but it was a tax after all, and he would call it nothing else. The bread tax was levied principally upon the working classes. He called the attention of the House to the working of the bread tax. The effect was this—it compelled the working classes to pay 40 per cent. more, that is, a higher price than they should pay if there was a free trade in corn. When hon. Gentlemen spoke of 40*s.* as the price of foreign corn, they would make the addition 50 per cent. He would not over state the case, and therefore he set down the bread tax as imposing an additional tax of 40 per cent. He had now to call their attention to facts contained in the report of the Committee on the hand-loom weavers. It was a report got up with great care, and singular talent. It gave, amongst other things, the amount of the earnings of a working man's family, and that was put down at 10*s.* Looking at the metropolitan and rural districts, they found that not to be a bad estimate of the earnings of every labouring family. The hand-loom committee then stated that out of the 10*s.* every family expended in the week 5*s.* in bread. Their tax upon that was 2*s.* weekly, so that every man who had 10*s.* weekly, gave out of that 2*s.* to the bread-tax. That was twenty per cent. out of the income of every labouring family. But let them proceed upward, and see how the same tax worked. The man who had 20*s.* a week, still paid 2*s.* a week to the bread tax; that was to him ten per cent., as an income tax. If they went further—to the man who had 40*s.* a week—the income tax upon him in this way was five per cent. If they mounted higher—to the man who had 5*l.* a week, or 250*l.* a year—it was one per cent. income tax. Let them ascend to the nobility and the millionaires, to those who had an income of 200,000*l.* a year. His family was the same as that of the poor man, and how did the bread-tax affect him? It was one halfpenny in every 100*l.* He did not know whether it was the monstrous injustice of the case, or the humble individual who stated it, that excited this manifestation of feeling, but still he did state that the nobleman's family paid to this bread-tax but one halfpenny in every 100*l.* as income-tax, while the effect of the tax upon the labouring man's family was 20*l.* per cent. He wished not to be misunderstood upon this point. Suppose an hon. Gentleman were to bring in a bill levying an income-tax upon the different grades in society; let it then be supposed that it was proposed to impose upon the labouring man an income-tax of 20*s.* per cent., and that the nobleman was to pay but a halfpenny out of every 100*l.*; in such a case as that, he was sure that there was no Member of that House, and he hoped no Christian man out of it, who would be parties to the imposing such a tax. And yet that was the tax which was actually levied, not for the purposes of the state, but for the benefit of the richest of the community. This, he apprehended, was a fair statement of the working and effect of the tax on bread. He promised this to hon. Gentlemen, that, as far as he had stated, he was willing to explain everything in which they might find anything that appeared to them to be a difficulty. He begged not to be misunderstood. He would sympathise with the incredulity of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was convinced that if they, as Christian men, knew what this tax was in its operation, they could not lie for one moment in safety or tranquillity in their beds, could they vote for it. Such, then, was the nature of the tax. He cared not whether it was forty, twenty, or five per cent. It was a portion of the evil of the bread-tax —a tax that was in no country that he was aware of, unless in England and Holland. It was monstrous and unjust to levy a tax upon bread. He was aware that hon. Gentlemen might point to laws passed upon the importation of corn elsewhere. There had been an import duty in France and Spain, and the United States of America: but he was prepared to show that in those countries they exported corn one year with another, and therefore no import duty could there operate as with us. There had been some mystification about this question. He remembered the noble Lord opposite, at his election for North Lancashire, propounded the doctrine of protection to the working classes, which was afforded them as a set-off to the Corn-laws; and as the doctrine came from so high an authority, he believed that other Gentlemen, in other counties, had taken the same view of the case. The doctrine of protection was unfounded: The noble Lord had told the electors that the manufacturers wanted a repeal of the Corn-laws because they wanted to reduce wages; and that unless, by a repeal of the bread-tax, they did reduce wages, they could not be better able to compete with the foreigner, and therefore could derive no benefit; and, on the other hand, if they did reduce wages, that would be no benefit to the working man. That was the doctrine of the noble Lord. Let him remind the House that the noble Lord spoke for parties who had been for three years patiently struggling for a hearing from that House, and had never been allowed to state their own case: that when the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, for whose distinguished services he, in common with millions of his countrymen, felt sincerely obliged, two years and a half ago, proposed that those who were agitating this question should be heard at the bar of the House, that House scouted and rejected his suit, and when they denied him a hearing they misrepresented his motives. Let him look at the case as given by the noble Lord opposite. He would not, for a moment, allow it to be supposed, that the noble Lord had wilfully misrepresented, but he must contend that he had unconsciously misapprehended the case, and if he, with his brilliant talents, fell into error, other gentlemen must excuse him if he ventured to think that they also had fallen into error. Now, in reply to the case put by the noble Lord, he must say that those who advocated the repeal of the Corn-laws had again, and again, avowed as their object, that they might be allowed the right, for they claimed it as a right, to exchange the produce of their industry for the productions of all other countries, and at the same time, they not only expressed their willingness, but their anxious desire, that all duties for protection, so called, levied upon articles in which they were engaged, might likewise be removed, and that a free and unfettered intercourse between all nations, in all commodities, might be carried on as designed by nature. He would come to that portion of the case of the noble Lord which related to the wages of labour. The noble Lord said, that a repeal of the Corn-laws meant a reduction of wages. Now, if he knew what it meant, it meant increased trade. They did not wish to diminish wages, but they claimed the right to exchange their manufactures for the corn of all other countries, by which means they would, he maintained, very much increase trade; and how they could do that except by calling into operation an increased amount of labour, he was at a loss to imagine. And he would ask the noble Lord how could they call an increased demand for labour into activity without raising the rate of the wages of the working classes. It appeared to him, therefore, that there was a palpable fallacy in the statement of the noble Lord on that occasion, when he said that the object of the anti-corn-law party was to reduce wages, in order that they might be better enabled to compete with the foreigner. He maintained that we did now compete with the foreigner. He maintained that we sold our manufactures cheaper than they were sold by any other country, for if we did not, how could we sell our manufactures upon neutral ground in competition with the producers of other countries? We now sold in New York every article in competition with the foreigners of other countries, and if we could there sell it cheaper than the foreigner, where was the protection given to the home producer? We sold articles at home as cheap as we did abroad, and he hoped the House would not forget this, that it was the foreign market that fixed the price in the home market. Did hon. Gentlemen suppose that we would send articles 3,000 miles for sale if we could get better prices at home? He begged to say a few more words on this important question, and to draw the attention of the House to the relation between the price of food and any other article, and the price of labour when in a wholesome and natural state. He could understand, in the slave-holding states of America or Cuba, that the price of labour might be determined by the price of provisions. The slave-holder sat down and calculated the cost of raising his produce, and he calculated the price of labour accordingly. But he would come to another state of society; he would refer to the agricultural districts, where wages had reached the minimum; and he would ask, was the rate of wages raised when the price of provisions was increased? They were told that such was the case; and why was it the case? Was it because the high price of food increased the demand for labour; or rather, was not the increase given out of charity, and in the shape of charity, because the wages which labour before brought were reduced to a scale at which the labourer could not support himself and his family? He would come to the state of the labour market in the manufacturing districts, and he was happy and proud to say that it was sound, nominally; but God knew how long it would continue so. There the rate of wages had no more connection with the price of food than with the changes of the moon. There the rate of wages depended entirely upon the demand for labour. There the price of food never became a test of the value of labour. The markets were elastic, and would be infinitely more elastic, if they were allowed. The markets, if they were permitted, would continue in a sound and wholesome state, and the people would be employed; but if they continued their present system of legislation, they would bring the manufacturing, the commercial, the trading, the town population, to the same point at which the agricultural labourer had reached; and then the manufacturers, perhaps, would come forward and state, not as an act of liberality—not that they were merely conferring alms upon paupers, but that as the price of food had risen, therefore they would raise the rate of wages, and not because the demand for labour required a rise in the rate of wages. He would dismiss the question of wages, although it was one, he must say, ought again and again to be mooted in that House and in the country, and he would come to consider the important question as to the state of our manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural labourers, which had already caused some sympathy, and for which he must again implore the sympathy of the House. The House had heard of the condition of the labouring population in the north. He had lately had an opportunity of seeing a report of the state of our labouring population in all parts of the country. Probably hon. Gentlemen were aware that a very important meeting had lately been held at Manchester, he alluded to the meeting of the ministers of religion. [*A laugh*]. He understood that laugh, but he should not pause in his statement of facts, but might perhaps notice it before concluding. He had seen a body of ministers of religion of all denominations—650, and not thirty in number—assembled from all parts of the country, at an expense of from three to four thousand pounds, paid by their congregations. At that meeting most important statements of facts were made relating to the condition of the labouring classes. He would not trouble the House by reading those statements, but they shewed, that in every district of the country—and these statements rested upon unimpeachable authority—the condition of the great body of her Majesty's labouring population had deteriorated wofully within the last ten years, and more especially within the last three years, and that in proportion as the price of food increased, in the same proportion the comforts of the working classes had diminished. One word with respect to the manner in which his allusion to this meeting was received. He did not come there to vindicate the conduct of these Christian men in having assembled in order to take this subject into consideration. The parties who had to judge them were their own congregations. There were at that meeting members of the Established Church, of the Church of Rome, Independents, Baptists, members of the Church of Scotland, and of the Secession Church, Methodists, and, indeed, ministers of every other denomination, and if he were disposed to impugn the character of those divines, he felt he should be casting a stigma and a reproach upon the great body of professing Christians in this country. He happened to be the only Member of that House present at that meeting, and he might be allowed to state, that when he heard the tales of misery there described, when he heard these ministers declare that members of their congregation were kept away from places of worship during the morning service, and only crept out under cover of the darkness of night—when they described others as unfitted to receive spiritual consolation, because they were sunk so low in physical destitution—that the attendance at Sunday schools was falling off — when he heard these and such like statements—when he, who believed that the Corn-laws, the provision monopoly, was at the bottom of all that was endured, heard those statements. and from such authority, he must say that he rejoiced to see gentlemen of such character come forward, and, like Nathan, when he addressed the owner of flocks and herds who had plundered the poor man of his only lamb, say unto the doer of injustice, whoever he might be, "Thou art the man." The people, through their ministers, had protested against the Corn-laws. Those laws had been tested by the immutable morality of Scripture. Those reverend Gentlemen had prepared and signed a petition, in which they prayed the removal of those laws—laws which, they stated, violated the Scriptures, and prevented famishing children from having a portion of those fatherly bounties which were intended for all people; and he would remind honourable Gentlemen that, besides these 650 ministers, there were 1,500 others, from whom letters had been received, offering up their prayers in their several localities to incline the will of Him who ruled princes and potentates to turn your hearts to justice and mercy. When they found so many ministers of religion, without any sectarian differences, joining heart and hand in a great cause, there could be no doubt of their earnestness. He begged to call to their minds whether these worthy men would not make very efficient ministers in this great cause? They knew what they had done in the anti-slavery question, when the religious public was roused; and what the difference was between stealing a man, and making him labour, and robbing a man of the fruit of his industry, he could not perceive. The noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, knew something of the abilities of those men. The noble Lord had told the House that from the moment the religious community and their pastors took up the question of slavery, from that moment the agitation must be successful. He believed this would be the case in the present instance. Englishmen had a respect for rank, for wealth, perhaps, too much; they felt an attachment to the laws of their country; but there was another attribute in the minds of Englishmen—there was a permanent veneration for sacred things, and where their sympathy and respect, and deference were enlisted in what they believed to be a sacred cause, "You and your's (addressing the opposition) will vanish like chaff before the whirlwind." Having described the condition of the people, he would ask what must be their feeling when they found that the gracious, most kind and benevolent recommendation of her Majesty, that that House would take into their consideration laws which restricted the supply of food and diminished labour, was scouted by a majority of that House, as a question secondary to the question, whether a Gentleman, in a white hat, opposite, or a Gentleman, with a black hat, on that side, should occupy the Treasury benches? He would tell them, that the people of England would reject such a course of proceeding, as the most factious that had ever characterised the conduct of that House; and if he turned from their conduct there, to declarations made elsewhere—it was not in conformity with the rules of the House to state where—he found an illustrious Duke declaring, that the condition of the labouring classes was enviable, as compared with the population of other countries; and when that illustrious Duke stated that every labouring man, who was industrious and sober, could obtain a competence, he would ask what must be the feeling and opinion of the country upon such a declaration? Hon. Gentlemen who echoed the sentiments of the illustrious Duke might remember that ten years ago the same illustrious individual said that the old boroughmongering Parliament was the perfection of human wisdom. He should not be surprised if the declaration of yesterday turned out the precursor, as the former was, of a far greater change than that proposed by the present Government. Before he sat down he wished to say a word to the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Tamworth. Allusions had been made to the opinions of Mr. Huskisson, and the right hon. Baronet was fond of shrouding his opinions under the sanction of that distinguished statesman. He was most anxious that the right hon. Baronet should not fall into the error of supposing that he was arrayed in the mantle of Mr. Huskisson, when, in point of fact, he had only his cast-off garments. The will of Mr. Huskisson was often referred to, but he would introduce his last codicil. Mr. Huskisson's opinions in 1828 were often referred to, but he would refer to his last speech upon the subject of the Corn-laws. On the 25th of March, 1830, upon Mr. Poulett Thomson's motion upon the subject of taxation, Mr. Huskisson said,

> "It is my unalterable conviction, that you cannot maintain the present Corn-laws, and preserve public permanent prosperity and private contentment, and that those laws may be repealed without doing injustice to the landed interest is my firm belief."

This was the last codicil to the will and testament of that illustrious, though, in many respects, failing man, and he trusted, that after this, the opinions of Mr. Huskisson would never be misrepresented in that House. He begged to remind the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, that when Mr. Huskisson spoke in 1830, the country was suffering from a state of collapse not so severe or lasting as the present. If Mr. Huskisson then spoke in desponding terms, what would he have saidi n 1841, if he had witnessed the accumulation of distress since that period, if, instead of the Bank of England holding ten or twelve millions of money upon which three per cent was with difficulty obtained, it had only about half that amount, and money was not to be had in the market at five per cent.? What, then, would have been his opinion upon the subject of the Corn-laws? He wished to give his most earnest opinion upon this subject, and he wished particularly to address himself to the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, because he had the greatest means of serving the country. He asked him carefully to consider the prospects of the country. He asked him to go back to 1830, and inquire into the cause of elevation from the prostration of trade that then took place, and he would find that it was not a natural trade that had sprung up. From 1831 to 1836, our exports, as compared with our imports, had increased by 120,000,000*l.* These exports went to America, and were locked up there. They were neither sold nor consumed; they merely went out to purchase bank stock, railway and canal shares, and such like articles. Besides, from that period, there had been an extension of our banking system, by which the number of our banks was increased nearly one hundred, while the capital was increased 60,000,000*l.* The expansion of the currency gave a factitious exercise to trade, and this, with other circumstances of unprecedented good fortune, raised up a factitious prosperity, which enabled the new Ministry to pass an act reforming the Poor-laws, as well as other acts. But this was not real prosperity. Was the right hon. Baronet prepared with any plan by which he could now raise up England to real prosperity, for he could tell him that any plan that created only a factitious prosperity would recoil with infinitely greater force than the last. He was glad that the Ministers of the Crown did require money. He was glad of it, because they could only get that money through the prosperity of the trading and manufacturing interests. The landlords spent their money at Paris or at Naples, but they did not find the revenues of the state. Their revenues were most flourishing when the farmer was distressed and the trading community was prosperous, and in proportion as the landowner feels prosperous on account of the starvation of the millions, in the same proportion the revenue of the State fell off. With these few remarks [" *a laugh from the Opposition, and loud cheers from the Ministerial benches.*"]—He could assure the House that the declarations he had made were not made with a party spirit. He did not call himself Whig or Tory, he was a free trader, and opposed to monopoly where-ever he found it; and this he would conscientiously say, that although he was proud to acknowledge the virtues of the Whigs in stepping out from the ranks of the monopolists, and going three-fourths of the way, if the right hon. Baronet and his supporters would come a step forward, he would be the first to shake hands with him if he allowed him, and would give him a cordial support.

Mr. *H. J. Baillie* assured the House he should not have troubled them with any observations upon this occasion, if it had not been for a statement put forth by the hon. Member for Manchester, who yesterday moved the Address, and which had been repeated by the hon. Member who had just sat down, that the great distress now unhappily prevailing in the manufacturing districts, had arisen in consequence of the existing system of the Corn-laws. Both those hon. Members who made that assertion were, he believed, master manufacturers, and therefore ought to be good authorities on the question; yet he did not hesitate to express his conviction, that never was a proposition more unfounded attempted to be palmed off upon the credulity of the House and the public. In the first place, he must be permitted to say, in answer to the insinuations which had been hurled by the hon. Member who had just sat down against those on that (the Opposition) side of the House, that if that hon. Member could convince him by argument, if he himself could believe, that a total abolition of the Corn-laws would confer benefit upon the great body of the people of this country, he would, without hesitation, and whatever might be the consequences, give his vote in support of that measure, believing, as he did, that it was their duty to legislate for the benefit of the great body of the people, and not for any particular class, and that what conferred benefit and advantage on the great body of the labouring classes must also confer benefit on all classes of the community. Her Majesty's present Ministers had been accused, and he thought justly, of having created bad feeling between the manufacturing and agricultural interests. For his part, he always considered those interests as identical, and that an injury inflicted on the one class must of necessity rebound on the other; but if he was called on to legislate for one class at the expense of another, as was stated by the hon. Member for Birmingham, he would give the preference to the agricultural class, because he felt that by so doing he should confer the greatest benefit on the people of this country. It was presumed, however, that their object was to legislate for the happiness of the community, and he would ask the hon. Member who had just sat down, if the increase in the production of our manufactures had hitherto tended to raise the wages of the artisan, to better the condition, to increase the comforts, and augment the happiness of the people? The hon. Gentleman was a political economist, and would tell him, perhaps, that it must be so; he (Mr. Baillie) would prove to the House that it was not so. In the first place, he would prove that during the last twenty years, the manufacturing productions of this country had been more than trebled, and that during the same period, the wages of the operative had been reduced between seventy and eighty per cent. He would prove that the master manufacturers had been making great fortunes, while their operatives were reduced to the greatest misery and destitution; that, consequently, the interests of the master, and those of the workman were not identical; and that, although cheap corn might be advantageous to the former, it could in no way be advantageous to the latter. He knew well that these opinions were at variance with those entertained on the other side of the House; but if hon. Members would give him their attention for a few moments, he thought he should be able to prove the propositions he had laid down, by official documents which had been placed on the Table of the House. The quantity of goods manufactured in this country, in spite of the Corn-laws, was greater at this moment than had ever been known before, and at the same time it must also be admitted, that there never was greater distress among the operatives. He held in his hand the official returns of our manufactured productions during the twenty years from 1819 to 1839:—The official value of the exports of the six following articles was as follows:—Cotton manufactures, 1819, 16,631,709*l.*; 1833, 40,058,153*l.*; 1834, 44,201,346*l.*; 1835, 44,849,038*l.*; 1836, 50,646,912*l.*; 1837, 41,900,110*l*; 1838, 54,590,603*l.*; 1839, 58,471,806*l.* Woollen ditto, 1819, 4,602,270*l.*; 1833, 7,777,952*l.*; 1834, 6,508,886*l.*; 1835, 7,399,657*l.*; 1836, 7,535,064*l.*; 1837, 4,680,247*l.*; 1838, 6,409,418*l.*; 1839, 6,348,570*l.* Linen do., 1819, 1,547,352*l.*; 1833, 3,493,642*l.*; 1834, 3,764,027*l.*; 1835, 4,285,385*l.*; 1836, 4,469,530*l.*; 1837, 3,213,345*l.*; 1838, 4,330,029*l.*; 1839, 4,777,711*l.* Silk ditto, 1819, 126,809*l.*; 1833, 694,774*l.*; 1834, 533,450*l.*; 1835, 792,087*l.*; 1836, 767,986*l.*; 1837, 432,123*l.*; 1838, 719,811*l.*; 1839, 774,410. Cotton yarns, 1819, 1,585,753*l.*; 1833, 6,279,057*l.*; 1834, 6,802,238*l.*; 1835, 7,399,851*l.*; 1836, 7,844,819*l.*; 1837, 9,211,732*l.*; 1838, 10,202,014*l.*; 1839, 9,400,904*l.* Linen ditto, 1833, 50,126*l.*; 1834, 82,170*l.*: 1835, 139,920*l.*; 1836, 241,658*l.*; 1837, 389,997*l.*; 1838, 708,496*l.*; 1839, 846,036*l.* How immense had been the increase of the exports within the last few years! cotton goods exported in the year 1819 were 16,631,709*l.*: in 1833, 40,058,153*l.*; in 1839, they were 58,471,805*l.*; and yet in this branch of trade there was now, and had been for a considerable period, an appalling extent of destitution. Was there ever a more magnificent exhibition of manufacturing prosperity, so far as the master manufacturers were concerned? But now let them reverse the picture. What, during the same period, had been the condition of the labouring classes? He held in his hand an account of the average sum a good weaver could earn per week in each of those years. In 1814, he could earn 26*s.*; in 1818, he could only earn 14*s.* 5*d.*; in 1823, 9*s.* 4*d.*; in 1828, 6*s.* 6*d.*; in 1833, 5*s.* 4*d.*; and this last, he believed, was the average at the present moment, exhibiting a reduction in wages of about seventy-nine per cent. How was this to be accounted for? Was it possible to account for it by the existence of the present Corn-laws? The effect of the Corn-laws might rather have been to prevent this vast amount of capital from being invested in manufactures; but they must look in some other direction for the real cause of the distress which prevailed amongst the labouring classes in the manufacturing districts. And he thought they might, perhaps, find that the improvement in machinery, and the advantage which the master manufacturers had taken of this to substitute infant for adult labour, would in a great measure account for the extraordinary change. He had been credibly informed, that no less than 50,000 adults were every year turned out of employment in the manufacturing districts, and their places supplied by children. He was told it was the custom of the great master manufacturers to contract with the great Poor-law Unions of the country for regular supplies of children, in order to replace the adults who were thrown out of employment. Thus had they reversed the order of nature; the adults in the manufacturing districts were idle, and dependent for support on their children. What had been the consequence of this system, with reference to the mortality in the great manufacturing towns? He held in his hand the bills of mortality for the greatest manufacturing town in the empire, the city of Glasgow. In 1822 the rate of mortality was one in forty-four of the population: in 1837 it was one in twenty-four-and-a-half. He entreated the House to reflect what a vast amount of human misery must have been inflicted, in order to create such a mortality as this. He had heard of slavery in the West Indies, in Brazil, in Cuba, and the United States; it had been reserved for the master manufacturers of England to present a still more dreadful picture of human life expended in misery and severe labour. They might talk of their manufacturing prosperity; but if such were its results, he would say, they might have increased the power and wealth of the country, but without promoting, in any way, the welfare and prosperity of the community. Having thus proved that the increased misery in the manufacturing districts, had kept pace in exact proportion with the increased production of manufactures, he would now proceed to state briefly what had been the result during the same period of capital invested in the cultivation of land. It must be perfectly well known to hon. Members, that during the last twenty years, vast tracts of land had been brought into cultivation, more particularly in Scotland; and he thought he might venture to say, that although that capital had not produced the same brilliant results to the proprietor which the capital invested in manufactures had yielded to the master manufacturers, it had contributed to produce a very large population, which, as compared with that in the manufacturing districts, was happy, contented, and prosperous. In none of those districts in Scotland, where agricultural improvements had taken place, had there been any distress whatever. He had stated, that the capital thus employed in bringing land into cultivation, had not made very great returns to the proprietors—perhaps not more than five per cent.; in some instances, not so much. But if a total repeal of the Corn-laws was to take place, no one could venture to assert, that the whole of that land would not again be thrown out of employment, the invested capital wholly lost, and the people, reduced to the greatest misery and destitution, forced into the manufacturing districts, in order, if possible, to obtain the means of subsistence. He was not one of those who would assist to reduce the flourishing agricultural population of this country at the present moment, and leave them to the tender mercies of the master manufacturers.

Mr. *Brotherton* had no intention to trouble the House, nor would he have addressed them at all, but for some observations which had fallen from the hon. Member who had just sat down. He admitted the facts stated, that manufactures had greatly increased, but he wholly denied his conclusion, that the manufacturing prosperity of the country had caused the increased distress of the working classes. The hon. Member had drawn a comparison between the landed and the commercial interests, and suggested that it was the welfare of the community that required them to legislate in favour of the one and against the other. The commercial interest required no protection; they wanted nothing but equal laws; they were willing that the agriculturists should have equal laws, but no protection at the expense of the other interests. He always wished to cherish good feeling between the two classes, but that could only be maintained by the agricultural body doing justice to the manufacturing population, by giving up the monopoly which they now enjoyed of the main article of subsistence. He begged pardon of the House for the warmth with which he spoke, but he really could scarcely keep his temper after the remarks which had been made by the hon. Gentleman opposite. He would admit, for the sake of argument, that the manufactures of this country had increased to a great extent, and that the artisans were not now receiving one-third of the wages they received twenty years ago. He admitted also, that the price of manufactures was not one-third of what it was at that period. Now, let the House consider the state of the agriculturists. Twenty-five years ago, when the Corn-law was passed, a piece of calico was worth 20*s.* It was now not worth more than 5*s.* 9*d.* or 5*s.* 10*d.*, as stated by the hon. Member for Manchester. What had been the cause of this diminution? Great improvements had certainly been made in machinery, and, in consequence of competition abroad, goods had been continually declining in price. On the other hand, the price of corn in 1815 was 64*s.* a quarter. Improvements had been made in agriculture to such an extent, that the price of land was said by some to have been increased threefold, and the price of corn was now much higher than in 1815, while manufactured goods fetched only one-third of the price they then bore. The agriculturists said they were the best customers to the manufacturers, yet the manufacturers gave three pieces of calico now for the same quantity of corn they got for one in 1815. It was easily discernible, therefore, from what cause the commercial interests were now suffering. Since 1815, the price of corn had been fifty per cent. higher in this country than on the continent. Calculations had been made, showing that the manufacturers had not only been obliged to make every sort of improvement in their machinery, but to reduce the wages of their artisans, in order to compete with those of the continent, and for what object? Why, to pay the agriculturists at least 1,000,000,000*l.* more than they ought to have done since the Corn-law was passed. Take the price of corn in the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, as compared with the price of 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, and it would be found that the manufacturers had to pay 74,000,000*l.* more for bread in the latter half of the period of eight years than they had paid in the first half. Was it any wonder that the manufacturers should be depressed, or the artisans deprived of their comforts? Inquiry had been made respecting the expense of a manufacturing establishment in Lancashire. In 1835, they were paid 22,000*l.* in wages, of which 11,500*l.* was employed for the purchase of food, leaving the remainder for rent, clothing, and the comforts of life. In 1839, instead of 11,500*l.*, they had to pay 18,000*l.* for food, leaving only 5,000*l.* for other purposes. It was seen, then, how the commercial classes were oppressed, and it was impossible they could be otherwise as long as this unjust law continued. It was shown how heavily the taxation of food pressed on those classes, and wages must be reduced when there was no demand for labour. It was stated that the population of the country was increasing at the rate of 400,000*l.* a-year, and he wanted to know how they were to be employed. Agriculture could not employ them, and was it meant to say, that they should be transported by emigration? These persons might be supported in manufactures, and by removing restrictions from trade we might extend our commerce to all parts of the world, and make the people both prosperous and happy. He was well aware, that the labourers might suffer to a very considerable extent in consequence of the concentration of power in the manufacturing districts, and he knew that they did suffer. An investigation was made in Manchester last year into the case of 2,000 families. They had only 5*s.* a-week each, leaving only 1*s.* 2½*d.* for each person to subsist on. The distress in the manufacturing districts at present was such as it was impossible to describe. In the borough he represented 1,500 houses were unoccupied, many mills were not working, or working only a short time; tens of thousands of persons were unemployed, and he would ask the agricultural interest, if manufactures were to be destroyed, what was to become of the land? He knew that the prosperity of agriculture would increase if manufactures were increased and encouraged, but if manufactures were destroyed they would most effectually destroy the prosperity of agriculture. It was said, that the master manufacturers lived like princes, and the poor they employed were in a state of the greatest degradation. Could they make a law to regulate this? Must it not be left to the operation of principles? But they could make laws which would be beneficial to the poor by relieving them from a great portion of their present distress. Instead of taxing the income of the poor man twenty per cent. for bread, let them give it to the poor at the same rate as they gave it to the rich. The poor man who earned 10*s.* a-week was taxed twenty per cent. for bread, while the rich man of 500*l.* a-year was taxed one per cent. It was said, that a reduction of the price of bread would necessarily cause a reduction of the rate of wages. In 1835, when corn was cheap, wages in the manufacturing districts were higher than they are now, though corn is double in price. He was of opinion that the agriculturists had no real cause to fear an alteration of the Corn-laws. In proportion as manufactures increased, agriculture would be benefited, for manufacturers never made fortunes without making fortunes to the landed interest. Look at the land in the neighbourhood of Liverpool and Manchester, and other towns of the same kind. Land which without manufactures would have sold for nothing was now become of immense value. Some hon. Gentlemen seemed to think, that the country would remain in an equally prosperous state if there were no manufactures. If the people were employed in the cultivation of land, and saddled with a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, how was the interest to be paid? At present that interest was paid by the trading classes. The landowners mortgaged their estates, and did not pay the interest; they threw that burden on the trading classes, who were beginning to think that they ought not to be taxed to enable the landowners to retain their land and keep up their great establishments. He said, that the landowners ought to reduce their establishments, to dismiss their gardeners, grooms, or some other of their domestics. He was so convinced of the injurious effects of the Corn-laws, that he would prefer seeing a tax imposed at once for the purpose of defraying the cost of the landowners' establishments. He thought no law should be tolerated which robbed the poor man of the third part of the wages of his labour, in order to maintain others in idleness. It was most important to consider how the people were to be fed and clothed, and Ministers had shown how that might be done without injuring any one. If he thought the reform of the Corn-laws likely to be injurious to the agriculturists, he would not advocate them, but he was convinced, that by adopting a liberal course and removing monopolies, by legislating for the many instead of for the few, and making just and equal laws, the happiness of the people was alone to be secured. Allow the manufacturers to exchange the products of their labour in the best markets, and they would enjoy, at the same time that the agriculturists were benefited that comfort which it was the duty of an honest Parliament to offer them.

Mr. *H. Grattan* thought that the hon. Member for Invernessshire had not made out the case he attempted to establish. Would it be believed that the hon. Member who had enlarged so much on the happiness of the agriculturists of Scotland was the very individual who had applied to Government for a grant of no less a sum than 40,000*l.* for the purpose of exporting his own countrymen from the north of Scotland, on the ground that they were in such a state of destitution and misery that they could not find support in Scotland? The generous disposition of the hon. Member had impelled him to draw on the Treasury in order to remove them to a foreign land. The hon. Member had moved for a committee, which examined witnesses on the subject, and two individuals endeavoured by their evidence to make out the case of distress. One of them wanted to prove, but broke down, that his friends and countrymen in the highlands were in a state of absolute starvation; the other asserted that they were subsisting upon kelp. So there was 40,000*l.* saved to the country. It appeared that no individual from that part of the country to which he belonged had yet spoken in this debate, and he was afraid hon. Members might imagine that the silence of the Irish Members.—[*Laughter*]. He was surprised hon. Members opposite found fault with silence, for silence was at present their *forte*. He should be sorry if hon. Members thought that the men of his country, by the silence of their representatives, meant to assent to the advent of the party opposite to power. As silence might speak assent, he wished to disclaim it. He would add the singular fact, that although the people of Ireland were supposed to place such affection on the corn laws, and to draw all their subsistence from them, yet he had not seen at any one election the least appearance of a popular feeling in favour of them. He thought it one of the most ominous signs of what the right hon. Baronet had to expect when he came into power, that the people of Ireland had abandoned one of the most important inducements they had to keep their rents high, in order to aid in preventing the right hon. Baronet from coming into power. He could not forbear saying a word on the line which Gentlemen opposite had pursued on the present occasion. Could the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth point out a single instance of an amendment to an address being put in the form of a vote of want of confidence in the Ministers of the Crown? The House had a right to dismiss Ministers who did not possess their confidence; but he maintained that messages from the Crown and speeches from the Throne were entitled to the respect attached to them, which for centuries they had received. It was not for Members opposite, situated as they were, to move an amendment which he thought was most unbecoming, and which bore marks of intimidation and insolence by no means warranted by any steps taken by individuals on his side of the House. They had paid attention to none of the propositions in the Address; they spoke only of want of confidence. He submitted that that was arrogance; that was not treating the Sovereign as she deserved to be treated by the House—it was treating her as she had been treated by persons opposite out of doors. When they professed so much sympathy for the sufferings of the poor in that House, having listened to those sentiments, gracious sentiments, which fell from the lips of virtue and goodness, the House must participate in her anxiety, that the object of relieving those sufferings should be attained in the manner least burdensome to the people. Why did not the amendment go to that point; It said not a word about the burdens of the people, who suffered unexampled distress and privations. The question was whether the deficiency of revenue could not be made up without imposing fresh burdens on them. Ministers had thought it their duty to look to this point, and they had done so to the best of their ability. They had done so by putting those words into the mouth of the Sovereign. When they recommended the House to adopt measures of that sort, they had discharged their duty; they stood pledged to a great principle, pledged to public relief, pledged to public taxation. He should never consent to sit in that assembly without lifting up his hands and voice to protest against the proceedings at the late elections. The doings at Ludlow and Cambridge, of which they had heard so much, sank to nothing before the monstrous proceedings at those elections, the immense bribery and corruption, and the intimidation. The individuals at Ludlow and Cambridge who had received their 10*l.* and 100*l.* for their votes sank to nothing; they were the minnows to the Tritons in this monstrous scene. How had Gentlemen opposite been returned to that House? By money. In one borough, where there were only 180 voters and two candidates, one vote cost no less than 700*l.* One party gave 500*l.*, the other gave 200*l.* He congratulated the right hon. Baronet on a victory so obtained; but he never would shrink from lifting up his voice against such monstrous proceedings. It was the duty of the House to correct such evils, and he trusted those evils would be probed to the bottom. What were the proceedings in the country to which he belonged? At the last general election he saw troops drawn out in such a way that no voter could get to the polling booth. He begged the commanding officer to remove his men and allow him to pass, and it was done; but he got no assistance from the civil authorities. Did not the right hon. Baronet know that when the tocsin of his return to power was sounded in Ireland, the Orange advent was proclaimed in Dublin, and churches were given up to be sacked? [*Oh! oh!*] Let hon. Gentlemen deny it if they could. In the town of Dungannon the houses of the Catholics were given up to be sacked. [*Oh! oh!*] He said it; and if it could be denied, let hon. Gentlemen get up and do so. What was the cause of it? The prosperity of hon. Gentlemen opposite—the protection that was expected from that party. It was that that occasioned such mischief as was done at Belfast, where one individual was brought off and obliged to be bled for the injuries he had received. He was addressing himself to the right hon. Baronet, for he wished to tell him into what company he was getting. He was now a political huntsman at the head of his own pack, but he would find that, like Actæon, he would be devoured by his own dogs. He thought it right to allude to another circumstance. One of the towns in Ireland was given up entirely to the military at the late election; where the Lord-lieutenant or the General was he did not know; the Lord-lieutenant, however, was in love, and therefore he could not attend. n this country at such times the military marched out of a town, but there they marched in. And when one of the candidates went to his committee-room he was actually seized by the military, and could not get out. A friend of his rode fifty miles to vote; but he was not allowed to enter the town without a certificate; he said "I have come to vote;" the answer was, "But you can't, for the sheriff has got the key of the polling-booth in his pocket." Some other difficulty occurred, but even that could not be decided, because the barrister of the party was in the custody of the soldiers. It turned out afterwards that there was a meeting in the assessor's room; and to show the intelligence and friendly feeling that existed between the military and civil parties in that country, he would just state what occurred. There happened to be a noise at the window, and one of the officers said, "Is that any riot getting up?" "Oh, no!" replied the other, "this morning I was apprehensive of one, but I ordered out justice to Ireland." "Justice to Ireland!" said the first, "what do you mean by that?" The answer was, "Why a six-pounder." He would just mention another thing, to let the right hon. Baronet know what he might expect. The writ for one of the elections in Ireland had, as was customary, been directed to the sheriff to be returned signed and sealed by twelve of the electors. When the writ was to be signed and sealed, the sheriff in great good humour begged them to sign, and one of them wanting a seal, he said he had got one there which would do. It was one with the motto of "the glorious memory." And what was the official seal of the sheriff? It was a picture in which the Devil was described placed amidst flames and fire, and a number of individuals were being thrown into the fire. That, said the sheriff, meant the Pope in hell, and the Devil pelting him with priests: but another part of the transaction was of rather a grave character; for from the mouth of the Pope the Host was drawn dropping into the flames. And yet that was done by those who were the associates of the right hon. Baronet! Was he wrong, then, in saying that the right hon. Baronet would find, as he had stated, that Ireland would be his greatest difficulty? he would not say an insuperable difficulty; but if his friends went on in that way he would lose the hearts of the Irish people, and then let him beware of America. [*Hon. Members*, "*Shame, shame.*"] He said it again—"Beware of America." He would not speak on that point, as the hon. Member for Liskeard had done in the last Parliament, but he would say—"Beware of America." There was a party in that country sending money to Ireland; he wanted no foreign connexion; but, if, by their misgovernment, they made Ireland the scene of discord—if, by their principles, they made it such that Irishmen could not sit at their firesides in peace, or hire a servant without fear; if they abused those sacred men who were engaged in the service of religion, and called them surpliced ruffians, demons, and hellish priests, he would tell them to their face that they had declared war with the Irish people, and God alone would judge the right. Had hon. Members read the history of the connexion of the party opposite with his country? Talk of their having the confidence of the Irish people—that confidence which they thought they had, but which they lost by their own folly, he meant by the same principles on which they were now coming into power—by intimidation openly expressed; he said that that party had lost that confidence before, and they would lose it again. But the question now really was, whether our manufactures should be turned out of the foreign markets. The hon. Mover of the address said, that England was to be the great master of the manufacturers of mankind. He did not know that mankind would exactly approve of that. If they went to Russia, he thought the answer would be, on tendering their goods, "Here is our tariff;" at Brazil, "Take our sugars;" and in Germany, "We do not want your linens or silks." This question, then, was properly put into the Speech from the Throne: and the address might have been voted for without offering an insult to the Sovereign—without their pledging themselves on those particular points. They might have voted for it out of respect for the quarter whence it came, and still reserved the right of expressing their opinions on those several points. But the amendment was brought forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite to show they were the party predominant—not only to gain a majority, but to carry it to the door of the palace, where it must be listened to, whether acceptable or not. He lamented that the right hon. Baronet had adopted a line of secrecy as to his future conduct, and had concealed his sentiments; for he thought the people had a right to hear from one who was about to come into power what he intended to do, whether fresh burdens were to be imposed on them or not, and whether these Corn-laws were to be modified or altered. But the last was a question between the people and the aristocracy—between the people and the landed interests. Such a question, indeed, should never have been raised; it was settled by the report of the committee of wise men, by the opinion of Mr. Huskisson, their oracle, and by that opinion hon. Gentlemen should have stood. But hon. Gentlemen opposite had put the case in such a way, that to-morrow the right hon. Baronet might, if he pleased, abandon the principles of those who returned that party to Parliament. What principle, indeed, had he not abandoned? Look at Catholic Emancipation. That he had granted, but he did it so late, that he got no gratitude for it. And that would be the case with the measures that were now rejected. Whatever might be the result of this division, he would say, that although he was under no obligation to the present Ministers, his country was, and he would support them on that ground. He could not forget that they had carried the Reform Bill; and he looked with astonishment to the constiutency of England, and regretted that they should have almost forgotten the names of Russell, Grey, and Morpeth. It should be remembered that Catholic Emancipation had been carried chiefly by their means, backed, he would say, by 600,000 men in Ireland. They supported the anti-slavery measure, which even Mr. Pitt could not carry. They had passed the Corporation Bill in England, and had removed many of the duties which oppressed the people. He had found the Government of hon. Gentlemen opposite generally selfish; whilst the present Ministers had had preserved the honour of the Crown and the rights and interests of the people. He said they were honest men. Hon. Gentlemen were honest men also; but looking to the Irish history, he said they were dishonest Ministers. But, whatever party might come into office, he hoped that Ireland and England would be long united, supporting abroad and at home the principles of civil and religious liberty, and that their union might bring peace and happiness to both.

Lord *Worsley* could not say that he agreed in the arguments of the hon. Member for Stockport. He must add, that having listened to that speech with some attention, he thought it was somewhat inappropriate for the present occasion, when they were assembled to consider the address in answer to the Speech from the Throne. He wished to allude to one part of the hon. Gentleman's speech, because it struck him that in that part of it the argument of the hon. Member was fallacious—viz., that in which the hon. Member contended that there should be a perfect free-trade in corn in this country, and that if that were the case, there would be an increased stimulus given to commerce and manufactures, and that by sending our manufactures abroad, in exchange for foreign corn, we should be able to give employment to a greater number of persons than at present. If that argument were carried out to its full extent, what, he would ask, would become of the agricultural population? It was probable that a larger number of persons might for a short time find employment in the manufacturing districts, but the effect on agriculture would be, that we should have corn brought from abroad in such quantities and at such low prices that the agriculturist of this country would be compelled to give up growing corn altogether, and so the agricultural labourer would be thrown out of employment; nor did he believe (as some supposed) that those labourers so rendered destitute would find employment in manufactures. Feeling as he did very strongly on this point, and representing a large agricultural district, he had thought it right to state the reasons upon which he disagreed with the hon. Member for Stockport, if he thought the hon. Member's view were the correct one, and that free-trade in corn would produce those advantages which he anticipated, he should not hesitate to support it; with regard to the amendment which had been moved to the address, he would state the grounds why he could not give his vote in favour of it. He was glad to perceive, by the tone of the amendment, that there was no intention of refusing inquiry into the subject of the Corn-laws, because he thought it would be ungracious in those who were connected with agriculture, and, he believed that nothing could be more injudicious than to refuse inquiry into the distress which unhappily prevailed. One of the grounds upon which the right hon. President of the Board of Trade considered that an alteration should be made in the present system was the fluctuations in price, which he (Lord Worsley) thought arose in some measure, from the mode of striking the averages. He was of opinion that by the adoption of some different mode of striking the averages, some advantage might be gained, but then he wanted to know why that question was not to be considered and dealt with by the present Government, and why the task was to devolve upon the right hon. Gentleman opposite? It might be said, because the party opposite were the most numerous in that House, and because the present Government did not possess the confidence of the people. No doubt that party had gained considerably at the late elections, but that gain was to be attributed he believed, in a great degree, to the feeling that prevailed on the part of some constituencies that many reforms were required, and as they could not be obtained from the present Ministry, they thought it right to see what they could get from the right hon. Baronet and his party; and this desire was strengthened by the fact that on many former occasions when beneficial reforms were proposed by the Whigs, the right hon. Baronet, after having long resisted them in opposition, came forward when in power and carried them through. But he thought the country had some right to require an explanation of the right hon. Baronet as to the course he intended to pursue with regard to the Corn-laws, when he came into power. The constituencies, amongst whom much difference of opinion existed in respect to the sliding scale, required to know what were the views of the right hon. Baronet on that point. They at present knew nothing of what the right hon. Baronet intended to propose, and wanting that knowledge they did not think that that good effect would result from an inquiry conducted by the right hon. Baronet as from an inquiry carried on under the auspices of the present Government. He sharing in that opinion, and not being prepared to refuse inquiry into this subject, he was not prepared on that ground to withdraw his confidence from the present Government. When he considered the course pursued throughout a long political life by the right hon. Baronet, and considering that he had (no doubt from a sense of duty) refused for a length of time to concede measures which afterwards he had conceded, he could not think that the right hon. Baronet would have the confidence of the country. Many persons were of opinion that the right hon. Baronet would, in considering the subject of the Corn-laws, propose a scheme very different from that in operation under the existing law—that he would propose a scheme that would not give satisfaction to the agricultural interest; therefore, though disapproving of the plan of the Government as propounded in the last Parliament, but being in ignorance of what substitute the right hon. Baronet was prepared to bring forward, and considering also that he had at all times differed from the general policy of the right hon. Baronet, whilst he had frequently admired that of her Majesty's Ministers; and, as he felt justified in saying, that, the majority of his constituents had not any confidence in the right hon. Baronet, he should vote for the Address.

Mr. *Hastie* spoke at some length, but was completely inaudible.

Debate again adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, August 26, 1841.

Minutes.] Bill. Read a first time:—Navy Pay.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Thomas Duncombe, from Electors of Norwich, complaining of the Illegal Conduct of the Returning Offices; and from a number of Individuals, for Universal Suffrage.—By Mr. William Miles, from places in Somersetshire, against a Fixed Duty on Corn; and from Bristol, for Church Extension.—By Colonel Conolly, from Donegal, for the Restoration of Road Sessions.

Election Petitions. Complaining of the Elections at Lewes, and Belfast.

Norwich Election.] Mr. *Duncombe* had a petition to present, signed by, 6,008 electors and other inhabitants of Norwich, complaining of certain proceedings at the late election for that city. The petitioners stated that they had to complain of the made in which that election had been conducted by the returning officer; that a considerable body of the constituents not being satisfied with Mr. Benjamin Smith, one of the former representatives, had presented a requisition to a gentleman of the name of Eagle, who had thereupon consented to come forward; that on the day of nomination certain of the elective body had presented themselves at the court-house with a view to the proposal of that gentleman, but that on their arrival they had found that the principal door had been closed against them, and that the court was nearly filled by persons whom they designated as hired ruffians, friends of the other candidates; that eventually they had succeeded in effecting an entrance into the body of the court; that after the nomination of the Marquess of Douro and Mr. B. Smith, Mr. John Dover and Mr. John Whitehead, had come forward and proposed a third candidate in the person of Mr. Eagle; that a show of hands having been taken by the returning officer, that functionary had declared the majority to be in favour of the Marquess of Douro and Mr. Smith: that Mr. Dover had then demanded a poll on the part of Mr. Eagle; that the sheriff had immediately upon that demand being made required and received the sum of 200*l.* from the proposers of the respective candidates as security for the expenses, which was of course instantly given by the friends of the two first-named gentlemen, whilst those of Mr. Eagle, not being duly prepared, were compelled to quit the court for the purpose of obtaining the necessary amount; that on the return of the parties with the sum, they were informed that the proposer and seconder of Mr. Eagle had been bribed by Mr. Edwards the city treasurer, and Mr. Woolright, by the payment of 50*l.*, to withdraw their nomination; that it appeared the said proposer and seconder had accepted the money upon the terms stipulated, and that the Marquess of Douro and Mr. Smith, were thereupon declared by the returning officer to have been elected. The petitioners proceeded to say, that, having taken the advice of eminent counsel, they were informed that there was no power vested in the returning officer to withdraw a nomination after such nomination had been once formally made, and therefore that the return was not warranted or true in law. The petitioners said they were not in a condition to pay the expenses which would be consequent on the presentation of a petition against the return in the ordinary way, and therefore prayed the House to institute such inquiries as might be necessary into the malpractices of which they complained, with a view of giving that extent of redress which the House might deem the electors in question fully entitled to.

Petition to lie on the Table.

UNITED STATES—MR. M'LEOD.] Mr. *Roebuck*, seeing the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, would, in fulfilment of the notice he had given on the first night of the Session, proceed to ask the noble Lord certain questions as to the state of the relations between this country and the United States of America, respecting the detention of Mr. M'Leod. He had stated that he would make some few remarks to put hon. Members in possession of the real nature of the questions, and their pith and significance. The House, on Tuesday evening, had been so kind as to hear some observations of his, which would enable him now to save them; but as some misconception was abroad as to his purpose and object in what he attempted then to say, he would still address a few remarks to the House, that they might understand his object in putting these questions. His object in so doing was, as far as possible, to promote peace between this country and the United States, and any one who fancied that any question of his had any other object, was very much mistaken. His purpose was to promote peace, and, to attain that end, he thought it best that hon. Members should understand the real object of the questions he was about to put. Those questions were five in number, but they might be answered in a breath, and they related to the detention of Mr. M'Leod by the authorities of America. That detention arose out of the transactions connected with the Caroline, the attack on which in the waters of the United States gave great umbrage, not only to the people of New York, but to the United States generally. Thereupon an application was made to the Government of this country, and to that no answer was returned. It so happened, that in the meantime M'Leod happened to be in the state of New York, and from his own boastful statements respecting the transactions, and he believed incorrect ones, was arrested in consequence of the belief created upon the subject. When he was so arrested, a feeling on his behalf arose in this country, and then orders were sent out to Mr. Fox, our Minister, to make an immediate application to the government of the United States, demanding the liberation of Mr. M'Leod. An answer was made by the then American secretary, Mr. Forsyth, to the application of Mr. Fox, and to that answer he had to request the most serious attention of the house—always recollecting that that answer was given to Mr. Fox before any notice had been taken by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Affairs of the communication which he had received regarding the Caroline. Mr. Forsyth's answer was in substance that the United States had no jurisdiction at all over the matter spoken of; that it was a subject wholly within the cognizance of the State of New York, and that the President of the United States could not give any answer, and could not interfere in the matter, though it related to the safety of a British subject; and he went further, and said, that even supposing the President had any power, he had no wish and no feeling in the matter, which would induce him to interpose. Mr. Forsyth then went out of office, and then came in the new government, Mr. Webster being its representative in the post previously held by Mr. Forsyth. He wished to know from the noble Lord whether there had been any change in the language of the government of the United States, since the accession of the new government to power? It should be always recollected, and this should have been the answer made when an answer was given to Mr. Fox, that on the establishment of the government of the United States, very early in the history of those states, that they declared, that they considered themselves amenable to the international laws established among nations, and they had always declared that the sole medium of communication between them and other nations should be by means of the federal government, by means of the President; and therefore, in point of fact, we had no more notion of the State of New York, than the United States had of the county of Rutland, and the answer which should have been made to Mr. Fox was, that they did not know anything respecting the state of New York, but that all communications which should be made must be had with the President of the United States. He wished now to ascertain from the noble Lord certain facts, in connection with these transactions. He had put them on paper, and having put them in order, he would place the paper in the hands of the noble Lord, so that there should be no mistake upon the questions. He wished to know whether her Majesty's Government, by any formal declaration, had assumed the whole responsibility of the attack upon the Caroline? He then wanted to know whether the government of the United States of America, had admitted that responsibility, and had demanded reparation for the outrage and injury done to the Caroline, being a vessel belonging to the United States? Because it should always be taken into consideration, that if they demanded reparation for the injury done by the attack, it did not lie in their mouth to turn round and say, that the state of New York was the only power which had jurisdiction. Next, he would ask, whether the Government of her Majesty had stated to the government of the United States, specifically, that Mr. M'Leod had acted under the command of his superior officers, and with the express sanction of her Majesty? Fourthly, he desired to know whether her Majesty's government had demanded of the government of the United States, whether, after such a declaration, they would be able, and, at the same time, willing to guarantee the safety and the delivery up of Mr. M'Leod, notwithstanding any determination of the state of New York with regard to any proceedings now pending in the courts of that state against him? Lastly, he wished to know whether the government of the United States had admitted the validity of such authority as a protection for Mr. M'Leod, and whether the noble Lord could state any circumstances from which might be expected any justification of the continued detention of Mr. M'Leod, by the authorities of the state of New York? He believed, that it would turn out that the answers to be given to these questions would very materially relieve the minds of the people of this country, and he thought, that the importance of the subject demanded that it should be fully explained, so as to relieve the feelings of the public, promote peace, and allay that heat which he knew existed on all sides upon the subject.

Viscount *Palmerston* was the last man in the House who would wish in any way to interrupt what, however, he was bound to remark upon as an irregular proceeding of the hon. and learned Member for Bath, though founded on the most laudable intentions; but the House would see that if questions on matters of great delicacy, and very complicated in their nature, were proposed by hon. Members, and were prefaced by a narration of the transactions to which they related, and were interspersed with arguments, it became very difficult for an individual who was to answer such questions, to refrain from going very much into the subject, and thus, under the form of asking a question, a debate might be brought on without notice on matters of very great national importance. He hoped, however, that he should be able to give the hon. Member the information which he asked for, and he had no doubt that the statement which he was about to make would tend to relieve the minds of any persons who might think that the present state of the question with regard to Mr. M'Leod was likely to bring on serious differences between the two countries. The narrative of the hon. Member was, he believed, substantially correct. He had no particular remark to make upon it. It was quite true, as he had stated, that upon the first demand made by her Majesty's Government for the liberation of Mr. M'Leod, an answer was returned by the late Secretary of State in America, which was by no means satisfactory; and he was ready to admit that, as a doctrine of international law, no one country had a right to say in reply to a demand of redress for a wrong done to another country, or to a subject of another country, that it had peculiar institutions, which prevented it from giving the redress which was due. Nations dealt with each other as aggregate communities, and one nation could know nothing of the municipal laws or the internal constitution of another. If a wrong were done, redress must given; and if the laws and constitution of the country did not enable the Government to give that redress, they must either alter the laws and change their constitution, or submit to the alternative which every country, in such a case, was like a private individual, entitled to adopt. But in carrying this indisputable principle into practice, every Government must be guided by a sense of expediency, and a regard to the urgency of the matter under consideration. Now, although the first reply was, as he thought, entirely wrong in relation to the principles of international law, yet he had the satisfaction to inform the hon. Member and the House, that from the present Government of the United States a communication had been received, of a formal instruction given to the Attorney-General of the United States, which contained doctrines perfectly just and consistent with the law of nations, and entirely in accordance with the principles upon which the British Government had demanded the release of Mr. M'Leod; and the passage which he should read from the instructions given to the Attorney-General by Mr. Webster, answered at once two, and perhaps more, of the questions of the hon. Member, because it showed that the British Government had avowed their entire responsibility for the attack made upon the Caroline, and that the American government considered that question as one to be discussed between the two governments, and totally unconnected in any way whatever with the question how Mr. M'Leod was to be dealt with. This instruction was dated the 15th March in the present year, from Mr. Webster to Mr. Crittenden, the Attorney-General of the United States, who was proceeding to New York on business connected with the States. It recited, first, what had passed about Mr. M'Leod's arrest, and then went on say,—

"I have now to inform you that Mr. Fox has addressed a letter to this department, under date of the 12th inst., in which, under the immediate instruction of his government, he demands, formally and officially, M'Leod's release, on the ground that the transaction on account of which he has been arrested, and is to be put upon his trial, was of a public character, planned and executed by persons duly empowered by her Majesty's colonial authorities to take any steps, and to do any acts which might be necessary for the defence of her Majesty's territories, and for the protection of her Majesty's subjects, and that, consequently, those subjects of her Majesty who engaged in that transaction were performing an act of public duty, for which they cannot be made personally and individually answerable to the laws and tribunals of any foreign country; and that her Majesty's Government has further directed Mr. Fox to make known to the government of the United States, that her Majesty's Government entirely approve of the course pursued by Mr. Fox, and the language adopted by him in the correspondence above mentioned. There is, therefore, now an authentic declaration on the part of the British Government, that the attack on the '*Caroline*' was an act of the public force, done by military men, under the order of their superiors, and is recognised as such by the Queen's Government. The importance of this declaration is not to be doubted, and the President is of opinion, that it calls upon him for the performance of a high duty. That an individual forming a part of a public force, and acting under the authority of his government is not to be held answerable as a private trespasser or malefactor, is a principle of public law sanctioned by the usages of all civilised nations, and which the government of the United States has no inclination to dispute. This has no connection whatever with the question whether in this case the attack on the '*Caroline*' was, as the British Government think it, a justifiable employment of force for the purpose of defending the British territory from unprovoked attack, or whether it was a most unjustifiable invasion in time of peace of the territory of the United States, as this Government has regarded it. The two questions are essentially different, and while acknowledging that an individual may claim immunity from the consequences of acts done by him, by showing that he acted under national authority, this Government is not to be understood as changing the opinion which it has heretofore expressed in regard to the real nature of the transaction, which resulted in the destruction of the Caroline. That subject it is not necessary for any purpose connected with this communication to discuss. All that is intended to be said at present is, that since the attack on the Caroline is avowed, as a national act which may justify reprisals, or even general war, if the government of the United States, in the judgment which it shall form of the transaction, and of its own duty should see fit so to decide, yet it raises a question entirely public and political; a question between independent nations, and that individuals concerned in it cannot be arrested and tried before the ordinary tribunals, as for a violation of municipal law. If the attack on the Caroline was unjustifiable, as this Government has asserted, the law which has been violated is the law of nations; and the redress which is to be sought is the redress authorised in such cases, by the provisions of that code. You are well aware that the President has no power to arrest the proceedings in the civil and criminal courts of the state of New York. If this indictment were pending in one of the courts of the United States, I am directed to say that the President, on the receipt of Mr. Fox's last communication would have directed a *nolle prosequi* to be entered."

Nothing, therefore, continued the noble Viscount, could be more entirely honourable to the government of the United States, or more satisfactory to the Government of this country, than this public declaration of principle which had been made by the President. He believed that this paper answered all the questions of the hon. Member, but one, which was, whether the United States had made their demands, in the case of the Caroline, as for an injury to the United States at large, or as one to the state of New York in particular. Most unquestionably, their demand had been placed, upon the ground of an injury done to the United States; and in the last Session of Parliament, when he had a few words to say upon this subject, he stated that it was on that very account impossible for the United States to turn round and deny redress in the case of M'Leod, on the ground that this was a question between Great Britain and the State of New York. It was true, as stated by the hon. Member, that the constitution of the United States places all matters between the States and foreign powers in the hands of the federal government. The 10th section of the constitution, article 1, is in these terms:—

> "No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, or grant letters of marque or reprisal; no state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

Therefore, it was quite true, as the hon. Member had said, that this question could no more be said to be between Great Britain and the state of New York, than if America had felt herself aggrieved by Great Britain, it could be said, that the question was between America and the county of Rutland. But while this must be taken to be the result of that which was the real state of things, an answer was thereby afforded to a suggestion thrown out by the hon. and learned Gentleman the other evening, that the Government of Great Britain should, at the outset of the affair, have sent a special envoy or ambassador to the government of the state of New York; because such a proceeding would have been an act of nullification on the part of Great Britain, and a denial of the fundamental principles of the consitution of the United States; and the government of that country would have been entitled to resent such an interference, as being a course which the British Government had no right to take. Therefore, it was not from any neglect on the part of the Government that such a step had not been taken, but from respect which they were bound to show to the constitution of the United States. He would not enter into any speculation, nor make any conjectural statement as to what was to come. He was sure that the House would feel that it was more fitting in the present position of affairs, that he should not anticipate the course which the government of the United States might think proper to follow, in order to carry out those principles of international law which they had themselves so fully admitted, and he thought that the object which the hon. and learned Member himself had in view would be better attained by his silence.

Subject at an end.

The Syrian War.] Sir *Charles Napier* took that opportunity of inquiring whether it were intended to give compensation to the peaceable inhabitants o Syria, whose houses were destroyed, their trees cut down, and their plantations ruined by the necessary operations of the British troops in the recent war? and also, whether it was intended to give compensation to the inhabitants of St. Jean d'Acre for their losses under similar circumstances?

Viscount *Palmerston* was much gratified to be able to state to his hon. and gallant Friend, whose interest in these matters he was aware must be very great, on account of the eminent and distinguished public services which he had performed in the quarter to which he had alluded, that he had on that morning received a despatch from Lord Ponsonby, enclosing a copy of a renewed order, the execution of the original having been delayed, which had been sent to the Governor of Acre by the Sultan, directing full reparation to be made in both cases which had been alluded to.

Foreign Taxes.] Dr. *Bowring* moved for a return of the amount of taxes levied on land in the different states of Europe, distinguishing the taxes raised for the service of the State from those levied for local purposes; the return to show the amount in the moneys and measures the different states, and to be rendered into British moneys and measures; also returns exhibiting the proportion borne by the land tax (as approximately as it can be estimated) to the value or rental of land in the different countries of Europe.

Mr. *Labouchere* wished to call the attention of the House to the nature of the return which had been moved for. It was a return, not for any information connected with this country, but with foreign countries. He did not mean to say, but that he considered it very desirable, that such information should be laid before the House, as he considered it calculated to throw great light on many subjects on which they would be called on to legislate, but they ought to be careful in what shape they asked for information of this description. It could only be obtained through the medium of our consuls, and he doubted if they could obtain accurate information. If his hon. Friend would postpone his motion until to-morrow, he would in the mean time consider the subject, and endeavour to put it into such a shape as to obtain the information desired, but he certainly must object to asking for information of a definite and precise nature from our consuls abroad, when it could hardly be expected that the information which they could furnish would be accurate. He, therefore, thought it would be better to postpone the motion, and bring it forward again in a more general shape.

Motion withdrawn.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE SPEECH—ADJOURNED DEBATE (THIRD NIGHT).] The Adjourned Debate having been then called on,

Viscount *Sandon* said, that he did not rise for the purpose of entering, at least at any length, if at all, into those questions of economical policy, which formed so large and prominent a portion of the speech which had been put into the mouth of her Majesty, and a still larger and more prominent portion of the speeches of those who had preceded him in the debate. He did not think that in following that course he should be doing that which was the natural result of the events passing around them, or that he should be doing that which would meet the expectations of the constituencies which had sent them to that House. However convenient it might be within the walls of that House, or elsewhere, to represent the struggle which had been just concluded as a struggle between monopoly and anti-monopoly; to represent that there was no other question at issue than whether or not the measures brought forward by her Majesty's Ministers, under the shape and guise of a Budget, were approved of by the people of this country; however convenient it might be to certain parties to put the question in that form, yet such was not the question which had in effect been tried before the country—and such was not the question which they were now required to decide. He said boldly that it was not the question which the Government themselves intended to put forward; because the late dissolution had not taken place upon the question of the sugar duties, the corn duties, or the timber duties. With regard to the corn or the timber duties, neither the one nor the other had been so brought under the consideration of the House of Commons as to elicit the expression of its opinion; and they therefore could have afforded no justification for the late dissolution. As to the sugar duties, he could not conceive that in that question, upon the time or degree in which the protection now afforded to the interests of the British possessions in respect of sugar might be affected, even her Majesty's Government could pretend to discover a sufficient cause for appealing to the people. The real question which had compelled her Majesty's Ministers to appeal to the sense of the people was this, that the last House of Commons did clearly and distinctly vote their want of confidence in them the present Ministers, and that was the distinct issue which the country was called on to decide. That was the real cause which drove her Majesty's Government to try the desperate chance of a dissolution. If it had been a mere simple question of defeat on particular measures, the Government had already had warning and experience enough the year before, and during the earlier part of that Session, to have given them an excuse for trying a dissolution, if they had thought it would serve their purposes. But it was not until that House had distinctly expressed, by its vote, its want of confidence in their general administration of affairs, that they had recourse to a dissolution; and he thought, he had a right to say, that the first question on which it was their duty to express an opinion, and that previously to entertaining any other matter, was that same question upon which the country had been called upon to decide. For himself, he could say, that the question on which he had appealed to his own constituents was not simply whether the sugar of Brazil should be admitted into this country on one footing of competition with that of our own possessions or another. He had not appealed to his constituents on the particular mode of protection to domestic agriculture — he had not appealed to them on the degree of protection to be given to our colonial interests as concerned in timber, or the proper time or mode of dealing with that question. He might fairly state that the question upon which he had been returned to that House by so large a majority of his constituents was not that which her Majesty's Minsters had attempted to interpose and substitute for the real question, but whether they had or had not confidence in the administration of affairs by the present Government, and whether even if they agreed in certain points of their commercial policy they were prepared, in consequence of that agreement, to give them condonation for the past and fresh licence for the future. He had stated to his constituents, as he would state to the House, that even if he had agreed with her Majesty's Ministers, which he did not, on any one of those questions, he should have been in nowise induced by agreement on those points to have sacrificed those greater and more important principles which were involved in the maintenance in office of one Administration rather than the other. He had reminded them of the feelings which had been excited in that House and in the country by the general conduct of her Majesty's Government, and he had appealed to them on questions of still higher importance than the propositions which had been put forward by her Majesty's Ministers—he had asked them whether they approved of the Irish Administration of the Government—whether they approved of their conduct in regard to the Church—whether they approved of their conduct in regard to education—whether they approved of their conduct in the distribution of patronage and of magisterial offices and honours; and upon all these great questions, affecting more deeply, more widely, more permanently the interests of men, than the question whether a sliding scale in the duties on corn was to be preferred to a fixed duty, or whether Brazilian sugar should be admitted one day or another at one rate of duty or another; or whether the importation of colonial timber should be placed on one footing or another; on questions of much greater importance than those did he appeal to his constituents, and received not merely a verdict of acquittal, but in immensely increased majorities the highest expressions of approbation for the course he had pursued. These were the grounds on which he believed the great body of the Conservative party had been returned to that House. The constituencies had refused the bait which had been held out, the tub thrown to the whale had not answered its object, and they would not permit the real issue to be withdrawn, and a new and a false one to be substituted in its place. Whether they agreed or not with the Government in the particular questions now put forward, they disapproved of their conduct in the administration of those larger affairs affecting the nearest interests of the country, and they would not be led astray by a temporary agreement, even if they entertained it, on minor points. As regarded the propositions of her Majesty's Government, the issue, in fact, was not that of free trade on one side or the other. Their language, indeed, was that of free trade; and from that they endeavoured to get support; but he had heard little in any part of the empire about the specific propositions of the Government, which in fact were no more those of free trade, than the existing system. The question, so far as it was the commercial question at all, which had been at issue before the constituencies was, whether the domestic interests of the country should have any protection or not. The particular mode and degree in which the Government proposed to affect that protection had not been at issue before the country at all, and the House of Commons was not called upon to deliver any verdict upon that point. These were not the questions which had actuated the constituencies of the country during the late struggle. The question distinctly put before them was this, "Have you such confidence in her Majesty's Government, from your experience of their past administration of affairs, as to be willing to trust them for the future?" and whether men agreed with the Government as to protection, or the mode and degree of protection, or whether they differed from the Government, he believed the constituencies of England had been mainly governed by the answer, which they were prepared to give to that question of confidence, or want of confidence, and the House was now called upon to give effect to that answer, or they would betray the principles which they had professed, and the duty which they owed to their constituents. With those views he thought they were called upon—not to go into any details upon the questions which had been submitted to the House by the Queen's Speech—upon the question whether the existing Corn-laws were inconvenient to commerce or distressing to the population—but that they were called upon to carry into effect the verdict which had been pronounced by the people of England. He said, then, that neither these, nor any other questions ought to be entrusted to the management of the present Ministers; and until a change in the Government of the country had taken place, they would best discharge their duty to the country, and best satisfy the expectations of their constituents by refusing to consider any measures which the present Government might propose. These were the short and simple grounds on which he gave his support to the amendment. He was not indifferent to the value of those other questions—he was not indifferent to the sufferings of the population—he was not blind to the distress which now prevailed in the commercial and manufacturing districts — but it was because he thought that the management of these questions might be more safely entrusted to other hands than those which now for many years had mismanaged the affairs of this country that he supported the amendment. If the question, which had been tried by the people, was in any way the commercial question, the decision of the country went so far as this: that they were not satisfied in the main with the propositions of her Majesty's Government, and still less with the principles on which those propositions had been adopted. With regard to the great constituency which he had the honour of representing, he would not say, that, in doing him the honour of sending him to that House, he being one who preferred a sliding scale to a fixed duty, they had committed themselves to an opinion in favour of a sliding scale; but he would say they had gone so far as to give a distinct negative to the assertion that they were in favour of a total abolition of protection. Every class of that constituency, he might fairly say, high and low, had totally reprobated that suggestion. They were not at all prepared to abandon the principle of protection. He knew that commercial men were divided on the mode and degree of protection; but on the principle of protection he had no doubt that the great majority of that constituency were in unison with him and with the majority of that House. He had merely come forward on that occasion for the purpose of stating succinctly the mission which he felt himself called upon to discharge. He would not go into any details upon the question of the Corn Laws, which, indeed, it would be impossible to discuss with any useful effect in a debate on the Address. It was impossible that such a discussion could lead to any satisfactory result. If they followed the lead of her Majesty's Government they would be only going through an utterly useless discussion; the great majority of that House were united on the principle of protection, and in the preference of a sliding scale to a fixed duty; and he considered, therefore, that they were right in refusing to enter into details upon those questions at that time; because holding the views which they did they were not likely, under such auspices, to come to any useful and practical result. He might say there what he had said elsewhere, that with regard to these questions themselves, when the fitting opportunity came, he should not only be willing but anxious to see them maturely considered with a view to meeting the evils which undoubtedly arose from the present system. The agricultural portion of the community was as much aware of the necessity of some revision as any other class in the country; those views too were not now expressed for the first time; they had been long expressed by gentlemen connected with the agricultural interest; and certainly he had himself before expressed them in that House. Though it was not his business, and though he was not in any way called upon to follow up the discussion of the Budget of last Session, into which they had been rather invited by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, he was naturally induced by the observations which that right hon. Gentleman had made, to look a little into the sugar question to see whether there really was any reason for that despondency to which the statement of the right hon. Gentleman would lead. That no mistaken impression might be produced by that statement he had made diligent inquiries, and he had derived considerable gratification from the result. The lower prices of sugar which prevailed during the last discussion upon that subject, had been attributed by her Majesty's Government to the anxiety of those in the trade, arising from an apprehension that their protection was to be withdrawn; but he had great satisfaction in finding, that now that that anxiety and apprehension had been removed, the prices had remained the same, showing, that it was not any such apprehension which had in the first instance caused the reduction in prices, but that it was the natural result of those sources of supply from our own possessions in the West and East Indies—to which they on that side of the House had attributed it. The prices were at the present moment what they were in May, having in the interval only been raised from 36*s*. to 39*s*. per cwt., and these were the lowest prices at which sugar had been sold for nearly two years, having fallen from the high price of 50s., at which they were when the right hon. Gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade refused the motion of the hon. Member for Wigan. This he mentioned to show that their predictions had not been unfounded; and that they were right in looking to natural causes—to the supply coming from the East and the West Indies without having recourse to the introduction of foreign sugar, for the means of securing the country from those high prices which they had properly attributed to merely transient and temporary causes affecting production in our own colonies. He would not trouble the House by going into details as to their predictions of the supply from the Mauritius, the East and the West Indies; he need only say, that that supply had in all respects realised, so far as the time permitted, all the predictions which had been then expressed. He could inform the House, that the supply of this year already exceeded that of last year, and that the consumption of the last three months, had, without any change of the sugar duties, been going on at a rate which would produce all the result, that, in the calculations of the right hon. the President of the Board of Trade, had been anticipated from that change. In entering upon these details he had merely gone out of his way to correct any false impression that they, or that side of the House, had, for the sake of temporary purposes made use of predictions, wholly unfounded, and of calculations, which had not been realized. He would not now pursue the question further; he had only risen for the purpose of stating distinctly the grounds why he considered that they were entitled to decline entering upon the particular questions mentioned in her Majesty's Speech; and why they were entitled and indeed called upon at once to deliver that verdict which the country had been required to deliver by the last general election; and he was satisfied that their constituents would be much disappointed if they did not take the first opportunity of delivering that verdict before they proceeded to the consideration of any other measures.

Mr. *Milner Gibson* had expected to hear from the noble Lord who had just sat down some important statement, considering the situation which he held in relation to the commerce and trade of this country. The noble Lord had made a careful and elaborate attempt to draw the question at issue to the mere point of confidence or no confidence in Ministers. For his own part, he took very little interest in those party discussions to which the noble Lord and hon. Gentleman opposite attached so much interest, and he believed the country entertained the same feeling with regard to them. Those privileged classes, of which the noble Lord was a Member, and who were now on the threshold of office, no doubt attached great importance to them, but not so the great mercantile interests of this country. He confessed he was astonished to see the noble Lord making so light of the great and important subjects which really formed the object of their present discussion; not more so, however, than to see the noble Lord, when about to enter upon office, persist in discussing a totally different subject, when every man, woman and child, throughout the kingdom, knew well that there were more Members in the present House who were favourable to the coming in of Sir Robert Peel than there were Members who supported Lord Melbourne. That was known perfectly well to everybody. Then, why say anything more about it. It could only give rise to unpleasant reflections on that side of the House, and the indulgence in that practice on the other side was only likely to lay the right hon. Baronet opposite open to the imputation of something like an indecent eagerness in rushing into office. The feast prepared for Gentlemen opposite let them bide their time; and let the House employ the valuable interval in discussing questions which involve the real interests of the country. The noble Lord, however, in the second division which he made of the subject matter of his speech, forgot the argument contained in the first, when he told the House that the real question was between protection on the one hand, and free trade on the other, and that the proposition that had been made to the House by her Majesty's Ministers had nothing to do with it. He admitted at once, that the noble Lord was not very far wrong in that statement, for the question before the country did materially involve the principle of free trade. He believed it really was a question whether the principle of protection or that of free trade should ultimately prevail, and he believed that a great majority of those who gave their earnest and zealous support to her Majesty'sMinisters were of the same opinion; that they gave the proposition for the 8*s*. duty, and the other relaxations of the commercial code, with the feeling that it was but a step to an end; and ultimately hon. Gentlemen opposite would find that their now refusing to agree to the 8*s*. duty would only lead to their, in the end, being compelled to altogether repeal the Corn-laws. The noble Lord, after for a long time discussing the causes which he supposed had led to the late dissolution, had proceeded to talk a great deal about the constituency that had sent him to Parliament. Liverpool, no doubt, was a most important commercial town; but still, if an analysis were entered into of the votes that actually returned the noble Lord to Parliament, it would be found that he was not returned by a majority of the respectable householders, merchants, and bankers, of Liverpool, but that he owed his seat to the votes of that pure and virtuous body, the freemen of Liverpool. Therefore, he did not consider that the noble Lord really did represent the opinion of the town of Liverpool.

The *Speaker:* The hon. Member must be aware, that it is not in order to state that any Member of this House does not legally represent the constituency that sent him to Parliament.

Mr. *Gibson* was very far from saying that the noble Lord, or any other Member, did not "legally" represent the constituency which sends him here; but he was going on to remark that he wished it was not the law of the land, that the body of men who influenced the return for Liverpool, should be entrusted with the political power which they now possess. The noble Lord, in the third portion of his speech, had referred to the question of the alleged distress of the country; but all he said on the subject was to tell the country to take courage, and not despond. Now, really this was not enough to hear from the noble Lord. Probably he meant that we were to trust to what the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, would do for the country, when he came into power. But, both the right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord had left them in doubt as to what he really would do; and much as they had heard of the evils brought upon the country, and the uncertainty to trade, that was caused by the ministerial agitation of these questions; and much as had been said of the importance of not agitating the country, for fear of unsettling the arrangements of commerce, and of preventing persons from investing capital, yet the must say, that the uncertainty and indistinctness that hung around the intentions of the right hon. Baronet were much more likely to produce the results that were so much deprecated. Was it not known that the right hon. Baronet was coming into power, and that being in power, he would be able to carry whatever he willed into effect? And was not the silence and indistinctness of the right hon. Gentleman, so situated, more dangerous than any statements that could be made by persons who were known not to be able to carry their views into effect? Symptoms of the effect of that uncertainty indeed had already been seen. Had they not heard a noble Duke elsewhere declaring, that if the right hon. Baronet touched the Corn-laws, the noble Duke would do so and so, and that if the right hon. Baronet attempted to introduce anything like the measures of her Majesty's Ministers, the landed interest who had brought him in, would also turn him out again? Or, was his silence to be taken as merely nothing after all? Was its significance only on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico.* Yet he could not believe that the right hon. Baronet would abandon that sound system of policy which ought to guide all future statesmen in this country—the principle which he himself had so emphatically laid down at the time of his introducing Catholic emancipation—that of yielding to the pressure of the times, and conceding when not able longer to resist. In that memorable speech the right hon. Baronet laid it down as a principle, that no fear of the charge of inconsistency, or of the loss of political character, should deter the statesman from bringing forward those measures which he conceived to be for the good of his country; and he could not believe that the right hon. Gentleman could shut his eyes to the fact, that at the present moment such was the state of our commercial interests—so great was the distress and difficulty of obtaining employment for the labouring population, and such was the spirit of discontent and disaffection growing in the country, that he would be unable to resist the repeal of the Corn-laws and the relaxation of our commercial code. He was astonished at the conduct of one hon. Member opposite. He did not know what place that hon. Member represented, but he was remarkable for having last Session come forward and asked for a vote of the public money in order to enable his famishing labourers to emigrate to foreign lands. He did not know the place he represented [*An hon. Member*: "Worcester"], but that was the remarkable feature in his political character. He had been, he repeated, astonished to hear that hon. Member doing what on all sides was deprecated in that House—he had been astonished to find that hon. Member making use of exciting and inflammatory language in reference to classes. When the hon. Gentleman talked about the tender mercies of the master manufacturers, about their making use of infants, to the exclusion of adults from their factories, and about their recklessness of human suffering—he then went on to tell the House of the tender feeling of the farmers and landed aristocracy towards the labouring population, and attempted to infer therefrom that their influence over those around them was more generous in its tendency than that of the manufacturers. Could anything be more unsatisfactory than such a line of assertion? If the hon. Gentleman described those scenes of fancied rural felicity and talked of the influence of agriculture being better for the people than that of manufactures, he would like to meet him, as he had quoted from papers, with a quotation from a paper of what had taken place in 1839, at a place not very far distant from the metropolis, at a time when the price of corn was high, and when the agricultural labourer, according to the hon. Gentleman, ought to have been particularly well off. On the 14th of February, 1839, at an ordinary meeting of the board of guardians of Grantham, it was moved by the Duke of Rutland, and seconded by Gregory Gregory, esq., and unanimously resolved that, "whereas during the high price of corn the labourers not receiving parochial relief were only able to get bread of barley, or barley mixed with wheat, while the paupers were receiving wheaten bread, the latter should in future receive only the same quality of bread as the independent labourers, in order the sooner to bring about the time when both should be able to eat the same quality of bread." This took place at a time of high prices, when the condition of the agricultural labourer ought, according to the calculations of hon. Members opposite, to be particularly prosperous. But it was said the manufacturers' only reason for wishing to reduce the price of bread was to diminish the cost of production. That was an unfounded assumption. The manufacturers wished to open the trade, because they wished to have the power of selling their manufactures—because, in fact, if they were not able to take the corn of other countries no barter could take place. A gentleman from America the other day, addressing the religious conference at Manchester—that assemblage of Ministers of which hon. Gentlemen opposite had spoken so slightingly—had said that the Americans did not want the manufactures of this country cheaper, but that this country should take their corn in exchange. It was freedom of exchange that was really wanted by those who opposed the Corn-laws, and in that point of view, whether the price was higher or lower, was a matter of speculation merely. It was of no value in determining the argument on the whole question. Then, he asked, by what right, or on what principle did they deprive any class in this country of their freedom of exchange? He maintained that the corn imported into this country in exchange for manufactures would be just as much a production of British industry as if it had actually been grown on our soil; and again he asked why they should not be allowed to produce wheat in their own way if it so suited them to do it? Therefore it was that he looked for a total repeal of the Corn-laws. He supported the proposition of her Majesty's Ministers for a fixed duty only as a step, and to enable him the sooner to send the 8*s.* duty after the rest. As he said before, he did not wish to tax particular classes with being influenced by their own peculiar interests, as he did not think this was the right mode of debating a question of this kind, or, indeed, any public matter. It was, however, an unfortunate circumstance that the peculiar interests in that House were so closely allied with the preservation of those monopolies. With the public, this was a peculiar source of suspicion. This, to say the least of it, was an unfortunate coincidence, for people were apt to consider that these Corn-laws were enacted by a Parliament of landlords for their own benefit. He was far from saying that they were not perfectly sincere in their support of those laws, and that their object in supporting them was patriotic and just, and that they imagined they

> "Did good 'for nought;' and blushed to find it fame!"

In point of fact, they would have it believed that the benefit fell to the landlords without their seeking it. The first great object in view should be to present English industry to foreign countries in exchange for food, and thus to procure and preserve a permanent demand for labour for the increasing population of the country. They were told that the Corn-laws procured permanent labour for a large portion of the population; but the fact was, that the Corn-laws did not even afford the means of giving employment for the agricultural population. If they referred to the state of the population between 1821 and 1831, the ten years included in the last census, it would be found that while the population of the whole country had greatly increased, the number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits had diminished to no less an extent than 17,000 families. This was a very remarkable fact, if they looked to the circumstance that the population of the whole country had greatly increased. It should also be recollected that the Poor-law commissioners in their reports stated, that pauperism existed in a much greater extent in the agricultural than in the manufacturing districts. Even if it were found that the Corn-laws afforded ample employment for the agricultural portion of the population of the country, what advantage could possibly arise in thus keeping in employment one class of the community, by keeping another class out of employment? He contended that every freeman had necessarily a natural right to the freedom of exchange for the produce of his labour. But this principle was sacrificed by the Corn-laws, which, at the same time, kept numbers out of employ, and from obtaining a just remuneration for their labour, while they did not find means of employ for the agricultural population. No doubt Gentlemen opposite were fully justified in discussing the question of confidence, but he trusted that they would not so far overlook the great interests of the country as to pass by altogether the consideration of the Corn-laws. If the debate was allowed to close as it had proceeded, the country would say that it was a planned proceeding, and that the right hon. Baronet had given directions to his party not to say one word on the subject. It would be inferred that these were the directions given at the great political divan which, according to the *Times* newspaper, assembled at the house of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth last Sunday, probably during the hours of divine service. It would be said that it was then and there resolved, that steps should be taken to keep the people in the greatest state of ignorance as to the course that the probable future administration intended to pursue. He did not speak as a party man, for he was not one. He repeated, he was no party man, and he wished that there were many more like him; and he had proved that he was not one by his conduct. If he had sat on the other side of the House he should have used precisely the same language on the subject of the Corn-laws, as he had addressed to the House from the place where he stood; and he should have said that it showed a want of respect, not to allude to the question of the Corn-laws which pressed so heavily upon the great interests of the country. When he looked at gentleman opposite—many of whom he knew, and for whom he entertained the greatest personal regard—he was satisfied that many of them were perfectly sincere in their opposition to any change in the Corn-laws; but he was astonished at the sneers they manifested at many of the impressive statements of the hon. Member for Salford respecting the distressed state of the population. When that hon. Gentleman alluded to a quotation from the scriptures in reference to this subject, he was surprised at the ill-suppressed sneers of Gentlemen opposite. But the quotation of scripture, in reference to the Corn-laws, did not originate with that side of the House, but with Gentleman opposite. For his own part, he did not think that it should be made a practice to quote the scriptures on one side or the other on commercial or financial questions. He, however, could not forget that the practice did not originate with his hon. Friend, but with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester, who, in a speech to his constituents, quoted a passage from scripture in defence of the Corn-laws, and told his auditory that he had no doubt but that it had been written for their instruction. He believed that the right hon. Baronet made the quotation with a view to show that the sliding scale was alluded to. Hon. Gentlemen opposite found fault with the agitation of the Corn-laws, but they forgot that they were equally agitators with his side of the House. All that he had to find fault with was, that they had been more successful agitators on the present question than those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House. Did hon. Gentlemen forget the agitation that had been carried on at Exeter Hall—the agitation against the Government education plan, and the agitation of his hon. Friend, the Member for the University of Oxford in favour of church extension? All these came equally within the category of agitation as that against the Corn-laws, and he only regretted that the agitation on his side of the House for commercial reform had not been successful. The hon. Member for Shrewsbury said that the result of the appeal to the people had been, that the party of the right hon. Baronet had increased, while that of the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies had diminished. Now he contended that the result of the dissolution had been an increase in the number of anti-Corn-law Members, and that many more hon. Gentlemen had been sent to that Parliament prepared to support repeal than had been returned to any previous Parliament. All that they wanted to attain success was time and education. [*Hear, hear.*] He repeated education, and the spreading such works as the valuable publication of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, and the Rev. Baptist Noel on the subject of the Corn-laws throughout the community. If this was done on an extensive scale, he was satisfied that a feeling of enthusiasm against the Corn-laws (or, as they were most properly designated by the hon. Member for Stockport, the bread-tax) would be excited to so great an extent as the feeling against slavery. It was formerly said by the advocates for the continuance of slavery in the colonies, that that system was beneficial to the slaves themselves; so they were now seriously told that the laws which produced a scarcity of food were advantageous to the consumers. He was satisfied that the time was not distant when the agitation on the subject of the Corn-laws would be as great as that spread from Exeter-hall throughout the country for the abolition of slavery; and that a flame of enthusiasm would be excited throughout the land, such as would not be extinguished by the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord opposite. He said, emphatically, they must be repealed. They were inconsistent with the first principles of justice, and therefore they must fall. The noble Lord, the Member for Liverpool must forgive him for making another allusion with reference to what had fallen from him respecting the proposed alteration of the sugar duties. The noble lord had referred to the Brazilian trade. Was he aware that the treaty with the Brazils was near coming to a conclusion? Under the present treaty, the Brazilian government only imposed a duty of 20 per cent. on the importation of our manufactures, while this country imposed a duty of 375 per cent. on Brazilian sugar. Did the noble Lord recollect that a considerable portion of the public revenue of this country arose from sugar, and that the consumption per head, was not so great as it was forty years ago? Was he also aware that, in consequence of the large quantities of Brazilian sugar in bond at Liverpool, many persons who were accustomed to manufacture for the Brazilian market intended to cease to do so, as there was nothing for them to receive but sugar, and they could not afford to keep it in bond? At the present time the value of this sugar was 2*d.* a pound, while the protecting duty was 7*d.* a pound: you thus prevent your merchants selling it here. The merchants are compelled to refine it in bond, and send it to the blacks in Jamaica, and to Italy and other places, and you will not let the population of this country derive any benefit from it. What advantage or good could possibly be gained by such a proceeding? If the cultivation of sugar altogether ceased in Jamaica, there would be no great disadvantage to the population there. At the same time he did not wish or desire to resort to any steps that would have that effect. But what possible reason could the noble Lord have for supporting a course which was injurious to the revenue, which deprived a large portion of the population of this country of a most important market for the sale of their produce, and also the people of the means of obtaining a necessary article at a moderate price? The noble Lord said that the population of the West-Indian islands were in a very strange condition in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves; but all that the noble Lord really showed was, that in consequence of the emancipation the cost of producing sugar had increased. He seemed to forget that the proposition of her Majesty's Ministers gave to the West-Indians a protecting duty much more than equivalent to the difference of the cost of producing sugar before and since emancipation. He did not admit this, however, to be a sound reason for rejecting the proposition. In conclusion, he had only to thank the House for the patience with which they had listened to him.

Mr. *Borthwick* would not follow the example of the hon. Gentleman, and of others on the same side of the House, in introducing merely speculative questions which could, in the situation in which parties stood, be attended with no practical result. The greater the importance of the questions which it had pleased her Majesty to call the attention of Parliament to, the more eventful the issues that depended on their decision, the more necessary was it that any discussion of them in that House should be followed by practical results, and not end merely in a display of field-day oratory. With great deference to the hon. Gentleman who last sat down, he should take leave to consider the question before the House not one concerning the sugar duties, timber duties, or the Corn-laws, or any other financial or fiscal measure, but the question of who were the persons who should, in the name of her Majesty, propose these questions to the House with any chance of bringing them to a practical issue. Were they to grant a lengthened and full consideration then to those questions, the result would be, that the Government would propose them *seriatim* to the House, and afterwards should fail in carrying them out. He would not, then, be provoked by the able, though fallacious, arguments used on the other side to argue whether the distress which had been admitted to exist had anything to do with the Corn-laws or not, though he was prepared, when the time for discussion should come, to prove that no connection between them existed at all. He would not say whether these laws required revision, nor whether a sliding scale or a fixed duty were the better, but he was prepared to prove, that the protection itself had no more to do with the distress complained of than any proposition of Euclid, which hon. Gentlemen opposite might choose to demonstrate. The hon. and learned Member for Bath had said the other evening, that Ministers had grown unpopular, not because they advanced, but because they lagged towards reform principles, that they had become distasteful to the people in proportion as they receded from the ballot and the other extreme measures which he advocated. But the hon. and learned Gentleman admitted, that the subtraction taken from the Ministerial ranks had been added to the Conservative, and not to his section of the House. Again, the hon. and learned Gentleman admitted, that if credit was due to the Government for anything it was for their foreign policy and the adjustment of the great eastern question But was that a policy tending towards liberal opinions? How did it come to pass that the proudest of their triumphs was formed by treading in the footsteps of Pitt and Castlereagh; that, in fact, it was a Tory and not a Radical triumph? The question before the House appeared to him to be, not whether they should discuss the Corn-laws or not, but how they were to arrive at the discussion? The present Ministry were obstacles to that discussion; they must be removed before the subject could be fully and fairly dealt with. He was of opinion, that this country had a right to look to the House for a stable Government. For five years the country had been burdened with a Ministry which, in the language of its own leader, was the worst of all possible Ministries, for it was a Ministry not having the power of carrying their own measures. With a feeble tottering Government, unable to carry its own measures, he said, not only that it was not indecent, but that it was the bounden duty of every hon. Member of the House to inform her Majesty of the actual state of things, in order that the country might have a Government which might be able to carry into effect its own designs. That was the real question before the House. As to the distress which was unfortunately so prevalent, it was owing to the conduct of the party opposite, who, instead of attending to practical matters, had been wrapped up in theoretical abstractions. Look at Spain and Portugal. There they had themselves lost a market for 14,000,000*l*. sterling of manufactures of this country. That was about the amount they used to take annually. How much did they take now? Hardly enough to pay the miserable legion, which had been left in so hopeless a state. Yet the Ministry had the hardihood, notwithstanding such facts as these, to come to the House and tell them that it was to questions of domestic economy, and not of general policy, that the prevalent distress was owing. With reference to Ireland, he expected, that whatever party governed her, even-handed justice, fearing none, fawning on none, mixing up no questions of theology with matters of politics, would be dealt to all alike. Whether the Romish priesthood in Ireland had been guilty of malversation he would not take upon himself to say; but, if they were guilty, let them be punished in their character as citizens and not as priests; they had erred as citizens, they ought to suffer as citizens. He could bear testimony to the zeal and fidelity with which the Roman Catholic priests in Spain discharged their duties, and to the great amount of good which they did; and he could only say, that if the conduct of the priests in Ireland was different, and they had prostituted their influence to political purposes, the Irish Roman Catholic Church was the only portion of the Roman Catholic body in which the power of the hierarchy was at so low an ebb as to allow of such conduct. He believed, that the right hon. Baronet would govern Ireland in the mode best calculated to develope her resources, by securing the rights of property and establishing generally respect for the laws. On these grounds, he should vote for the amendment. He would vote for placing in the possession of power a Government which should combine the confidence of her Majesty with that of the people and the Parliament.

Mr. *W. S. O'Brien* said, that the hon. Members who had moved the Address and the amendment both agreed that it was the duty of the House to give an answer to the propositions contained in her Majesty's gracious speech, but he would ask the hon. Gentlemen opposite whether there was any such answer in the amendment which had been proposed? No answer whatever had been given to the question of whether the country had sanctioned the course which her Majesty's Ministers had taken. Indeed he must say, that he had never witnessed so pitiful a line of conduct as that which had been pursued by the Conservative party for the last two or three months. He called on the right hon. Baronet, Sir R. Peel, and upon the hon. Member for the West Riding, to say whether they were prepared to sustain the principle of a general revision of our whole commercial tariff? The noble Viscount who had that night opened the debate had not offered a single suggestion on this head, and merely said that the present Government had not the confidence of the country. He ought, however, to bring some stronger proof before the House of this than was to be found in mere assertion. His complaint had been that the Whigs had not fulfilled the promises which were held out to the country by the Government of Lord Grey with regard to peace, retrenchment, and reform; but, in the very same breath, he was compelled to say, that they had given more reform than was agreeable to his own party. With respect, however, to the economy which it was urged had not been practised by the present Government, in was notorious that, session after session, they had been stimulated to undertake great expenses with regard to the navy by hon. Members of the Opposition. Again, with respect to their foreign policy, there was not one of the wars in which the Government had embarked the forces of the country—which hon. Gentlemen opposite had denounced—for even the former speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester (Sir J. Graham) on the subject of China, was no impeachment of the policy of the war in that quarter, but merely an inculpation of the Foreign Secretary for not having sent out some despatches at an earlier period than he had done. As to the position of Mr. M'Leod, he confessed it did not appear to him that her Majesty's Government could have done otherwise than take the course which they had adopted. Whatever measures might be necessary for the protection of a British subject standing in such a position should have his most cordial support, whether they proceeded from the Government of the right hon. Baronet, or from an Administration composed of his opponents; but, whatever might be the result, he should still affirm that the topic was not one which ought to be made the subject of party discussion. The Government had also been charged with the abandonment of their original Irish Tithe Bill. It should, however, be recollected, that on three several occasions they had endeavoured to carry that measure, and were on each occasion opposed by the gentlemen opposite; so that they, at least, ought not to reproach them with the abandonment of that measure. As an Irish Member, he would take that opportunity to express the gratitude of his country to the present Government for nearly the whole of their policy in the Government of that country. The present was the first Government that had made an approach towards governing Ireland upon the principles upon which alone she could now be governed, namely, that the people of that country, as far as regarded themselves, should be placed upon a perfectly equal footing; and that, as regarded the connection with England, the people of Ireland should be entitled to every right of citizenship with the people of England. He found that this principle had been carried out by the present Government in their executive appointments and in their legal appointments. To the present Government Ireland was indebted for the suppression of the Orange association. The present Government had attempted, and had, in fact, successfully attempted, to educate the Irish people. They had endeavoured to give Ireland equal justice, and they had shown their willingness to concede to Ireland the same municipal regulations that had been found so beneficial to England. They had also shown a disposition to extend the crippled franchise of the Irish people, and—the greatest blessing of all—they had conferred upon Ireland a Poor-law; and if it had not been for the opposition of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth the present Government would have given to Ireland a system of railroad communication, which would have done more to cement the two countries than any other measure that could be proposed. These acts entitled the present Government to the gratitude of the Irish nation. With regard to the Corn-laws, it should be recollected that 1,500,000 petitioned for a change; and representing, as he did, an agricultural district, he was prepared to agree to a measure which should prevent the price of corn rising so high as to produce suffering amongst the humbler classes. He trusted that the Government would not consider that they were dealing only with corn, timber, or sugar, but that they would revise the whole tariff of our commercial system. He considered that the Whig Government had done good service to the country, particularly by their measures of negro emancipation, general education, and municipal reform. If they had not been fiercely opposed they would have also passed an equitable measure on the subject of church rates. He saw in their colonial policy, too, the germ of a very extensive system of colonisation, and emigration upon a good principle was encouraged by them. There was the penny-postage, which he considered the greatest social blessing that could be conferred upon a people; and there was that most beneficial measure, the union of the Canadas. What had Gentlemen opposite to put in the scale against these measures? Their merits, or rather demerits, were more of a negative than of a positive character, and yet there were two measures for which they would doubtless claim credit. There was the bill of the right hon. Baronet for the trial of controverted elections, which required to be almost altogether remodelled in the course of two years, and there was the bill of the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire respecting the registration of voters in Ireland. Now, no man felt more strongly than he did the want of a registration bill, and the best proof of the want of it was the manner in which his hon. Friend the late Member for Waterford had been robbed of his seat, but that was no reason why they should endeavour to cripple a franchise which could at present barely be entitled to popular representation. If the Conservative party, when it came into power, would bring forward wise and liberal measures, they would undoubtedly receive the support of those who advocated liberal principles. But they must not forget that they were amenable to public opinion. If they also endeavoured to conciliate the Roman Catholics of Ireland, used every effort to encourage the industry of that country, and recognised the principle of perfect equality between the citizens of that part of the kingdom and of this, they would not fail to obtain the support of the Irish people. But if, on the contrary, they thrust into office those who were conspicuous for their vilification of the people of Ireland, and filched away from that people, under any pretence whatever, their scanty franchise, they must be prepared to struggle against a whole people, and in the name of thousands and thousands he would tell them to beware. He would not, however, follow up these subjects further on that occasion, as he was unwilling to indulge in expectations which might never be realised, or in fears which might prove to be unfounded. He would sit down, contenting himself with expressing his intention to give his vote in favour of the Address.

Colonel *Sibthorp* expressed his hope that the day had now arrived when the hon. and right hon. Gentlemen, who had sat far too long on the opposite benches, were doomed to receive that retribution for their selfishness and political vices which they so richly deserved, and when they would be driven—nay, drummed—out of the House of Commons, to what tune the forms of the House would not permit him to mention. He hoped that the day had arrived when the right hon. Baronet below him, and those by whom he would be surrounded, would prevent that glandered body from any longer infecting the policy of this country. Happy, indeed, would it have been for them if they had had the political honesty to have resigned their places as the advisers of her Majesty long ago, for then they would not at least have seen themselves so contemptuously rejected as they had recently been by the people themselves, of whose support they had so vainly boasted. In the subtle Speech of Ministers, for it was their Speech, and not that of the Queen, the distresses of the people and the difficulties of the country were adverted to; but whatever evils might exist, he was confident, be they ever so great, that the tact and powerful mind of the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, would be able to surmount them. He was well aware that the difficulties alluded to in the Speech did exist but why were these borught forward at the time they were; the Corn-question, was introduced, he believed, in the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament on January 1841, but, save the motion on the part of Lord J. Russell, not called for consideration till the Budget at the *eleventh hour*, claptrap, and delusive for the people. but, then, he asked, by whom had they been created? Were they not brought about by the incompetency of the Government, and the manner in which they abused the power entrusted to them? What was the budget of the right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but claptrap, and could it be doubted that the cry of cheap bread, cheap sugar, and cheap timber, was raised at the eleventh hour merely in the hope that it would enable Ministers to hold offices which should never have been entrusted to them? Old birds, however, were not to be caught with chaff, and, although an endeavour had been made to delude and humbug the people, it had not only not succeeded, but signally failed. His conviction was, that the poor would never be benefited by the cry of cheap bread, and with respect to cheap timber, his belief was, that if the proposed reduction took place, it would not occasion a difference more than of 10*s*. in the building of a cottage or a small farmhouse of 90*l*. value. It was somewhat extraordinary that those who cried out most loudly for the abolition of slavery should be the first to propose its renewal; and no one, he thought, could doubt that such would be a consequence of cheap sugar in reference to the Government proposition. These, however, were matters of detail, and he would not further dwell upon them at the present moment. He could only compare the position of the Government to that of bankrupts, and when they produced their schedule, he should like to know where their assets would be found. The fact was, they had none, and the anxious creditors looked only to the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, to find out the means of satisfying their demands. He rejoiced that the day had arrived when her Majesty's Ministers must be displaced. How were the last weeks of the late Parliament occupied? Why, in disposing of miscellaneous estimates, and estimates for civil contingencies; and did not these exhibit a list of as gross jobbing as could well be conceived? He did not blame the hon. Member for Bolton for the appointments which he had received, but he most assuredly did the Government who had dared to give these grants: he thought it somewhat too much that Mr. Vizard should have 1,500*l.* a-year for the performance of duties which should be discharged by others. On the 4th of June last that House declared Ministers to be incompetent; but how many appointments had they made since, and how much of the public money had they expended in outfits, or rigging out those to whom they had given places. What did the House think of the appointment of the late Attorney-General? Of course, he had a proper outfit, shirts, stockings, &c., and was to enjoy a salary; but these were points which he would take an opportunity of having ascertained, as well as the number of days, or rather hours, which he sat in his judicial capacity. Gross as was the Monteagle and other jobs, this was one of the grossest jobs he had ever heard of; but the *Gazette* furnished ample proofs of other jobs, and although enough had been done already, it was possible that more remained behind. He was very glad that the right hon. Baronet had frustrated the attempts which had been made to wrench from him his views, plans, and impressions as to how the Government should be conducted, though, perhaps, through kind and charitable feelings, he had already told them too much, and thanking the House for the attention with which they had heard him, he would only say, in conclusion, that he should cordially support the amendment, having no doubt that the result of its success would prove satisfactory to the people, and give peace and security to the country.

Mr. *C. Powell* said, although it was true, as the noble Lord, the Member for Liverpool had stated, that the result of the elections, especially in Ireland, amounted to a verdict against the Government, yet he should vote on this occasion in opposition to that verdict. It had been industriously alleged, with a view of imposing on the agriculturists of both England and Ireland, that the policy of the Government would tend to their ruin, and would extinguish agriculture; but the convincing speech of the hon. Member for Stockport satisfied him that such would not be the result. His belief was, that at no distant day all vicious monopolies would be abolished, but at the same time so many varied interests had grown up with them, that he should prefer a gradual rather than a sudden transition from the condemned, and justly condemned, system of monopolists. He thought, that a fixed duty was preferable to a sliding scale, and while it would afford adequate protection to the agricultural interests, it would operate as a salutary warning to them with respect to the change which must inevitably take place. He should support the Address proposed by the hon. Member for Manchester, and for the reason that it held forth to the people, that they would not be the victims of abominable monopolies and unjust taxation.

Mr. *E. Turner* commenced by referring to the violence of language used by some of the Tory party towards the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, which was calculated to irritate and inflame the people of that country. At a dinner given, at which the hon. Member for Kent was present, a noble Earl referring to the great Reform party to which he belonged, spoke of the right wing of the Infidels and Radicals, and the left of the popish followers of factious demagogues, headed by O'Connell, and supported by "the most infuriated and bigoted priesthood that ever cursed a country." That was language that might well create indignation in the minds of the Irish people, and alarm at the prospect of being governed by the party at whose public festivals it was used. With respect to the question more immediately before the House, although the object of the vote was the condemnation of the Government he could only say, that they possessed his entire confidence. He did not regard the result of the elections as a verdict against Ministers, especially when he considered how limited the constituencies were, and he felt persuaded that before long the country would see the necessity of recalling men to power, who, during their period of office, had effected so much good. They had greatly benefited the country by the reduction of postage; but, although that measure was carried on the distinct understanding, that the deficiency was to be made good by that House, no vote, however, on the subject had been called for; and he had no doubt that the hon. Gentlemen opposite would ultimately derive financial advantage from it. The hon. Gentlemen opposite were studiously silent as to the course they meant to pursue, but was it not due to the country that they should explain the nature of the policy they meant to adopt. In reference to the Corn-laws much had been said respecting wages, and he had been at the pains of ascertaining the average rate of wages at different periods. In 1769 he found that the average rate of wages of the labourer was *5s.* a week; but with that he was able to purchase twenty-three quartern loaves. The average rate of wages in 1792 was 9*s.* a week, and this enabled the labourer to buy fifteen quartern loaves, while, in 1841, although the average rate of wages was 10*s.* a week, he could only get with it ten quartern loaves. It, therefore, appeared, that the labourer at *5s.* a week was a richer man than the labourer at 10*s.*, and this was a fact which he thought could not be denied. He was persuaded, that the repeal of the Corn-laws would not affect the landed interest beyond ten per cent., because foreign wheat could not be imported at less than 60*s.* the quarter, whereas *56s.* ought to be the standard price. For the sake of humanity and the peace of the country the landed interests should be prepared to make some sacrifice; and if the right hon. Baronet opposite did not alter the Corn-laws, it would be impossible for him to carry on the Government. But it was said, that this question had been brought forward in the last Session of the late Parliament for party purposes; but, so far from that being the case, did not the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, himself move a committee on the subject two years and a half ago? It might have been better to begin legislation in reference to the Corn-laws on a higher duty than 8*s.*, and then to reduce it gradually; but the golden opportunity for such a course was now lost, and the people would demand as a right that which previously they would have received as a boon. Out of the 11,300,000 quarters of foreign corn which had been imported 3,900,000 paid only 1*s.* duty, and 2,800,000 a duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* the quarter. The average duty paid was 1*s.* 10*d.*, and, with such a fact before them, what grounds had the farmers for alarm? He had never contended, that an alteration of the Corn-laws would give to the country what was understood by the cry of "cheap bread." He was perfectly satisfied that it would not, but what it would give was regular supplies and the means of procuring bread to those who wanted it. It mattered little what was the amount of wages if they were insufficient to enable the labourer to obtain bread, and the landlords should bear in mind, that if they created paupers they would have to support them through the medium of the Poor-laws. He thought it unwise that foreign corn should not be admitted, until the home produce had reached famine price, and this was proved by the fact, that in England the amount of revenue produced from the importation of foreign corn did not exceed 14,900*l.* pounds in a year. The suffering people of this country were entitled to more consideration than they received; but he hoped the time was not far distant when their condition would be considered with a view to its amelioration. He trusted, that whoever might be in power would be attentive to the great interests of the country; but that, in particular, their eyes should not be closed to the sufferings of the working classes.

Mr. *Escott* said, that he would state as briefly and as distinctly as he could, the reasons which had induced him, as a solemn duty, to give his vote in favour of the amended Address. Before he stated these reasons, however, he would refer to some of the arguments which had fallen from a right hon. Member, who, as appeared to him, had cautiously avoided any allusion to the question the House was called upon to decide. He alluded particularly to the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, who had entered into a discussion of the corn trade, and the Corn-law averages, but had not stated one word of justification of himself and the Ministers of the Crown exercising the functions of a Ministry in defiance of both Houses of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the budget, which had been rejected both by Parliament and the country; and he stated some of the reasons why that budget was introduced. It did seem a most extraordinary circumstance, that at the close of the Session an Administration, which was admitted to have lost the confidence of Parliament, had introduced a budget which went, in the opinion of the House, and of the property, wealth, intelligence, and, he would add, the population of the country, to attack our ships, our colonies, our commerce, and our agriculture. But the right hon. Gentleman did state some of the reasons why that budget had been introduced; and one of those reasons was, hon. Members on his side of the House had been in the habit of coming to the Ministry and saying that something of the kind ought to be done; it was not the pressure from without, but the pressure from within. The hon. Member for Manchester was one of the individuals to whom the right hon. President of the Board of Trade had alluded. That hon. Member had stated that the price of cotton was down to 5*s.* 9*d.* and therefore it was necessary to reduce the price of corn; but the question was not between the conflicting interests o cotton and corn, nor yet between the conflicting interests, if conflicting they could be called, of agriculture and commerce, but whether Parliament ought to deliberate at all upon such a question while the Administration held office in defiance of Parliament, and therefore in defiance of the constitution. The hon. Member for Bath had stated his reasons for voting in favour of the original Address; but the hon. Member for Bath stood in a very different position from the Members of an Administration which had been condemned by Parliament. The hon. Member for Bath was a man of great ability, who had raised himself by the force of his talents to be the representative of a great city. His speech was an admirable example of independence of mind, exercised in defence of principles which, if attempted to be carried into execution, would meet that defeat which must necessarily attend all attempts to carry on a monarchial government upon democratical and revolutionary principles. The Member for Bath had told the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, that he was wrong, and that the people of England who were opposed to him were right. What was this but the exploded fallacy of "What do you mean by the people of England?" The hon. Member for Bath, however, admitted that the Whigs were against him, that the Tories were against him, and that the electors of the country, who had returned a Conservative majority to Parliament, were against him. What, were not these the very parties who constituted the people of England? How, then, could the people of England be considered favourable to the views which the hon. Member for Bath entertained? Some observations had been made on a subject which had caused him considerable pain—the subject of the New Poor-law. It was asserted that Members on his side of the House had made exciting speeches on that subject during the last election with the view of influencing the votes of electors. Now, if the hon. Member for Bath meant by that assertion that any one Member on the Opposition side of the House had to gain a single vote stated any opinion on the hustings which he was not prepared to maintain in that House, then he would agree that the epithets "base" and "sordid," which the hon. Member for Bath had used, were not misapplied to that individual. But he thought that before such an accusation was made against hon. Members on his side of the House, the hon. Member who made that accusation ought to have considered that other hon. Members were as much entitled to pronounce an opinion in favour of an amendment of the Poor-law as he was to pronounce one in favour of the unreformed Poor-law. It was wrong, therefore, in the hon. Member to call the agriculturist interest the starvers of the poor. The hon. Member for Bolton had alluded to the distress existing in various parts of the country. He had, however, dealt in no unfair insinuations against Members on that side of the House; but had admitted that they were ready to relieve the distress of the poor. But, he must say, that when the statement of that hon. Gentleman was followed up by another, to the effect that this distress was owing to the present system of Corn-laws, and when he knew that it was impossible, according to the forms of the House, to discuss the question of the Corn-laws during the present debate, whatever credit he might give the hon. Gentleman for bringing these cases forward, still, he repeated, he must say, that his doing so was useless so far as regarded the alleviation of that distress, until the House could meet the inquiry fairly, whether the Corn-laws were, or were not, the cause of that distress. The hon. Member for Stockport had made a speech, to which he (Mr. Escott) had listened with very different feelings, because that hon. Gentleman appeared to be actuated by a feeling of implacable dislike to the agricultural interest of England. The hon. Member appeared in that House, he would not say as the delegate, but having some connexion with an extraordinary meeting called a conference, or synod, or something of the kind, at Manchester; it was not a *Parliamentum indoctum*, but a *Parliamentum theologicum*—a meeting of the ministers of religion to argue the Corn-laws, and to prove by the authority of Scripture that the present system of Corn-laws was an instrument for oppressing and starving the poor. He did not object to ministers of religion meeting to discuss matters of a political nature; but were these the same men and the same party that denounced the ministers of the established Church for meddling with political questions? Were these the men who said it was the duty of the ministers of religion to mind their flocks and to confine themselves to their spiritual avocations? He knew not whether this were the case or not, but this he did know, that there were many excellent and good men among the Dissenters, and that there were many excellent and good men in the Church of England, who thought it their duty to take a part in political questions. They might be right, or they might be wrong; but they were not good men, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, who endeavoured to throw upon their political opponents the odium of the accusation of being starvers of the poor. Peace and charity were good things, wherever they came from, but cant and hypocrisy were bad things, whether they appeared clothed in lawn and fine linen, or whether they stood forth unattired and unadorned before the disgusted eyes of men. The question before the House was not the policy or impolicy of the Corn-laws, but whether Ministers had a right to come down to that House and recommend, as from her Majesty, measures on which there was a great difference of opinion in that House, after they had frankly admitted that the voice of the country decidedly condemned them. The question was one of great importance. What was the doctrine of the responsibility of Ministers? To whom were Ministers responsible, if not to the House of Commons. What had Ministers now done? They had put the Sovereign, in an adverse position to the people, and to the representatives of the people in Parliament. Ministers admitted that the people had sent to Parliament a majority against them; they admitted that their fate was sealed. Why, then, did they place their Sovereign in her present painful position? Why had they made her do that which had not been done by any Sovereign for the last 200 years? Why, had they compelled the House to come to a vote which they admitted to be extraordinary and unprecedented?—Because their conduct was extraordinary and unprecedented. It was indeed, a most extraordinary proceeding, but the question for the consideration of the House, was, whether or not the rights of the people should be abandoned—whether or not that House should succumb to the Ministers of the Crown? The question was, whether the voice of the people should be heard everywhere but in Parliament. He did not know how Ministers were emboldened to pursue the course they had adopted. It must have arisen from the extraordinary lenity and forbearance with which they had been treated by both Houses of Parliament during the last two years, and which he had often thought Parliament ought not to have exercised towards them. But, perhaps, after all, a violent opposition was best avoided — moderation was the best course—and at no period probably more so than at the late election; and of this he was more than ever convinced—that the course which had been followed during the last two years had put the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth in the position of leader of the constitutional party in this country, and soon, he might say, of the constitutional Government. If any hon. Gentleman attempted to defend the conduct of Ministers, he could do so on the ground selected by the hon. Member for Bath. That hon. Gentleman said, he disliked both parties; he disliked the measures of the Whigs, but he said that he was obliged to take them, because he disliked the Tories more. How could any hon. Member who had given his support to the Reform Bill defend the conduct of Ministers who held office in defiance of Parliament, and in defiance of the constituencies of this country? He thought the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies was of all men in England the man who would have avoided so unconstitutional a course. Though he did not concur in some of the opinions contained in the noble Lord's writings, he did agree with him as to what he had written respecting the predominance of Parliament. When he went further, and looked to the noble Lord's speeches in Parliament, he found the noble Lord a stanch defender of the privileges of Parliament in that House. But if he were to go still further, and were to be desirous of finding an example of an individual trampling on the rights both of Parliament and of the people, he would not consult the noble Lord's books or speeches, but he would consult the noble Lord's acts. He was very reluctant to allude in his presence to the right hon. Member for Tamworth, but he hoped that his right hon. Friend would excuse him, if he now stated why his right hon. Friend was the man chosen by the people to conduct their business in Parliament, and to be, in one word, the Prime Minister of this country. The difference between the noble Lord and the right hon. Baronet was this: that while both made the same profession of regard for constitutional principles, the right hon. Member for Tamworth showed his attachment to those principles by his acts rather than by his professions; while the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies made professions which he falsified, and promises which he never kept. He believed the main ground of the present popularity of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, was, that he had never promised impossibilities to the people. That was a popularity which would not wane from year to year, or from Parliament to Parliament, but which would increase in strength and would become greater in stature and would be more enduring in proportion as the people found themselves deceived by the empty professions of the opposite party. The people, like the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Roebuck), estimated the character of the two great leaders by their conduct, but they came to a very different conclusion to that at which the hon. Member for Bath had arrived. The people when they had the choice had preferred men who made no professions, and therefore had not deceived them, and rejected those who made promises and never kept them. The hon. Member for Bath had said, that all the people cared about, was, what had been called a cheap budget. Now, on that point he could speak from his own experience. He had seen the people of England laugh at the exhibition of "the big loaf and the little loaf," as an absurd attempt to deceive and cajole them. He hoped that he should not be considered as intruding unfairly on the attention of the House, while he related an incident which had occurred during the last election in the city which he had now the honour to represent. They had conducted the election quietly enough up to a certain point, when one of his friends came and said to him, "I am afraid that there will be a row after all. Our opponents have got some big loaves and some little loaves, and are parading them up and down the town to make the people against you." He followed up his statement by saying, "I understand also, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is coming down this evening to canvass the town against you." He had said to his friend, "I give as much credit to one of your statements as I do to the other. I do not believe, that the exhibition of the big loaves and the little loaves will get up any excitement against us, and I do not fancy that the influence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, now that his party are shorn of its power, will be of any injury to our party, even if it should be exercised against us." The result proved, that he was right in his anticipations. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was not able to impede his election, and his opponents, after an exhibition of five or six hours, withdrew their big loaves and their little loaves from public sight. So much were they ashamed of their exhibition, that one of their leading party subsequently said to him, "I am sorry that our friends have introduced any such subject of agitation;" on which he replied, "You took them away, because they did not produce the agitation which you expected." He hoped, that if at some future period they should have, as most probably they would have, a discussion on the Corn-laws, it would be conducted without that party feeling and acrimony which had distinguished so many of the speeches which had been made during the present debate on the other side of the House. It was most unjust, and he thought it was not necessary, to inflame the public mind by repeatedly making the statement, that the Corn-laws were the cause of the starvation of the poor, and that the landlords of England kept up their rents for their own private benefit, reckless of the misery which they inflicted on other members of the community. Commerce and agriculture must flourish or fall together. He believed that many of the evils, and much of the distress which existed in the country at the present moment, though not caused, had been greatly aggravated, by the course which Ministers had pursued, and he trusted under a different Administration those evils would soon be rectified.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the hon. and learned Gentleman who last spoke had commenced his speech with the intimation that he was about to enlighten the House as to what the real subject before them was, but he must confess, that, although he had listened with all possible attention to the hon. and learned Gentleman, he had derived but little information from what he had addressed to the House. Something of novelty, indeed, had undoubtedly characterised the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The House must have felt a little astonishment at learning, or hearing from the hon. and learned Gentleman, that they had no right, that they might not dare to discuss—that, according to the constitution, it was impossible for them to discuss—the question of the Corn-laws on the present occasion. Why, the appeal had been made precisely on this question—the feeling of the country, the sentiments of the country had, from one extremity to the other, re-echoed with the discussion on this question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite told the House, that they came there in a body, or at least bodily, to represent to the House and to the Sovereign the result of this; and yet, on the very first discussion in that House, when her Majesty, in her Speech from the Throne—in the speech of the Ministry, which her Majesty adopted, placed this question distinctly before them, they, for the first time, had had it stated to them as a parliamentary doctrine, that the House had no right to enter upon the discussion of the corn question. He must confess he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman had entirely failed in making out his point; he had, indeed, been utterly surprised at the view the hon. and learned Gentleman had taken; and he believed that, before the end of his speech, the hon. and learned Gentleman himself began to doubt as to his own theory, for, though he argued in the outset that the House could not now pretend to a right to discuss this question, the hon. and learned Gentleman himself could not avoid going into little anecdotes about his election experience, in election squibs of little loaves and big loaves. It had been argued that the simple question before the House was, whether the Government now in power had the confidence of the country, and he did not complain at all of the course which hon. Gentlemen opposite had taken on this occasion; he thought they had a perfect right, at the earliest opportunity, and he further thought it the duty of the Government to afford them the opportunity—he thought they had a perfect right, at the earliest opportunity, to bring the question of who were to govern this country to a practical conclusion. Whether or no it was expedient or proper to do this in the way which hon. Gentlemen opposite had determined on; whether or no it was advisable to follow out that system of entire silence with respect to all the great questions before the public—those great questions which he believed for the first time in Parliamentary history, had become identified with a large and important party in the state—was quite another question, on which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) entertained a strong opinion. He believed thoroughly, that the mysticism in which the right hon. Baronet, and hon. Gentlemen opposite, had chosen to involve the course of their future policy in reference to those great questions, was neither consistent with real wisdom, nor, ultimately, with good policy. He thought that the party who were candidates for power ought frankly and openly to lay before the country, the course which, in their opinion, ought to be pursued. But however this might be, whether or not it was proposed entirely to omit the entire consideration of these great questions — whether it was proposed to act the play of *Hamlet*, omitting the part of *Hamlet*, whatever course the hon. Gentlemen who moved and seconded, and had hitherto supported, the amendment, might approve of, he thought that the House, and that the country, must have been somewhat surprised when they found that when the Gentlemen who opened the debate brought forward these charges against the present Government, the leaders of the great party who backed them persevered in their system of entire silence, even on those very questions which they themselves had brought forward as charges elsewhere against the Government, and which they themselves had elsewhere selected as subjects for discussion. The hon. Gentleman opposite had laid three distinct counts against the Government, fairly admitting that he was bound to prove his case, that he was bound to show satisfactory grounds why the present Government was not entitled to the confidence of the country. The hon. Gentleman who moved the amendment, and moved it very ably, was followed by a noble Lord, who gave great promise of eminence in his future parliamentary career. But after these Gentlemen had announced their opinions, one would have expected that some of the great leaders of the hon. Gentlemen's party, some of those who had been accustomed to enter into these discussions, some of those who filled a great space in the public eye, in whom the Conservative party had great confidence—that some of those, at any rate, would have given the Ministry an opportunity of clearly understanding the grounds on which they were accused, and of bringing forward their defence as applied to those grounds. In the absence of charges from the leaders of the party he must take up the charges as they had been made by the hon. Gentleman who opened the debate. That hon. Gentleman stated, that the main ground on which he considered the Government had forfeited the confidence of the country, was in the professions of Earl Grey, which he sought to show they had entirely departed from. Now, in reference to these charges, so brought, he saw two Gentlemen opposite whom he should beg to put into the criminals' box in company with the present Ministry. The three principles of Earl Grey, to which the hon. Gentleman referred, were peace, reform, and economy. In the first place, as to the preservation of peace, the hon. Gentleman had frankly admitted that, in his consideration of the interruptions of peace which had taken place during the administration of the present Government, he entirely discarded the question of right or wrong; that whether the grounds of war were justifiable or no, was of no consequence with him. The first little war which the hon. Gentleman was pleased to select was that at Antwerp. He would beg to ask where were his noble and right hon. Friends opposite (Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham) on that occasion? Were those noble and right hon. Gentlemen prepared to submit to their share in the indictment, or were the other Ministers alone to be found guilty of that in which those Gentlemen had taken a full share? He, at that time a very humble individual in the Administration, had respectfully followed in the traces of those two great men, in supporting the war which had been thus anathematised. And where were the same two Gentlemen in the next war which occurred? If the present Government was to forfeit the confidence of the country by reason of these two wars, did the hon. mover of the amendment mean to say that he was prepared to transfer his confidence to two Gentlemen who had participated in those two wars? As to the pledge of Earl Grey's Government, first came the question of Reform. Upon this question the hon. Gentleman seemed to admit, that Government had redeemed its pledges, but he justified this admission by stating, that he believed they had carried out their pledges as to Parliamentary and Municipal Reform, merely because they thought these would conduce to the advancement of their parliamentary and municipal interest in the country; he expressed his conviction that they had been actuated by motives of the meanest description, and in no degree by any reference to the real interests of the country. Now, if a charge against the present Government was to be made upon these questions, the two Gentlemen opposite must certainly be included in it; for as to Parliamentary Reform, they were quite as much parties to it as any Gentleman on the Ministerial side of the House; and as to municipal reform, though it was quite true they were not in the Ministry at the time of the formation of the bill, in all the preliminary steps, in the address which was moved by the right hon. Gentleman opposite whom they now followed, the noble Lord and the right hon. Baronet were as much committed as any Gentleman on the Ministerial side of the House. [*Hear, hear.*] The noble Lord said "hear, hear," but were the Ministers to lose the confidence of the country, were they to be dismissed, were they to be charged with the meanest motives, and was the hon. mover of the amendment at the same moment sitting quietly at the side of the two Gentlemen who had thus taken their share in the proceedings so condemned, to invest these same Gentlemen with the confidence which he said, their former colleagues were not worthy of, because they also had participated in the measures which these two Gentlemen had taken a part in? He now came to the question of economy; and here he might be permitted to state some few facts and figures which he thought would bring the real state of things more clearly before the House than the extraordinary financial details which from different quarters had so amazed him. The noble Lord who seconded the amendment talked much about the reckless and profligate expenditure of the Government. These were mere phrases, which it was very easy to utter. Now he, on the other hand, had had some returns framed, with a view of as fairly as possible bringing some of these questions before the House; and he should first take the liberty of calling the attention of the House to some returns which he believed they had all received. The first referred to the public income and expenditure from 1832 to 1840. In that return he had taken the liberty of showing the whole of the expenditure in every item, so that this return would give the fullest and truest view of the matter. In the five years of Government preceding the year 1830 the average expenditure per annum was 54,999,000*l.*, including every item. The average expenditure of the Whig Government since the return of Lord Melbourne, in 1835, was 52,148,000*l.*; so that the average of the expenditure of five years of the present Government, as compared with five years of the Government of the right hon. Baronet was less by the annual sum of 2,450,000*l.* He was not making this comparison with the view of accusing the former Government of having spent more than was necessary for the purposes of the country; he was not charging them with reckless and profligate expenditure, but he made the comparison in defence of a Government which had been charged with reckless and profligate expenditure. He might perhaps be told, "Yes, this is all very well; but you know that the Duke of Wellington's Government only lasted three years, and you should compare your averages with these three years." He admitted quite readily that the right hon. Gentleman opposite had had it in his power, and had availed himself of the opportunity, to reduce the expenditure of the country considerably, and this admission he had frequently made, for it had not been his habit to charge the right hon. Baronet with reckless and profligate expenditure. Let him, then, make the comparison with reference to these three years; the average expenditure of the three years before 1830 was 53,462,000*l.* per annum; during the five years of Lord Melbourne's administration following 1835, the expenditure was 52,148,000*l.*, so that the saving, as compared with the three years referred to, was 1,313,000*l.* per annum. Again, he would compare the annual expenditure of the Duke of Wellington with the year just past, a year of very expensive character, in which innumerable expenses had to be met, arising out of the affairs of Canada, China, and the Levant, and even in this year, the average expenditure of the year 1840 was less than that of the three years of the Duke of Wellington by 18,000*l.* He would now turn to another subject which had been much touched upon in the House, and still more so on the hustings—the national debt. It should not, in fairness, be forgotten that the nation had had under the present Government thrown upon it the heavy additional burden of twenty millions, as the compensation to the West-India proprietors; he did not mean to refer to this as to a subject of regret, but he meant to say, that it was fair, when they came to make these comparisons, that they should make some allowance for the debt which had been thus thrown on the nation for a great, a humane, a noble object. Now how did the debt stand if it was taken in this way? In 1831, when the Whig Government came into office, the whole debt including every item, was 838,549,000*l.* On the 5th January, 1841, including all the previous items, and, in addition, the twenty millions of West-India compensation, there was no increase of the public debt; on the contrary, there was a decrease of one million. But, supposing, the West-India loan had not been contracted, suppose they had been left to the advantage of the comparison as it would otherwise have stood, how then would the account have appeared? In 1831 the debt was 838,549,000*l.*; in 1841, exclusive of the twenty millions, it was 815,957,000*l.*, making a reduction, had there been no twenty millions loan, of twenty-two millions in round numbers. Between 1835, and 1841, supposing there had been no twenty millions loan, there would have been a reduction of thirteen millions of debt, but this of course had been more than counteracted by the West-India loan. He now came to a point upon which he felt considerable interest; a statement had been circulated, that the rights and securities of the holders of money in the savings' banks, had been jeopardised by him. Now, the question of these banks had been the subject of discussion in the same way long before he ever came into office; but whatever might be thought of the application to these banks, in a political point of view, he thought both sides of the House would concur with him in stating that there was nothing to give the holders of money in these banks any occasion to fear for their securities. In point of fact, there were the same guarantees, the same Exchequer bills, the same Consolidated fund, the same good faith of Parliament applicable to these as to all other funds; and, if an idea to the contrary still prevailed, he was sure that the right hon. Member for Cambridge, if that right hon. Gentleman did him the honour to reply to him on this occasion, would corroborate him in the statement, that the securities of savings banks were not affected. If the House looked back to the course of financial history, they would find, that up to the appointment of the finance committee, the admitted policy of finance was this, that Parliament was bound to lay aside a sinking fund of five millions a year towards the reduction of the national debt. In 1827 the finance committee reported, that, in the first place, however this theory might have been kept up to blind the eye of the public, it was quite clear that this surplus had not been kept up; and that, in point of fact, in the year 1826, instead of a sinking fund of five millions being laid by, there was an actual deficit of 645,000*l.*, and in 1827 a deficit of 826,000*l.* The finance committee added, that though five millions was too large a sum to be kept up as a sinking fund, yet it recommended that an annual surplus of three millions should be kept up for the extinction of the national debt, a recommendation which had turned out to be almost as much a dead letter as the former. From 1830 to the present time, the policy of Lord Althorp had been pursued, and that policy was simply this: that the attempt by a heavy sinking fund to make an impression on the debt was not the best mode of relieving the people; that it was a much wiser course to levy taxes as low as possible; to leave only that surplus which was absolutely necessary for security, and, by increasing the productive powers of the country, to enable the country to bear its fixed duties better, and thus better to bear the burden of the debt than if it were nominally lessened. This was the policy of Lord Althorp, and if he was mistaken in describing it, the two gentlemen opposite, who were parties to that policy, could correct him. The natural result of this system, of course, was, that in any case of emergency requiring extraordinary outlay, the Government would be bound to call upon the country for additional means to meet the occasion. Instances of this kind occurred under a former Government in the case of the expedition to Portugal, and more lately in the case of Canada, China, and Syria; other expeditions were required which it would be impossible to provide for without additional means granted for the purpose. This was the policy which her Majesty's Ministers had followed, and he thought it a very good one. He would beg the House just to look at the practical results exhibited during the last ten years of this system of finance, and in doing so he would beg again to refer to the paper which he held in his hand, and which he thought a very useful one. He found that in 1831 the revenue was 51,000,000*l.* and odd. Since that period, under the administration of Lord Spencer and Lord Monteagle, up to the date of the alteration in the Post-office department, six millions of taxation had been taken off, and what had been the result? Why, that the revenue had increased in 1839 to 51,927,000*l.* In fact, although taxation had been taken off to the extent of six millions, the revenue instead of falling off had actually increased. Amongst other taxes which had been taken off was that upon paper; and upon this subject he recollected that a noble Lord, whom he saw opposite, was the very party who stood up, and called upon his noble Friend, Lord Monteagle, to take off this item of taxation. Then, with respect to the reduction on the stamp duties on newspapers. When this alteration was proposed, the objections raised against it was not upon the principle that taxation should not be taken off, but that it would be preferable to take off the duty on soap: and a discussion was raised as to the relative importance of "cheap soap" and "cheap knowledge." He now came to the question of the Post-office. He had always heard, and he now heard when this subject was mentioned, jeers from the other side of the House, as if this new Post-office system had already proved an entire failure, and was founded upon a fallacy. He might be allowed to say, that this was not the tone which was used when this measure was under discussion in this House. He recollected that the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, stated on that occasion, that he admitted the great benefit which would result from a reduction of this tax, that he would not attempt to underrate the importance of the advantages which might be expected from it; but the right hon. Baronet added, that, at the same time that this reduction was made, provision should be made by the addition of equivalent taxes, to meet the necessities of the state, and concluded by declaring, that if that was done he should be prepared to support the proposition. The question, therefore, was not as to the propriety of taking off taxes, but whether equivalent taxation should be imposed at the same moment, to make up any deficiency which might result from it. Lord Monteagle was opposed to this; he recommended that time should be allowed to try the experiment and ascertain what addition, if any, of taxation, would be required before they imposed any; and that this would be the business of a future session. Was there any pretence to say, that the promise and pledge of Lord Monteagle on this subject had not been fairly and completely taken upon themselves by the parties who had succeeded him in office? Had there been any backwardness or hesitation to impose the additional taxes which the case required? He must say, that he thought that the attacks which had been so often repeated by gentlemen on this subject showed that they were rather apt to forget the real state of the question; and in some instances their own votes in respect to it. He now came to say a few words in reference to that final measure which he had the honour of proposing to the House in the last Session of Parliament. Hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to be determined not to discuss this question just now. For his own part, indeed, he must say, that he felt no very strong inclination to go over again all the grounds which had been so often urged on this question; but this he would say, that if hon. Gentlemen opposite would not meet them on the subject now, the time would come when they must meet it. If all was mystery at present, the time would come when the veil of darkness would be drawn aside, and this threatening mountain bring forth its *ridiculus mus.* And he must say, he should be very much surprised if some of the future measures of the Government which would follow the present one, should not exhibit some little assimilation to those which her Majesty's Ministers had themselves endeavoured to carry. But although they were told, that here they had no right to discuss questions of this kind, that the question now was only one of confidence or no confidence, there were places to which this prohibition did not extend, and where the budget, though interdicted here, was discussed with warmth and interest. With respect to one of the points of this budget, he had seen a statement which he must say, had surprised him not a little. It was there said, that the proposed alteration in the Corn-laws would be of no value to the consumer, that it would prove a delusion in respect to revenue, and utterly useless to trade and commerce; and, in short, that it was something like madness in any one to make such a proposition. Now, if the party who made this declaration happened to have formerly been a member of a cabinet, which had brought forward a similar proposition—being himself a person who, from his position, had had very great experience in financial measures; more, if the person who made this declaration had himself been a party in bringing forward a similar financial delusion—a measure which would be of no advantage either to trade or to the revenue; if he was one who knowingly and wittingly assented to this delusion, when brought forward in this House by Lord Spencer—he must say, that they might talk of clinging to office, and shifting right about face, and so forth; but he was surprised that any statesman in this country could, under any circumstances, have permitted himself so to assist in proposing a measure of which he entertained such an opinion. But such a person having been a party at the time to the proposition of such a measure, having given his testimony to the estimate that it would yield so many hundreds of revenue to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and prove of great benefit to the trading interests,—if that person now turned round on him, and charged him with an offence for bringing forward the very same measure, he must say, that he did not think such a person's opinion in financial matters could be held entitled to very great weight. Having detained the House so long, he would say but a very few words, before he sat down, in reference to the great question of the Corn-laws. This was a question which ought not to be viewed simply and barely as one of financial interest. No doubt the importance of the subject, and the magnitude of its bearings were such, that it was impossible for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to look at any question of finance without the Corn-laws coming in as an ingredient in the matter, or to entertain any financial scheme, without first inquiring what was the state of the harvest, and what were the people's abilities for consumption. If they looked at the question in this light, therefore, it was certainly a question of revenue; but if they then turned to the other wide and important bearings of the subject, the question of revenue sunk into comparative insignificance. He should not, however, enter further upon the subject at present, for he apprehended that they would, before long, have ample opportunities of doing so. In expressing his dislike to the present Corn-laws, he was quite prepared to admit that there was no reason to charge those who had been the means of passing them with any intention to impose hardships upon any particular class of persons. Their great object was, to ensure something like a fixed and level price of corn; but from the experience of the last five years, it was but too evident that in that object they had been utterly disappointed; and they had learned at least this lesson from that experience—a lesson very difficult for men to learn—that the less they attempted to cocker up and interfere with matters of trade the better. He saw opposite to him a powerful party now on the threshold of office, and when they did come into power, he would entreat them to give their immediate consideration to this subject, with a view to arriving at some settlement of it which might be lasting and advantageous to the country. He would intreat the landed interests, if they saw that the question, however they might struggle to resist it, must inevitably be settled at last by some revision of duties, and some measure which, in reality if not in name, should establish a fixed duty—he would earnestly entreat them, if they foresaw this, to be wise in time, and whilst they were powerful, to exercise their power in a way to lead to an amicable adjustment of this great question. If they did not, they would be planting in the vitals of the country a rancorous wound; one of the most fatal, he feared, which had ever been inflicted upon it.

Mr. *Goulburn* said, it had not been his intention to offer any observations to the House on the question now before it, because the question really before the House was of so simple and plain a character—was so thoroughly understood by the country and the House, that it could require no additional development, and also from a feeling for the right hon. Gentlemen opposite, presuming that they participated in the anxiety which hon Members must feel, and which the President of the Board of Trade had expressed—that the decision on the fate of the Government should not be delayed. It was for these reasons that he had intended to confine himself to a silent vote on this occasion. But he was sure that the House would feel that the allusions which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down to the financial transactions of the country during the period of the last ten years, and after the part which he had borne in those transactions—that it would not be just to those who had not paid much attention to statements of this kind, not at once to state the reason why his views on these questions of finance were of a different character; and he thought he should fail greatly if he did not convince the House that the statements of the right hon. Gentleman could not be possibly justified by facts. He would then, pass at once to what was of a more financial character in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Goulburn) would merely allude in passing to what had fallen from him on the budget which was disposed of in the last Session of Parliament, and on which the right hon. Gentleman had made some passing observations; and the first remark which he should make was this, that though the prominent feature of that budget was an alteration of the sugar duties—although they had contested that point with the right hon. Gentleman—although that right hon. Gentleman had maintained that a reduction of the duty on sugar was necessary, and that the supply of sugar would in future be so limited, as to render it necessary to call in aid the produce of slave countries, and though this argument had been distinctly met on that (the Conservative) side of the House by contradictions, the right hon. Gentleman had carefully avoided saying one word on that part of his budget which was, in point of argument, the most pressed on him in point of principle the most important, and in point of revenue, the most obvious. Why had there been this silence on the present occasion? The fact was simply this, that every prediction which had been made on that (the Conservative) side of the House had been amply verified by the facts that had since occurred. The right hon. Gentleman knew as well as he (Mr. Goulburn) did, that the supplies of sugar from the East and West Indies had, during the three months which had elapsed since the discussion on this question, more than exceeded the imports during the corresponding period last year, and had exceeded the anticipations of the House; that the consumption of the country had risen to a point that, if during the remaining nine months of the financial year it went on in the same ratio as it had done since the 5th of last May, it would be equal to the greatest consumption of that commodity that had ever occurred. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, had alluded to the accounts of sugar from January to June last, and from the return of those six months which showed a deficiency of supply in that period, had attempted to support the argument which he had used on the last occasion. But, thinking that there was something rather suspicious in his not alluding to the subsequent returns, he (Mr. Goulburn) had availed himself of the information which it was in the power of the Members of that House to obtain, and he was now in a situation to declare that the consumption of the three months ending the 5th of August of the present year exceeded the consumption of the same period last year; and, if it proceeded during the remaining nine months at the rate at which it had gone on, and there was ground for believing it would, as the price was so much reduced, the consumption would be greater than in any former year. So much for the omission by the right hon. Gentleman of the prominent subject of the budget. But the right hon. Gentleman had next thought fit to touch on the subject of timber, and this with reference to observations made not in that House, but in another place; in that place, observations had been made, which the right hon. Gentleman said were erroneous, and he must express his surprise, that, having been made in the presence of the first financial officer of the Crown, in the hearing of the first Lord of the Treasury, that noble Lord did not check the error and prevent the misstatement going abroad. He knew the accuracy of the person from whom the sentiments adverted to by the right hon. Gentleman were supposed to have proceeded, and he knew the acuteness of that Lord of the Treasury before whom this statement had been made; and not having the statement on either side by him, he thought it was not too much to suppose, that—where one party was acknowledged to be able and cognizant of the facts no less than the other, the statement which it was now endeavoured to contradict in the absence of the party who made them, could not be contradicted in his presence. But as the right hon. Gentleman had broached this subject, he might be permitted to call the attention of the House to some circumstances connected with it, which might not perhaps appear to the House to afford a great ground of confidence in the financial ability of her Majesty's Government. Those Members of the House who were in the last Parliament might perhaps recollect, that the right hon. Gentleman brought forward an alteration in the timber duty with a view of providing 600,000*l.* to meet the services of the coming year. The measure was brought forward as a measure of finance—it was brought forward further to meet the services of the coming year. It did so happen that documents sometimes made their way to the public, otherwise than through communications from Members of her Majesty's Government; and he had happened to find that the Governor-general of Canada had thought proper to lay upon the Table of the House of Assembly in Canada the letter which he had addressed to the noble Lord containing his views with respect to the timber duties, and the substance of which he (Mr. Goulburn) would now read to the House. It was addressed by Lord Sydenham to Lord J. Russell, and was dated April last, and, he presumed, was in the noble Lord's possession at the time the original statement was made.

"Great alarm," said the noble Lord, "is naturally felt by those engaged in the timber trade in Canada at the prospect of any alteration in the duties levied on wood in the United Kingdom, which may affect the protection hitherto afforded to colonial timber and deals; but the question must, of course, be resolved by the Government and the Imperial Parliament, according to the view which they may take of the general interests of the empire. I conceive, however, that in any change which may be determined upon in these duties, if it be one which will disturb the proportions which the colonial and foreign timber trade bear to each other under existing laws, care will be taken to diminish as much as possible the loss to individuals by rendering the change gradual; as such a course is certainly the most just as well as the most politic. But, above all, I must express my hope that, in whatever alteration is adopted, the recommendation of the committee of 1835, of which I was chairman, will be adhered to, namely, that the change shall not affect the importations of the year, which would be an act of extreme hardship upon the colonial trade, inasmuch as it only can be carried on by engagements entered into many months before the time at which the goods can be actually shipped, and therefore all the shipments to be made this year have been entered upon on the faith of the present law, and cannot now be countermanded or stopped."

Were the Government ignorant of the fact, that timber imported from Canada was ordered a long time before it arrived? If they were, did their ignorance of so simple a fact form a ground of confidence in their commercial and financial policy; and if they were not ignorant, but aware of it, did it form a ground of confidence in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who came down to the House, regardless of the fact, to lay before it a proposition for increasing the duty upon the article of colonial timber, as a means for meeting the existing wants of the Exchequer? He now proceeded to the other part of the financial discussion of the right hon. Gentleman, in which he complained of statements that had been made at the recent elections regarding the financial conduct of the present Administration, and in which he thought, by a reference to papers, to convince the House that those statements were unfounded, and that the Administration of the present Government was less faulty than was generally supposed. Whose fault was it that such statements had been made? Not his (Mr. Goulburn's) or those with whom he acted, for he had taken special precaution, on the announcement of the intention to dissolve Parliament, to move for the production of papers in that House which would have shown the real state of the finances of the country, in order that there might be no difficulty or doubt upon the point in the mind of the several constituencies. When were those papers presented?—Only the day before yesterday! He had moved for those papers in order that the public at large might obtain from them a perfect and concise account of how the matter stood, rather than that they should be depending for their information on incidental debates in that House upon questions involving a multitude of figures, to which even the attention of the House itself could scarcely be expected. So far, then, as the ignorance of the electors was concerned, the fault did not lie with him or those with whom he acted. But he thought he could make it clear to the House, that the electors had not been much misled, and that the statements which the right hon. Gentleman had made were in many points altogether fallacious. The first to which the right hon. Gentleman referred was the comparative expenditure between antecedent Administrations and that of which he was a Member; and here the right hon. Gentleman said, and said truly, "take the average expenditure of five years, including the three years of the Duke of Wellington's Administration, and the average expenditure of the last five years, and you will find that the expenditure of those five years is less than that of the former." He had heard it said in the course of the present debate, and with respect to the Corn-laws, that averages were a dangerous and uncertain mode of calculation, and often resorted to for the purpose of leading into error. This was often as much the case in matters of finance. Now, the first of the five years, ending with the Duke of Wellington's Administration, was one of a very high rate of expenditure, while the last was very low, lower indeed than that of many antecedent years. During those five years, then, there was a continually decreasing expenditure; while the average of the other five years was taken from years of a continually increasing expenditure. In his opinion financial economy and reform, if properly conducted, meant, that avoiding sudden fluctuations, you should march in the course in which you ought to go, and that if you did put it on a footing which admitted of your gradually reducing the expenditure, the calculation of economy was to be made, not by the extent of expenditure in the first year previous to the commencement of reductions, but by the expense of that year in which the reductions had been brought to bear. The complaint against the Government, on his part at least, was not confined to the mere question of expenditure; he admitted that there might and had been cases in which some additional expenditure was necessarily incurred, but the complaint which he made against the Government, and upon which the right hon. Gentleman was silent, was this, that they had failed to keep their income on a footing with their expenditure. He cared not whether the expenditure were reduced or left the same—if they reduced their income, so that it would not bear the expenditure of the year, their course was one of extravagance which must lead to destruction. If from peculiar circumstances in the country it became necessary to increase their expenditure, and that they did not at the same time make their income keep pace with it, he contended that they were in like manner liable to the charge of extravagance. How stood the account? There was a continually increasing deficiency, beginning in the first year of the right hon. Gentlemen's Administration, of 650,000*l.*, continuing more or less in each succeeding year, and which would amount, according to the statement which he made when he produced his budget, on the 5th of April next, to nearly 2,500,000*l.*; and this in spite of his (Mr. Goulburn's) frequent remonstrances against such an objectionable course. He had uniformly stated that this course must necessarily lead to difficulties. He, therefore, felt that he had a right to say, that the fact of the Government not having provided for this increased expenditure was against them a fair matter of charge. But he now came to a statement which the right hon. Gentleman had made as to his mode of dealing with these matters, which he was sure must have struck every hon. Member as the most wonderful instance of financial sagacity on record. If the right hon. Gentleman was indeed able to effect this great achievement, for which he had given himself credit, so far from removing him from his station, he would strongly recommend that a man possessed of his transcendent powers should be invested by the House in perpetuity with the high office which he held. He said, that if they looked to the financial state of the country in 1830 and 1840, and excluded the amount of the West India loan, they would find that in this period of ten years her Majesty's present Advisers had reduced the debt by an amount of 13,000,000*l.* The right hon. Gentleman further stated, that if they took the debt in 1835, and compared that year with 1840, they would find that of that 13,000,000*l.* the sum of 7,000,000*l.* had been reduced within the latter period. He believed that this was the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. Now this was assuredly the most miraculous effort of genius which ever had been exhibited within that House or elsewhere. Katterfelto, or the Wizard of the North, could do nothing equal to it. To be sure, they could shut up an empty pot and produce a porker; but here was a necromancer who shut up an empty chest in the Exchequer and produced a round sum of 13,000,000*l.* In the ten years in which this wonderful payment of 13,000,000*l.* was assumed to have been made the surpluses happened to amount to no greater a sum than 7,400,000*l.* During the same period their deficiencies amounted to 4,000,000*l.*, leaving a clear surplus of 3,400,000*l.*, with which this mirror of Chancellors contrived to pay an amount of 13,000,000*l.* He would explain to the House how this was. At the time when he (Mr. Goulburn) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he brought into Parliament an act which gave power to the Commissioners for the National Debt to cancel portions of the permanent debt on granting to the parties surrendering them annuities for terms of years. The effect of this was to create a sinking fund. It diminished the amount of the capital of the debt, but increased the annual charge to which the country was subjected. Suppose that these annuities were granted originally for twelve years, they were worth twelve years' purchase at their commencement, and the right hon. Gentlemen valued these annuities at twelve years' purchase, and added that amount to the debt of the year 1830. At the end of ten years these annuities had two years to run, and were only worth two years' purchase instead of twelve; and what did the right hon. Gentleman do? Why he conveniently took the difference between the value of twelve years purchase and two, as a material deduction from the national burdens effected by himself. What would have been the fair course to have taken? To take credit for the capital of the debt reduced by the grant of annuities during his own tenure of office. By his present mode of calculation, the Gentleman who might happen to succeed him in office at any given period, hereafter would find the value of these annuities still less without any exertion on his part, exactly in proportion as his predecessors had been active or successful in exchanging permanent for terminable annuities; and he himself (Mr. Goulburn) might still make the same appeal, and point to the wonderful sagacity by which he had made a difference no less astounding in the amount of our national burdens. Would the right hon. Gentleman like to hear anything more on the subject of annuities? He thought he had probably heard quite enough. The right hon. Gentleman had next touched on the subject of savings-banks. He was glad that he had done so upon many accounts. He was glad of it, because he was as anxious as the right hon. Gentleman to disabuse the public mind of the supposition that the operation of the right hon. Gentleman was calculated to diminish the security of the contributors to those banks. Nothing could be more erroneous than a supposition of that kind, however objectionable in other respects he considered the arrangement. That arrangement was one of the fruits of that most objectionable principle of not keeping the income of the country at least equal to the expenditure, and in this difficulty the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, without the knowledge of Parliament, or applying for its sanction, contrived the means of raising money by addition to the permanent debt to the country. He admitted distinctly that the law as it stood conceded this power. But he as distinctly stated that it was not right for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to avail himself of that power. Under the act in question the savings-banks had the power of vesting the monies received by them in any security which they might think most eligible, and moreover, if they invested them in Exchequer-bills, of delivering them up to be cancelled, and requiring the Government to furnish them with new stock to be added to the principal of the funded debt of the country. This power was given with a view to meet the cases of Exchequer-bills which from time to time it became necessary to fund, but not to enable a Government to provide a temporary revenue without the knowledge of Parliament. Yet this was the course to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had resorted, and the money thus obtained from the savings-banks was applied to the current expenses of the year. As an equivalent for the Exchequer-bills cancelled the savings-banks obtained new stock, that was of necessity added to the funded debt of the country; and by the perpetual interchange of Exchequer-bills and stock there was no limit to the amount which a Government might pay in this manner. While he stated his strong objection to this course, by which money was raised to an indefinite amount, without first obtaining the sanction of Parliament, he was at the same time as anxious as the right hon. Gentleman to disabuse the public mind as to any apprehended loss or danger arising from the system. How could there be danger? The saving bank money was always invested in some government security, and whether that security was exchequer bill or 3 per cent. stock was matter of indifference. The right hon. Gentleman had next adverted to the recommendation of the finance committee as to the maintenance of a surplus revenue, and had attempted to show that the Duke of Wellington's Administration had not complied with that recommendation. Their recommendation was, that the endeavour of the Government should be uniformly to maintain at the end of each year, a surplus of 3,000,000*l.*, and to apply nothing to the redemption of the debt but the actual surplus of revenue over expenditure. This recommendation was founded on the fact that there were numerous accidental circumstances of varying seasons, prevalent distress, or embarrassment to trade, which affected our financial system, and made it absolutely necessary to maintain a surplus, out of which to provide against accidents. In the three years of the Duke of Wellington's Administration the actual surplus was 8,000,000*l.* for the three years. The deficiency during the last five years amounted not quite, but nearly, to the same sum. This circumstance sufficiently showed the contrast between the two systems; and the effect of the departure from the system of maintaining a permanent surplus was at length most strongly and sensibly felt. It was perfectly true, that in the year after he quitted office, the revenue did not come up to the amount he had certainly anticipated. He remembered when he made those great reductions in taxation, it was said by a near relative of the right hon. Gentleman, that he should be involved in a deficiency the next year; and he attempted to show by the calculations he then made, that such would not be the case, and that if the financial measures he proposed could be carried into effect, he relied on a surplus of between 1,600,000*l.* and 1,700,000*l.* Unfortunately, however, for the result of his calculations, Parliament was suddenly dissolved, and a portion of the scheme never was carried into effect. The Government was thrown out after the meeting of the new Parliament, and there were no means of continuing the arrangement he had made when he first propounded the scheme. But, notwithstanding all these circumstances, the attempt to gain a surplus was so far effective, that in the year succeeding there was a surplus of 700,000*l.*; and that surplus would have continually gone on increasing, but for the reductions of taxation which, for the reasons stated by the right hon. Gentleman, were then thought fit to be made. The system he objected to was not that the present Government had increased the expenditure, for that might have been necessary; but that, having increased the expenditure, they forbore to increase the means of meeting it—nay more, that every time they exceeded the expenditure they proceeded to repeal taxes till they had left a deficit which was altogether unparalleled. He did not think it necessary, at present, to go further into these discussions. If he had made himself intelligible to the House, he thought he had proved three points—in the first place, that the system of averages, upon which the right hon. Gentleman grounded his claim to the confidence of the House, was not one upon which, with justice, he could rely, because he had compared the averages of a continually decreasing expenditure with the averages of a continually increasing expenditure. In the second place, he thought he had proved that the pretence of the right hon. Gentleman to have reduced 13,000,000*l*. of debt, when he had only 3,400,000*l*. with which to pay it off, was altogether preposterous; and in the third place, that his plea with regard to the annuities, on which he seemed to rely so much, was altogether fallacious, inasmuch as it was one which, without any exertion on the part of a Financial Minister, must have taken effect in any country where terminable annuities formed part of the charge. If this was all the right hon. Gentleman could advance as a plea for confidence, if this was all he could at the last moment bring forward when her Majesty's Government were not on their trial, for that took place in the last Parliament, when the jury found them guilty—but when, after an appeal made by them to the higher court, the constituency of the country, who had also confirmed the verdict of guilty, they were, in fact, brought up to hear the judgment which Parliament was compelled to pass—if this was all on which they could rest their claims to approbation and confidence, he had no hesitation whatever as to the decision which the House would pronounce.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that on hearing the statements, arguments, and illustrations of the two right hon. Gentlemen who had just addressed the House, one would suppose that no country had been so admirably governed, that no country possessed such able financiers, and none was governed so economically as the British empire. So much virtue, so much patriotism, so much industry had been displayed in conducting public affairs, that one must imagine it wholly unnecessary to call in another doctor for the diseased state. After all, however it came out that the public accounts were kept in a most strange and extraordinary manner; there was something about them so confused, so inconsistent, and so unmethodical, that it appeared one right hon. Gentleman could prove there was a saving in five years of 2,450,000*l*., while his successor in the debate professed to show that not only was there no saving at all, but a positive loss to the country of upwards of 5,000,000*l*. during the same period. Meanwhile in what condition were the people? In a state of misery and want, and the House cheered because they bore their burdens with so much calmness and quiet endurance! The people were hungry, and the House cheered! He could not comprehend how it was, that, if the state accounts were kept in a manner which would entitle them to the approbation of men of business, such extraordinary results, inferences so utterly at variance with each other, could be drawn from them. He trusted the right hon. Baronet, who must soon have the management of these affairs, would turn his intelligent eye to this extraordinary anomaly, and that in a very short time they would see what they were to gain by his administration of the finances of the country. At present it was quite clear, from the statements which had been made, that the public accounts were entitled to no confidence whatever. In discussing the question before the House a vast number of subjects had been introduced to their consideration; but it was urged upon them again and again that this was a question purely of want of confidence in the Ministry. He could discuss that question with great calmness and forbearance; they had lost no confidence of his, for they never possessed it. They never had his confidence, consequently he should lose nothing by their going out of office. He had taken them, like his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bath, because he could not get better. He had supported them because better could not be found. Profoundly did he hope the right hon. Baronet opposite, would show that he was entitled to the support of the Radical party in the House; he doubted it, however. He feared that under the new Administration, very little difference would be manifested in the arrangement and conduct of public affairs.

> "'Tis pity such a difference should be
> "'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee."

Seriously, he felt convinced that until they were in possession of a House of Commons differently organized the people would not find the doctor they wanted. He did not recognize in that House the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom. The millions in the country who were imploring their aid and beseeching them to render them assistance had no representatives in that House. They were not represented there; but parties there were in the House who represented their own interests, and they appeared to have a very good idea of the best mode of effecting their own objects. In such a state of things, could it be expected that any just and proper remedy would be applied?

He believed there would be none; they would go on with palliatives and expedients, but a radical cure (and to be satisfactory the cure must be radical) must come at last. It was said in the Address, which he certainly liked better than the amendment, that we must increase the revenue; in his opinion they ought to reduce the expenditure. The expenditure of the country was extravagant to the degree of folly. It was preposterously extravagant in all the public departments, and in nearly the whole of the salaries conferred on public men. Considering the distress of the people, considering their privations, it was monstrous and inhuman, it was even disgusting, to lavish away the public money as was now the practice. The Crown itself was costly; and he was tempted to ask whether the Crown was maintained for the benefit of the public or for the benefit of a party? He was induced to ask this because it had been said the Ministers were kept in office, as the hon. Member for Winchester had stated, in defiance of the law and the constitution. The right hon. Gentleman also who had last spoken, had said, that the Ministry were condemned in the last Parliament; and that after an appeal to the country they were now there only to receive judgment. Were they then to condemn them without hearing the evidence? This was a new House of Commons; they were unconnected with the last; they had not heard the evidence on which their condemnation was founded. He did not speak as the advocate of the Ministry. He spoke as the advocate of the monarchy, and it appeared to him that the mode in which they were acting was destructive of monarchical principles. There were hon. Members who charged him, and those with whom he acted, with being anarchists and persons who wished to overthrow the constitution, He told those hon. Members that they were entirely deceived; they were wholly mistaken with respect to the views of the constitution entertained by the Radical party. Surely Gentlemen would give him credit for stating that which he believed to be true. He gave them credit for sincerity in their opinions; he did not question any gentleman's word or statement; he merely called on them to give him full credit for that assertion. He would say, that the constitutional Radical party in this country was as sincerely and consistently attached to the monarchy, as any Conservative in the House. It was attached, also, to the Church of England; it would see any institution sacrificed in preference to the Church of England. Their desire was precisely the same as that of Gentlemen opposite—to maintain the institutions of the country; but they adopted a different mode. Gentlemen opposite attempted to do so by the few ruling the many; while (the Radicals) would do it by the many ruling the few. Their object was to widen and strengthen the basis of existing institutions by consulting the wishes of the people; they desired to see those institutions surrounded by the sympathies, the affections, and the love of the people, and they deemed that to act in defiance of the people would be a course dangerous to the constitution. That was their principle; which party then was taking the right course? Look at what had passed on the present occasion. The Queen in the exercise of her undoubted prerogative had discharged the late Parliament, and he would have been glad if she had sent the Members then in that House to the people; but she sent them back to the constituencies existing under the Reform Bill. The elections had taken place, and the House was occupied as they saw it now; but were they to assume merely from the elections, without the House having come to a single vote, that Ministers had not the confidence of that House? [*Interruption.*] He knew it was unpleasant to hear those remarks, but he was desirous of discussing the question without giving offence to any person. The Queen had made a Speech from the Throne, and what was the answer of the House? They would not receive that Speech from the Ministers. Now, suppose the Radicals had adopted that course. Suppose they had occupied a few cross-benches in the House, and that by some lucky means they had commanded a majority, and had made such a proposal. What would have been the language adopted with respect to them? Why, that they were treating the Crown as nought, treating it with personal disrespect, acting in direct defiance of the wishes of the Sovereign, and thereby endangering the monarchy. Now, let him ask, what was the course pursued by the right hon. Baronet opposite, (Sir R. Peel), in 1834 and in 1835, when he met Parliament? The right hon. Baronet was called upon by the King to form an administration; he admitted that there was an overwhelming majority against him in the

House of Commons. [*No, no.*] The right hon. Baronet made that admission frankly and unhesitatingly; he acknowledged that Parliament, at the time when he was made Minister, had, to use his own expression, unbounded confidence in the Ministry which preceded his own. That was his expression, and what did the right hon. Baronet do? The right hon. Baronet advised the Crown to dissolve Parliament, and that in defiance of the very principle which Mr. Burke had proclaimed, as quoted by the right hon. Baronet to the House, that a more unconstitutional course could not be taken by any Minister than to dissolve Parliament in order to mould it to his own fashion and purposes. In 1835, then the right hon. Baronet dissolved the old, and called a new Parliament, and he knew before he met it that there was a majority against him. A division took place on the election of the Speaker, and the right hon. Baronet was beaten. But did the House, in answer to the Speech from the Throne, say, "We will not have the right hon. Baronet, we will not have the Ministers whom the Crown has chosen, we will not give these men a trial, or hear what their measures are?" The words which the right hon. Baronet used were these:

> "I did fear, if I had met the late Parliament, that I should have been obstructed in my course, and obstructed in a manner and at a season which might have precluded an appeal to the people; but it is unnecessary for me to assign reasons for this opinion. Was it not the constant boast, that the late Parliament had unbounded confidence in the late Government, and why should those who declare that they are ready to condemn me without a hearing be surprised at my appeal to a higher and fairer tribunal—the public sense of the people."

The right hon. Baronet did make that appeal, and the people had answered, "We have no confidence in him." The people returned a majority to the House against the principles of the right hon. Baronet; but did the House at once say, "We will not give you a hearing?" What was the consistent and appropriate language of the right hon. Baronet? After explaining what he intended to do, and making extremely fair offers, which he regretted the people had not got now—very liberal offers they were, but he was afraid the stock was worn out. The right hon. Baronet said—

> "With such prospects I feel it to be my first and paramount duty to hold the post which has been confided to me."

To hold that post, in defiance of the wishes of two Houses of Commons! He was condemning this course possibly to the inconvenience of his own party, for they would be in power at the end of seven years without any doubt. He was condemning it, because he thought it ought not to be followed by any Parliament; he thought it a dangerous course, connected with many evils, and injurious to the stability of the monarchy. The right hon. Baronet further said,

> "I will stand by this trust, which I did not ask, but which I could not decline. I call upon you not to condemn before you have heard, to receive at least, the measures I shall propose; to amend them if they are defective, to extend them if they fall short of your expectations, but at least to give me the opportunity of presenting them, that you yourselves may consider and dispose of them."

That was the precept but what was the example? That was the solicitation of the right hon. Baronet in 1835. The right hon. Baronet had the opportunity he asked for; his measures were submitted to the House they did not pass; so much the better! The right hon. Baronet continued in office for three months; but he said that the circumstances of that time presented a very striking contrast to what was now passing. Was it meet, was it prudent, that an immense body of Members should come into the House pledged to vote against the Ministry—pledged to vote against the wishes of the Crown? Was it holding out to the country that kind of monition—that kind of intimation which it was desirable to communicate to a large and thinking public like the English? He asked were they adopting a prudent course? They did not give Ministers an opportunity of bringing forward the measures they had intimated. There was now a new House of Parliament, one that had not heard the measures of Government propounded. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentleman seemed much amused, but he thought he could perceive that the laugh was not an agreeable one. There was a very unpleasant feeling lurking beneath the smiling face, and he did not believe that when the right hon. Baronet came to reflect more deeply upon what he had been induced to do by the eager expectants of place, he would be able to offer a very satisfactory justification of his conduct. He did not think the example was a good one, and he firmly believed it was pregnant with danger. He knew that if the party to which he had the honour of belonging had taken such a course, it would have been called most precipitate, most violent, and most unjustifiable. The difficulties of the present position of things were great, the errors committed by Ministers were numerous and enormous. He had been in the House, and had had an opportunity of witnessing their conduct, and he said they had lost a golden opportunity of serving their country. They would not listen to the advice of the Radical party. He had himself prescribed without a fee in 1837. He did not wait for a fee, but he considered he was fairly called into consultation when his constituents sent him to that House. All that he had prescribed was three small powders. The noble Lord rejected them. But he would ask them, how he liked the 360 bitter pills that he saw opposite. His remedy was simple and appropriate, but he feared the medicine which had been prescribed for the noble Lord, and which he thought he would be compelled to swallow, would very soon remove him from the seat which he then occupied. He wished the noble Lord with all his heart well out of his difficulty, and more especially as he was now one of the metropolitan demagogues. It appeared, however, that there was to be a change, that a new party was to come into power; and those who then occupied the Ministerial benches were to retire. If the right hon. Baronet did change sides, he should have no factious opposition from him. He would candidly, humble individual as he was, give his best consideration to every measure the right hon. Baronet should submit to the House; and if those measures were good, he would give them his cordial, warm, and hearty support. The right hon. Baronet had undoubted capacity; he was a man of vast abilities. He knew more of the right hon. Baronet's abilities than many other persons in the House, for he had taken a phrenological survey of his head. Yes; the right hon. Baronet commanded that intellectual power which was so essential in a Minister of a great country; and if he exercised his own judgment without control, free, entirely free, from the misrepresentations which might be addressed to him, and from insinuations which might be offered to him, he would render enormous benefit to his country. It was in the right hon. Baronet's power, and he hoped the right hon. Baronet would do it. But if he should fail—if he yielded to mischievous advisers—if the right hon. Baronet did not exercise his great abilities in the way that was expected, but endeavoured to go on in the old beaten track, then, without offering violent or vexatious opposition, he would endeavour, and would make every sacrifice in his power, to form one national party to oppose the right hon. Baronet, one whose views could be distinguished clearly, and which was faithfully devoted to the best interests of the people. And the right hon. Baronet could not condemn such a course, nor could any one who desired to see the interests of this great country advanced. But, considering the wars in which they had been engaged, and the enormous debt which those wars had entailed on the country, it was not magnanimous that they should hand down such a debt to their posterity—it was not fair—it was not patriotic. Forty or fifty years since the gentlemen of England declared, that unless they engaged in a continental war, the country would be invaded, their estates would be wrested from them, and their mansions left desolate. But the country had not been invaded—their mansions were entire—their estates were still in their possession. He envied them not their possessions, but they ought not to call upon the poor to pay for their having been protected. A debt, an enormous debt, as much, he believed, as 500,000,000*l.* or 600,000,000*l.* in the course of fifty or sixty years, was contracted in a depreciated currency, and now they called upon the country to pay that debt in gold. Was that just? Let the right hon. Baronet turn his mind to this subject, and let him recollect the effect of his bill of 1819. He did not blame him for that measure. The country was in a diseased and vicious state, and its finances were working on to ruin. Some measure was necessary, and, without it, it was impossible to see what would have been the consequence. The views of the right hon. Baronet were perfectly justified by the materials placed before him. But he (Mr. Wakley), seeing what the result had been—seeing that peace had been maintained, that the country, to a certain extent, had flourished, and that the landed proprietors were in possession of their estates, only asked those proprietors not to require the interests of the country to pay off the obligation which they themselves had contracted. But, suppose the right hon. Baronet came into office, who were to be his colleagues? He had been told that some of them were absolutely being advertised. He had heard it said since he entered the House that evening that the appointment of the hon. and learned Member for Exeter was announced as Attorney-General. He was sure that there could not be a better. But who were to be the colleagues of the right hon. Baronet? A great deal had been said respecting disunion on his side of the House, and all sorts of representations had been made with reference to the constitution of the present Ministry. Now, the right hon. Baronet had on his side two distinguished gentlemen who were Members of Lord Grey's cabinet, and also of Lord Althorp's, and he wished to know whether there was any agreement between the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, and the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, on the question of finance? And then, again, whether there was any agreement between the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, relative to the government of Ireland? He merely mentioned these things as a vague incidental hint, that it might be desirable to have an administration in which no division existed, because it was said that division constituted weakness, and was very injurious to the working of a Government; not indeed that he desired to have a Government particularly strong until the people were represented; because he had no security that a very strong Government would not propose bad measures as well as a weak one; and in the case of a strong Government those measures would be carried, whereas in the contrary case they would be unsuccessful. He had been induced to refer to that subject in consequence of what the right hon. Baronet had said on a former occasion with respect to the government of Ireland. Who could be insensible to what was now passing in the sister island? There was in that country a demand for the repeal of the Union. He was sorry such a demand had been made, for he thought that a separation of England from Ireland would be ruinous to both, and that an event more disastrous to both kingdoms could not happen. Was there any difficulty in governing Ireland as they would govern England? There were violent, factious, and turbulent spirits there, as elsewhere, but by a little soothing ointment, which a judicious doctor might apply, the irritation might be allayed, and the two countries might go on in harmony together. He mentioned these things before the right hon. Baronet proposed his new measures, not that he was anxious to hurry them on, but that he might reflect on them fully. Now, what had been the language of four distinguished statesmen, with respect to Ireland, when the Catholic Relief Bill was before the House? And having referred to that measure, he was anxious to ask the House whether justice had been done to Ireland, and whether she had not a right to expect it? Let them remember the price she paid for that measure. Let them remember that to obtain it 300,000 of her voters were disfranchised. But what was the language of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, the right hon. Baronet, and the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, at that time? On the second reading of the bill, the Duke of Wellington said,

> "There is no doubt, that if this measure is adopted, the Roman Catholics can have no separate interests as a separate sect, for I am sure that neither this nor the other House of Parliament will be disposed to look on anything relating to the Roman Catholics of Ireland with any other eye than that with which they regard what affects this country or Scotland."

Lord Lyndhurst said,

> "There will proceed from this measure the tranquillity of Ireland; harmony among all classes and orders of men, binding and knitting together men of both countries in the lasting bonds of friendship, and combining the affections of Ireland and Great Britain in support of the Government and of the Throne"

That language, he presumed, was used on the supposition that Ireland would enjoy equal privileges with England. The language of the right hon. Baronet opposite was—

> "This measure will restore equality of civil rights."

The right hon. Baronet nodded his head—but had it done so? Was the Municipal Bill of Ireland fashioned after the Municipal Bill of England? Had the people of Ireland the same privileges, Parliamentary or municipal, as the English people? Then, he would say, they had been defrauded. But he was sure that it had not been by the desire of the right hon. Baronet. They would soon discover by whom the people of Ireland had been so defrauded; he knew not by whom.

> "It is known to every one whom I address," (continued the right hon. Baronet) "that the laws affecting Roman Catholics in each branch of the empire are different, that the Irish Roman Catholics are most favoured, and the Roman Catholics of Scotland the least. I propose to place them all as to civil privileges on the same footing, the footing of equality."

Very well, the right hon. Baronet, Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington, disclaimed allowing any difference with regard to civil rights to arise or be founded on a religious difference. That was the declaration, the candid admission, which they made. With equal candour an opposite statement had been made, and he did not know how the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, was to work quietly in the harness with the new Ministry, provided that a proposition were made that the bill for giving equality of civil rights to Roman Catholics should be carried out to its fullest extent; and if that should not be done, then Ireland was justified in demanding repeal. What said the noble Lord in a subsequent debate in February, 1835, upon the Irish Municipal Bill?

> "But I will not pretend that I do not mix up with the question the consideration of the relative situation of Protestants and Catholics, for I have regard to this consideration, because the state of Ireland is shown to be such, that the bulk of the inhabitants are of the one religion, and the minority of another, that the higher classes are connected with the minority, and the lower with the majority."

That was a clear statement; and he hoped that in reminding the right hon. Baronet of what the noble Lord said on that occasion, the information would be useful to him in forming his administration. He mentioned the circumstance, because, or he should not have presumed to do so, the noble Lord had stated some time since, that he was quite prepared to take office with the right hon. Baronet; there must, therefore, have been some change in the opinions of one or the other, and he presumed by the change of seats, it must be with the noble Lord. He would now venture to trouble the House with a few words more in reference to some observations which fell from the hon. and learned Member for Bath, in the excellent speech which he made the other night. His hon. Friend with more consistency than discretion, had praised the Poor-law Amendment Act; he spoke of that act in terms which he had previously used in respect to it in that House; and with consistency and discretion, too, he would speak of it again as he had formerly spoken, considering it to be the most objectionable law upon the statute book of this realm. He believed that law to be more obnoxious to the kindly feelings of the people of this country than any law which had ever been enacted by the British Parliament. And he entreated the right hon. Baronet to take that odious law into his most serious and benevolent consideration. He entreated the right hon. Baronet to apply his mind vigorously to the Poor-law question. He for one was most anxious that there should be ample time allowed for doing so; the legislature ought not to be hurried when dealing with so great and important a measure. His hon. Friend the Member for Bath was a democrat, he loved democracy. He would ask him, then, to point out one clause or one line in that act which had a democratic tendency. On the contrary, it was based on tyranny. What did it do? It took from the rate-payers all control over their own affairs, and threw it into the hands of an irresponsible body at Somerset House—a body which was alien to the Poor of England, and which had not an opportunity of knowing what was the real condition of the poor of England—a body which had not the means of ascertaining whether the poor were deserving or not. He was of opinion that no Poor-law could be just or wise which did not admit of the administrators of the funds raised for the relief of the poor having an opportunity of distinguishing between merit and vice, between misfortune and profligacy. That was the view he had always taken upon this question, and the more he saw and knew of the working of the law, the more he heard from the middle classes on the subject of that law, the more was he satisfied that it was impossible for any man to retain power in the Government of this country, who would favour that law, or try to carry it out in all its odious provisions. It had broken up the parochial Government of the people. The poor, who were now reduced to a state of destitution, were transported from their parish to a distance of at least ten miles; for it was nothing less than transportation, seeing that they were carried away from every friend and connection, and from every local scene they held dear, and immured in a gaol for the remainder of their days. The Gentlemen of England should beware how they supported such a law. It was a delicate and dangerous subject. If they knew or could imagine what hungry and destitute men thought and felt while writhing under their sufferings, they would pause and ponder well before they allowed any law to exist which could possibly act as a stimulant to the wild passions of men to attempt resistance to its operation and effects. The man who should strive to maintain office, and to uphold such a law, would make an attempt in which he could not possibly succeed. Was it not a law utterly at variance with every practice and principle formerly in operation in reference to the poor of this country? The wealthy should remember that their wealth was derived in a great measure from the labour of the poor, and that they must consent to the payment of taxes for the support of the country and the safety of their persons and property. The maintenance of the poor was one of those taxes which they were called upon to pay, and was that a tax which should be handed out in a niggardly manner? Of all other taxes, was not this one which should be paid most readily, generously, and liberally? If they would act with justice on the subject of the Poor-law, they would gain more credit in the country than by any other act they could perform. He therefore entreated the right hon. Gentleman, since he must soon be in power, to take the Poor-law question into his most serious consideration, and to see what could be done in reference to a remodelling of the present law, if he could not altogether repeal it. The right hon. Baronet had spoken upon this subject on several occasions, and, he was happy to say, in such a manner as to give great satisfaction out of doors. But he should wish to know how his hon. Friend could concur in those clauses which interfered with local acts—how he could possibly support plural voting? Would he consent to allow one man to have six votes? It was well known that in one election in this metropolis one person put in 1,500 proxies, and another 700. The people could not endure such practices as these. They could not consent to have the power altogether taken out of their hands. As the law stood, the guardians could give no relief without the consent of the commissioners. It was a most monstrous measure, it was in its whole essence and spirit an inhuman, cruel, and odious enactment, and he would tell her Majesty's Ministers that it was that law which had proved their downfall. Had it not been for the Poor-law Amendment Act, they would at that moment have commanded a large majority in that House. He was sure that any administration which followed in their steps in this respect must share their fate, and deservedly so, for a more detestable, cruel, and unconstitutional law, never disgraced this country.

Debate again adjourned.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, August 27, 1841.

Minutes.] Bills. Read a first time:—Administration of Justice; County Courts; Bankrupt Laws Amendment; Bankruptcy, Insolvency, and Lunacy.—Read a second time:—Buildings Regulation; Drainage of Towns; Boroughs Improvement.

Petitions presented. By Lord Teynham, from Inhabitants of St. James's-street, Piccadilly, for the Redemption of Tolls on the Metropolitan Bridges.—By Lord Hatherton, from Crossby Garret, for Church Extension.—Corn-laws, from Galway, against Alteration of, from Darlaston, for Repeal of.

Answer to the Address.] The Earl of *Errol* read at the Table an answer to the Address of their Lordships, voted on Tuesday last, as follows:—

"It gives me satisfaction to find, that the House of Lords are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations to which I directed their attention in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and especially to the laws which regulate the trade in corn; and that, in deciding on the course which it may be advisable to pursue, it will be my earnest desire to consult the interests and promote the welfare of all classes of my subjects.

"Being always anxious of attending to the advice of Parliament, I will take into immediate consideration the other important matters contained in your Address."

To be entered on the journals.

Buildings Regulation.] The Marquess of *Normanby* moved the Order of the Day for the second reading of the three Bills —the Buildings Regulation Bill, the Boroughs Improvement Bill, and the Drainage of Towns Bill, he said, that in the present state of public affairs, he should, of course, not take upon himself to propose any measure on which there was likely to be a difference of opinion, but the bills he had mentioned had gone through their several stages last Session with general concurrence, although their progress was stopped by the dissolution. The principles had met with universal assent, and the details had been patiently examined by Committees up stairs. He was very desirous, therefore, that the bills should now be placed in the situation they had formerly attained, and that without needless delay. He would move, at once, the second reading of them.

With reference to the Boroughs Improvement Bill, an amendment had been introduced by a noble and learned Lord, as to the manner in which the law was to be administered in Birmingham, and that amendment he had taken care to retain, so that the measures were precisely in the same state now, as when, a few months ago, they passed the House of Lords.

The Earl of *Wicklow* asked, whether it had been ascertained, that the bills, or any of them, would not be resisted in another place?

The Marquess of *Normanby* added, that objection had been taken there to only one of the three bills, and that objection, he thought might be obviated.

Bills read a second time.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.] The *Lord Chancellor* wished to re-introduce a measure which had received the sanction of the House during the last Session, and which had for its object to facilitate the administration of justice, by improving the Court of Exchequer, and establishing new Judges of Equity. Another bill, of considerable importance, which had been stopped in its progress, was for the establishment of County Courts; and a third, which had been prepared, though not brought in, was to assign to those local jurisdictions all matters in Bankruptcy and Insolvency. A fourth bill was for the amendment of the laws relating to Bankrupts.

Lord *Brougham* admitted the value of the measures generally, and would not say more in the present stage than that he had brought himself, with difficulty, to consent to the appointment of one Vice-chancellor, but he could never consent to two Vice-chancellors.

Bills read a first time.

CORN-LAWS.] The Earl of *Clancarty* presented a petition from the county of Galway, signed by about 3,000 persons, in favour of the present Corn-laws, excepting as far as related to the taking of the averages. The noble Earl observed, that the petition had not been agreed to at a county meeting—one had been called, but it was so packed by the populace, that it was found impossible for the parties interested to give effect to their sentiments.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* remarked upon the statement of the noble Earl, that the meeting was so packed by the people, that the landlords and farmers could not have their own way. The people of Ireland were the eaters in Ireland, and the improvement wanting was, that the lower orders there, who now lived upon potatoes, should live upon corn, and they could not do so until the price was reduced. The price could not be reduced while the Corn-laws remained unaltered. Ireland was governed by an oligarchy more, perhaps, than any other country of the world; and it was this oligarchy that was interested in the maintenance of the Corn-laws, and in getting up petitions like the present.

Lord *Fitzgerald* observed, that the voice of the great majority of persons interested in the Corn-laws had been stifled at the meeting by means of packing. An oligarchy was the government of a few, but it was not the few in Ireland who were interested in the maintenance of the Corn-laws, but the many—the great body of the landlords and farmers of Ireland. It had been said, that great exaggerations had prevailed upon this question, but there was no exaggeration greater than to assert that the mass of landlords and tenants in Ireland formed an oligarchy.

Petition was laid upon the Table.

EMIGRATION.] Lord *Brougham* asked if there were any objection to produce copies of correspondence respecting the emigration of labourers from Ireland to the West Indies, and elsewhere? He had been informed, by persons of respectability, lately returned from the West Indies, that considerable abuse prevailed as to the carriage of free labourers from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, as well as other abuses respecting the emigration from Ireland to the same part of the world. How the fact might be, he did not pretend to state, but the correspondence, if produced, would show it. Of one thing he was quite sure—that the House ought to keep a jealous watch over this species of emigration, because it was so liable to abuse.

The Marquess of *Normanby* wished the noble and learned Lord to give notice of his motion, and in the mean time inquiries should be made.

Notice accordingly.

BOROUGH OF YARMOUTH.] The Earl of *Winchilsea* was anxious to have an opportunity of seeing the correspondence between Government and a gentleman of the name of Lacon, respecting some recent transactions in the borough of Yarmouth. The charge against the corporation was, that a certain number of constables, being voters, had been dismissed, in order that they might vote at the late election, and that on the following day they were re-appointed constables, and paid for their trouble. The borough seemed to have been put to a considerable expense, and the conduct of the magistrates, if the charge were true, had been most unconstitutional.

The Marquess of *Normanby* had not only no objection to the production of the correspondence, but was most desirous that it should be laid upon the Table. The noble Earl would find from it, that he was labouring under considerable misinformation. Mr. Lacon imagined that constables were disqualified as voters *ex officio*, but misapprehension seemed to have prevailed on the point. The men, as he was informed, without any bargain, had *bonâ fide* tendered their resignation, and no doubt had been afterwards reappointed. There had been, however, no understanding that they should be so reappointed, and having resigned, had received no salary. Therefore the borough of Yarmouth had not suffered at all in its funds.

The Earl of *Wicklow* observed, that the constables thought themselves disqualified, and if the magistrates were of the same opinion, and had discharged them merely for the purpose of the election, the culpability on their part was as great, although they had acted under misapprehension of the law. If so, they were unworthy of their situations, and he wished to know what was the belief of the magistrates on the point?

Earl *Fitzwilliam*: How can the noble Marquess tell us what was the belief of the magistrates?

The Earl of *Wicklow*: Because the noble Marquess said he had made inquiries.

The Marquess of *Normanby* repeated, that he had not the slightest objection to the production of the correspondence, and the magistrates would thus be enabled to speak for themselves.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, August 27, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bill. Read a second time:—Navy Pay.

Petitions presented. By Mr. F. French, from Roscommon, by Mr. Easthope, from Leicester, and other places, and by Mr. M. Phillips, from the Conference at Manchester, for an Alteration in, or Repeal of the Corn-laws; from Wexford, for Remuneration to Medical Witnesses.

Elections Petitions, Complaining of, for Harwich, Wigan, Rutland, and Waterford City.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE SPEECH—ADJOURNED DEBATE, FOURTH NIGHT.] On the Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate,

Mr. *R. Milnes* addressed the House. The hon. Member believed the prolongation of the debate could not be satisfactory either to the House or the country. It could not be satisfactory to hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves to make statements, which because they were not answered, could not be supposed to be irrefragable. Gentlemen opposite would wish the question to be considered as one of principle on their side, and as one of party on the other. and this was nothing more or less than to place the subject in a false light before the country. Gentlemen knew this question was not, abstractedly considered, the question of the Corn-laws. The men, as well as the measures, were the subject of decision, and could not be separated. Person and party were involved in the question, and the hon. mover of the Address put the question in a form which he knew they could not grapple with. Yes, the question was put forward in a manner with which they could not grapple, because they knew it only ought to be grappled with by men who occupied a legitimate and distinct position in the country. They knew that the principal accusation against the Government was, that they brought forward those measures impertinently and injudiciously, as they must have been aware that a satisfactory decision could not have been arrived at; and when they heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer stating that the question, regarded as one of revenue, shrunk into nothing before the moral and political questions involved, they heard it admitted as strongly as they could that it was only nominally a financial question, for that in reality it concealed other and higher considerations. He was unwilling to prolong a debate which ought for all practical and reasonable purposes to be shortened as much as possible, and which should be left to the leaders of the great parties in this country. The country had seen by the history of the present Government, that a Government resting upon every-day popularity could not deserve the enduring confidence of the people. Such a Government was obliged by its very existence to affect a confidence in itself beyond the limits of record, to make matters essential, which it knew to be only subsidiary, and to make promises and offer expectations, which it knew could not be performed and realized. The hon. Member for Bath had said the other night that it was an amiable weakness on the part of the Government, that they had expressed a desire to pass measures which they had not the power of carrying. He thought that in politics, as in daily life, it was the business of reasonable men to desire only that which was attainable; and this appeared to him to be one distinction between the Government which was about to be formed and the present one, that the former would try to effect only that which it believed to be practically and immediately within their grasp. The appeal which had been made to the country was of two kinds; it was an appeal as to measures, and an appeal as to men. The country had decided as to the value of measures and the choice of men. And therefore, a Government situated like her Majesty's Government should feel every day's detention of office a burthen upon their backs. They were not in the position in which the Government of a free country ought to be, and they should rejoice in the hope of being liberated from office. He wished, for the sake of the historical reputation of this country, that her Majesty's Government had retired earlier from office; that they had not waited for a process of legal rejection. The few words which he had uttered would, he trusted, recal to hon. Gentlemen the real gist of the question before the House and show that the question before them was upon whom devolved the responsibility of governing the country.

Mr. *Rennie* said, he had not intended to offer any observations for the consideration of the House, had it not been for the great change that had taken place in the manner of treating the present debate by hon. Members opposite. The hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire brought forward his amendment; he told the House that the real question was one of confidence or no confidence; but, although every speaker up to the middle of last night concurred in those sentiments, he had heard a great change in the sentiments of those who had since addressed the House. This was to him a matter of surprise, considering that the resolution taken by the mover of the amendment to the Address had not been taken at the spur of the moment, but had been the result of a meeting that had taken place at the House of the right hon. Baronet opposite. The hon. Member who had just sat down had explained the real secret why hon. Members on that side of the House had not spoken; he had stated that they could not grapple with the statements of the hon. Member for Manchester. He wished to say one word on the subject of the Corn-laws, which had not as yet been alluded to. He hoped that there were some hon. Members connected with agricultural districts present, because he was anxious to call their attention to the important modes in which agricultural operations were carried on in the southern counties of Scotland, in Roxburghshire and the three Lothians. It appeared to him that the landowners had not brought to their aid the improvements which machinery had rendered available, as the manufacturers had done. By that means all the manufacturers had been enabled to carry on a competition with the manufacturers of the continent, and if a similar practice had prevailed among the agriculturists they would have had less objection to the ports being thrown open to the importation of foreign corn. The improved rents which were obtained in Scotland and the north of England were a proof that it was to enlightened agricultural improvements they owed their superiority over the English farmers. The country now found itself in a position of very great difficulty. Neither side had yet denied the great distress that existed amongst the millions of manufacturers of this country. They had called those millions into existence, and those millions must be fed. He never yet heard of any wish on the part of those who represented the manufacturers that that interest should be propped up at the expense of the landed interest. All they asked was equal justice—that they might be allowed to exchange their commodities for the commodities of other countries; and he thought that the landed proprietors, if they understood their true interest, would before this question was pushed too far, concede what was now so reasonably demanded of them. He would only repeat in conclusion, that the time was come when something should be done to satisfy the minds of the people of this country. He believed the people of England were essentially Conservative, but not so in the sense of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They had changed their name, but he did not think they were entitled to be called Conservatives. The only politicians who had not changed their name were the Whigs. He trusted that when the right hon. Baronet came into power he would not allow the Session to pass without proposing measures for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people.

Mr. *Wallace* thought, it was the duty of the House to discuss, at the earliest opportunity, the great questions referred to in the Speech from the Throne. He knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite claimed to themselves the right to represent the feelings of the people of England, but for his part he felt persuaded that no claim could be more unfounded. He believed in despite of the late elections that the people throughout the country were thoroughly favourable to Reform, and he was sure that if attention had been paid to what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Rochdale (Mr. S. Crawford), namely, the improvement and the perfection of the Reform Bill, the phalanx opposite could not count the numbers which they now arranged in hostility to the Government. If her Majesty's Government had carried out the principles which they had promulgated in bringing forward the Reform Bill, no such majority would be seated opposite that day. Above all, if the Ballot had been passed, the dominion of Conservatism would have been at an end. ["*Hear, hear,*"] They had only to observe how unpalateable the mention of such subjects had ever been to the party opposite. ["*Ironical cheers from the Opposition.*"] He was glad to hear those cheers, for he had never been cheered by the hon. Gentlemen opposite but when he had said something that was just and true. He would repeat, that all that was necessary for the triumph of the popular party was the extension of popular rights. He was chairman of three political unions, and he declared most sincerely he believed he was then discharging his duty to his country; and he would say of the people of his part of the country, that he would do all in his power to persusde them to agitation, for the purpose of getting an extension of the franchise, of obtaining the vote by ballot, and of inducing her Majesty's Ministers to review their conduct, and to render the Reform Bill what it was intended it should be. It was perfectly well known, that a great and deeply lamented Statesman, the late Lord Durham, had said, that a certain individual, whose name he did not mention, but who was believed to have been one of the Ministers who seceded, and was now a leading Member on the Opposition benches, the Member for Dorchester, was one of the principal opponents of its being more largely extended. Then let them look at the distress of the country, a distress, he solemnly believed, greatly aggravated by the Currency Bill of 1819, which was brought forward by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, and which he could not designate otherwise than as one of the most reckless, and at the same time, one of the most gross pieces of political ignorance ever inflicted on the country. The landed interest ought to pay a greater portion of the national debt than any other class of the community. That debt had not been incurred to grant protection to the thews and sinews of the labouring men; still less did Peel's Bill give them protection, and the Corn-laws had been inflicted on the country as a matter of traffic between the landed interest and the Government of the day, to save the landed interest as much as possible from the effects of Peel's Bill. He held in his hand a pamphlet which had been written fourteen years ago by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester. That pamphlet had been presented to him (Mr. Wallace) by the right hon. Gentleman himself, at the time that he was carrying on a correspondence with that right hon. Gentleman relating to political matters as well as to the currency. He had read that pamphlet again within the course of the last few days, and agreed cordially with every sentiment it contained. He had seen no reason to change his opinions on the subject, and he considered that pamphlet contained more truth, more information, and was more generally useful, than any book that had been published on the subject. Why the right hon. Gentleman should have changed his opinion he would not then stop to inquire. He verily believed, that the greater part of the distress of the country was to be attributed to the Corn-laws. He had always been decidedly in favour of the immediate abolition of those laws, and as long as he had a seat in that House he would demand a total and immediate abolition of the Corn-laws. But in public matters he would always be content to take a part when he could not get all, and not follow the example of some hon. Gentlemen who refused roast beef because they could not get bread and cheese as well. He, however, considered that a duty of 8s. was far too much, and more than the working class could afford. And now, with respect to the Corn-law. He solemnly believed, that the great proportion of the distress existing in this country was attributable to that law. He believed, that the want of employment for operatives, of a return for capital, and of commercial enterprise by the distress of the Bank of England, all the evils of the currency, and the innumerable bankruptcies, which had gone on increasing from year to year, and now increase more rapidly than ever, were attributable to that cause. Since the year 1837 there had been one continued course of bankruptcy throughout the country, and it was entirely owing to the Corn-laws. The Bank of England had not sufficient capital to send abroad gold to buy corn. That Bank was, in fact, a joint-stock bank, and it ought to be called by that name. He had reason to believe, that twice since 1837 the Bank had been on the point of suspending its payments, and it was difficult to say what might yet occur. He hoped they would have fine weather for the harvest, and that the crops would be abundant. But if it should be otherwise—if it should happen that they had to send out gold to buy 3,000,000 quarters of foreign corn in the present distressed state of the commercial and manufacturing interests—he believed the consequences would be, that the Bank must suspend its payments, and he must add, that he was by no means sure, that a suspension of payments by the Bank of England would not be for the good of the country. There was one other point which he wished to mention. He wished to declare himself, in the language of the hon. Member for Stockport, an out-and-out free-trader. His own interests were vested chiefly in the land, but the constituency which he represented were too liberal, and too well-informed, to suppose that they sent him there to secure his own interest, and to neglect theirs. He would conclude by stating, that he would give, with the greatest satisfaction, his support to the Address. He would add, that if any hon. Members in that House, or parties without the House, would join him in an Address to the Crown, he would endeavour to frame such an Address, and put his name to it, and it would be to the effect, that her Majesty should refuse to sanction any new Ministry whatever until she could guarantee to the country that they would explicitly state the means by which they would do better than their predecessors.

Mr. *Hindley* had given way to the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool last night, because he had expected that noble Lord to break through the prudent taciturnity which had been hitherto preserved on the opposite side of the House, and because he was anxious to hear what would be said on such a question as the present by the representative of that great constituency which had formerly been represented by that enlightened opponent of monopoly, Mr. Huskisson. He had been disappointed; but from what he knew of that constituency he was sure that it had not decided in favour of monopoly against free trade. What private arrangements the noble Lord might have made with his constituents—what pledges he might have given to the merchants of Liverpool, he could not tell; but the presence of the noble Lord in that House was to him a conclusive proof that the hon. Gentlemen opposite had not been universally returned as the advocates of monopoly. He rose to bear his testimony to the statements of the hon. Mover of the Address as to the distress of the operatives; but they had been told that the question was as to the existence of an Administration, and he was truly sorry to find that when thousands and hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens were suffering the deepest distress so little was thought of their calamities, and that the attention of that House was mainly directed to the question who should direct the Government of this great country. The majority would of course use its power; it would not permit them to discuss the great questions that had been submitted to the House, and they must abide by the decision of that tyrant majority. When the hon. Gentlemen opposite had got into power he trusted that they would produce such measures as would alleviate the present distress. There were hundreds in his neighbourhood who, when they rose in the morning, knew not how to get their daily bread; and this was owing to the Corn-laws. It had been said that it was owing to over-production; that it was owing to the manufacturers' want of common sense; but anything more unjust than that charge could not be conceived. He recollected that on one occasion of great distress Lord Liverpool had said, "Oh! they must be content to endure it, as it is only the result of an over-abundant harvest;" so that at one time they arraigned the gracious bounty of Providence, and at another time they accused the industry of their merchants and manufacturers. That doctrine of over production was utter nonsense. Had they produced too many coats and hats? He wished he had had with him a letter which he had received from an intelligent operative weaver, who stated that, though he was steady, industrious, and frugal, it was eleven years since he had been able to purchase a new coat. And upon his mentioning that fact to another operative, with whom he sometimes had communication, he was told that that man also had never been able to buy a new coat for fifteen years. To say to the humble mechanic, who had constructed articles which conduced to the comfort of life, that he was not to be at liberty to exchange those articles for food seemed to him the most monstrous injustice. But he would not now enter upon those questions. He should have been better satisfied if the amendment had contained some distinct pledge that another opportunity of considering them fully would be given. The noble Lord who had spoken on the other side seemed to say that that was the case, and he had thought that the amendment contained some such declaration; but upon referring to it, it became clear that it was the production of that master-hand, which, to use the expression of the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, knew so well how to dress up a statement for that House, for whilst it contained something like an intimation that those measures would be taken into consideration, yet, upon a careful perusal, it would be seen that the House was by no means pledged to take that course. They had a right, he thought, to ask whether it was the intention of hon. Gentlemen opposite to give them an opportunity of arguing this question throughout, or whether they would shrink from such a discussion. He trusted that before they entered upon the question of continuing the Poor-law Amendment Act they would come to a distinct understanding as to the laws of food; for after preventing the people from earning a livelihood they could never have the cruelty to imprison them, and treat their poverty as a crime. He admitted that these commercial measure were brought forward under unfavourable circumstances; they ought to be the limbs of an Administration, but they were used rather as the crutches on which a falling Administration attempted to lean. Numerous charges had at different times been brought against the Ministers; but had they ever heard of a vote of want of confidence until the Government had expressed its intention of dealing with the Corn-laws? These things made him apprehensive that the opposite party did not mean to cede to justice what perhaps might be extorted from their fears. He was alarmed also at the declaration of a noble Duke, who had threatened the right hon. Baronet if he touched the Corn-laws that he should be turned out as easily as he had been turned in. The right hon. Baronet, if left to his own sound sense, might perhaps produce some measure that would be satisfactory to him; but the landed interest had assumed the monopoly of power, and therefore they could hold the monopoly of food. He was rejoiced at the notice of motion which had been given by the hon. Member for Rochdale that evening; he was glad that they were going to take the bull by the horns. They had been taunted with the cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" but that House had never given them the Bill as it was originally introduced; if they had the consequences would have been very different. He would ask the noble Lord now, whether he meant to abide by his finality pledge? Let them not charge the Chartists with bringing these questions before the country; they themselves had raised the question of suffrage. By their constant denial of justice they had caused the people to look to the causes by which they were prevented from obtaining that justice which they had a right to expect. In that demand he would stand by the people, not for the sake of any fancied theory of his own, but because he saw that to secure the welfare of the country it was necessary to hold to that faith. He would not further trouble the House; but he felt so much anxiety in these questions that he could not avoid trespassing on its attention for a few minutes.

Mr. *Wigney* said, the whole questions before the House were those which appeared so prominently in the Speech so graciously sent down from the Throne; and he thought it did not become the honour and dignity of the House, merely to say that they would come to a vote of want of confidence in Ministers, before they would direct their attention to the many propositions in the Speech. He thought the great questions referred to in the Speech required mature consideration, and however he might approve of those sentiments, he was not prepared at once to come to a decision upon them. In his opinion, proper time should be given to discuss these measures, and unless they were so discussed, the time of the House might have been much more usefully occupied than it had been by that debate? The question was, how soon the right hon. Gentlemen opposite would walk over the floor of the House. There was no disguising that question, and much as he might wish to avoid it, the change was inevitable; and therefore the sooner it was completed, the better for the House and the country. He thought when that change took place, much as Gentlemen opposite had opposed many good measures, they would find they must adopt similar ones, and if they did so, he would give them his support.

Mr. *Hawes* could not concur in the observations of the hon. Member for Brighton. He was surprised that any Gentleman sitting on that side of the House, should deprecate the debating the important questions which had been alluded to in the Speech from the Throne. The hon. Gentleman must be the representative of a very strange constituency, when he stated, that the only subject for consideration was, the transfer of political power from Ministers on this side, to those on the opposite benches. He was astonished that any hon. Gentleman professing liberal opinions, should be ignorant of the anxious state of the public mind on the great topics before the House. If the only question was, what men should rule the country, it was immaterial to him whether the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, or the right hon. Baronet was in office; but the present debate involved the consideration of the most important measures, and the adoption of the greatest practical improvement in the commercial policy of the country, The speech last night of the right hon. Gentleman opposite excited his astonishment, as he, in the most confident tone, put forward statements respecting the finances of the country of such an extraordinary character, that if no one took them up, and exposed their fallacy, they might produce much misapprehension throughout the country. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for the University of Cambridge was most anxious to invest the Chancellor of the Exchequer with all the attributes of a Katterfelto and the Wizard of the North. He, however, would take care that the mantle of the wizard was worn by the right person. A charge had been brought against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and chiefly in the other House, that, for the last ten years, 1,000,000*l.* annually had been added to the debt of the country, and that, during that time, the successive Chancellors of the Exchequer had taken no steps to meet the deficiencies, which charge the right hon. Gentleman, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly and implicitly denied, and referred to documents to show the groundlessness of the statement. The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge did not dispute the facts or the figures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but certainly with great skill and ability, threw very considerable mystification over the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and did so in a way to lead, in the result, to the inference that the gross funded debt of the country had not been reduced. Now, how stood the facts of the case? In order to make a fair comparison between the state of the debt in 1831 and 1841, the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to a paper which had been laid before the House; with the view of ascertaining the amount of the gross debt in 1831, he took the amount of the funded debt from the annual finance accounts of that year, to which he added the additional value of the annuities which had been given in place of stock. He pursued the same course in estimating the amount of the debt in 1841. By this means he found the actual gross amount of the funded debt in 1831 was 838,549,000*l.*, and in

1841 the amount was 815,957,000*l.* Now in this latter estimate, the West-Indian loan had been left out of the calculation. This loan, which was assented to by all parties for the sake of humanity, could not be made the groundwork of a charge against the present Government. He had never assented to that loan, but all other parties had taken glory to themselves for having made such a sacrifice for the abolition of slavery, and he perfectly recollected that the right hon. Gentleman himself was amongst the supporters of it. Striking, therefore, out of the estimate the amount of the West-Indian loan, and taking the amounts of the gross funded debt in 1831 and 1841, the result showed in the latter year—less the West-Indian loan—a reduction of the debt of not less than 22,592,000*l.* The right hon. Gentleman, in answer to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that he had forgotten to take into his consideration the difference which had arisen from giving terminable in the place of permanent annuities. The right hon. Gentleman, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in a measure to enable the commissioners of the debt to grant annuities on the transfer of stock; but was the additional charge met that would arise from this transfer? For it was obviously impossible to convert permanent into terminable annuities, without a charge for the period of the duration of the latter. This had been made by every Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, for this was the mode in which they applied their surplus revenue in way of sinking fund, and the result was, that reduction had been effected to the amount of 22,500,000*l.* For instance, suppose there was a permanent annuity of 100*l.* a-year, which was to be transferred into a limitable one, the amount would be, for instance, 110*l.* Now this 10*l.* a-year, in addition, went in extinction of the debt, so it was with the additional charge for that portion of the debt where there was terminable annuities. This was the conclusion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and which indeed was perfectly incontestible. He, therefore, thought that it was almost unfair of the right hon. Gentleman when he could point out no fallacy or decry any fact in the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To say the least of it, it was a very bold proceeding to deal thus with a matter of finance, which he believed had seldom been equalled in that House. The right hon. Gentleman should have used a little more caution before he compared the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Wizard of the North, and designated him as the existing Katterfelto for having made a clear statement of figures. If the imputation were intended for nothing, it was better not to have applied the charge of legerdemain to a political opponent on such groundless foundation. The right hon. Gentleman also took great credit to himself for the present state of the sugar market, as a proof of the justness of the view that he had adopted when the subject was last before Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman said, that if they took the consumption of sugar for the three months from the 5th of May, 1840, and this was compared with the consumption for the three months ending the 5th of May, 1841, there was a great increase in the consumption of sugar. If the rate of consumption for the latter period was to be taken as the probable rate for the whole year, the increase of consumption would be so great that it might be asserted that as much sugar would be consumed in this as in any former year. The right hon. Gentleman stated, that in 1825 the discussions in that House, in the then partial alterations that were made in the sugar duties, led to great inconvenience in the trade; when they came to a temporary settlement of the matter in the next year the markets became more buoyant, and the trade revived; and so it would be in the present instance, and referred to the increased consumption for the three months that he had taken. Now the right hon. Gentleman should recollect that the period of the year that he had taken, was not that from which anything like a probable amount of the consumption of the year should be estimated. The three months from May constituted the fruit season, when the consumption of sugar was considerably larger than at any other period of the year. If they took the same period of the antecedent year, the same principle would be found to obtain. The chief fact, however, which related to the consumption of sugar, was, that if corn was dear, the poorer classes would expend a larger portion of their incomes on the necessaries of life, and less would be expended on such a luxury, if he might so term it, as sugar. He found that the average of the consumption of sugar for the year 1840, was 15¼lbs. per head. The average price of sugar, according to the official returns, during the first six months of 1841, was 42*s.* 10*d.* per cwt.; while the average price for 1840 was 44*s.*; so that he was justified in saying, that there was not a sufficient difference in the price to disturb the amount of consumption per head; he would therefore take it for the present year at 15¼lbs. Allowing for the increase of the population in the year, the consumption would only be 13½lbs. a-head for 1841, or a diminution of 11½ per cent. If bread, however, was dearer, the necessary consequence would be, that sugar would not be taken to the same extent as when it was cheaper. The right hon. Gentleman stated, that there was a greater consumption in the present year, notwithstanding there was more distress and suffering throughout the country, and when our manufactures were in a languishing state; this was a very good specimen of the political economy of the right hon. Gentleman. In the case of the higher classes the consumption remained the same; no doubt the high price would make no difference to the right hon. Gentleman, who on that account would not take less sugar, but this was not the case with the poor man. Let what was called a luxury rise in price, it would go almost entirely out of consumption with him. The effect of the increased price operated as a total denial of the article to him. Taking the average consumption at 15¼lbs. per head, the consumption of four persons would be 61lbs. a-year. Of these four persons one might be supposed to belong to the richer and the other three to the poorer classes. The consumption of sugar amongst the higher classes was much greater than with the poorer classes. He believed, that it would be found according to the best statistical returns that had been prepared on the subject, that the consumption of sugar amongst the higher classes might be taken at 37lbs. per head. If this was the case, there would only remain 24lbs. for the other three persons, and thus the consumption of sugar amongst the poorer classes would be reduced to 8lbs. a head. Allowing for the increase of population in the year the consumption would be 54lbs. for four persons in 1841, or 13½lbs. per head. The rich person would still consume 37lbs., while only 17lbs. would be left for the three poor persons, or about 5½lbs. per head. Such was the effect of the operation of high prices upon the lower classes. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman, then, with respect to the sugar duties, was not more correct than his observations on the state of the finances, and both excited in his (Mr. Hawes's) mind no little surprise. The right hon. Gentleman went into the question of the timber duties, and said that there could be no difference in the amount of revenue during the present year. The right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues took care to pursue such a course as to give no chance of an increased amount for either this year or the next. The right hon. Gentleman therefore, could not take any merit to himself on this account. It now seemed to be admitted by all parties that the timber duties was one of the questions to be dealt with by a Conservative Government, and he trusted this would turn out to be the case. The great ground alleged in the other House for want of confidence, was the neglect on the part of Government of the finances of the country. They had been told, that year after year they had gone on with a deficiency—that year after year they had made no provision for this, and that now things had arrived at such a pass that they could not be allowed to remain as they were. Some Members of both Houses agreed in this assertion; but he should like to know what sort of ground there was for this accusation? The hon. Gentleman who moved the amendment to the Address not only dwelt on this point, but went into all sorts of subjects. He, amongst other things, said that questions of war might be right or wrong, and he would not say whether they were either, and the only reason that he gave for his proposition was, that as he had been elected Member for Yorkshire, he was bound to move a vote of want of confidence. He begged the House to see upon what ground the charge of neglect was imputed to the Government on the score of the finances. Financial deficiencies were incidental, not merely to Whig Governments, for they had happened on former occasions. For instance, in the year 1825-26, which was at a period when we sent a force to Portugal, and which, indeed, occasioned it, a considerable deficiency occurred in the revenue. At that period Government relied and he thought wisely—on the buoyancy of the country, and on the effect that would be produced by making a step towards the adoption of the principles of free trade. Such was the beneficial effect of the latter proceeding, that within a very short period not only had the deficiency been fully made up, but there was such an increase of revenue as to enable the Government to make several reductions in taxation. But what was the present state of financial deficiencies? In the year 1838 there was a deficiency, chiefly occasioned by the rebellion in Canada, amounting to 1,428,000*l.* In 1839 the deficiency was 430,000*l.*, and he begged the House to mark how the revenue had recovered in the course of a year not less than a million. In the year 1840, there was a deficiency of 1,450,000*l.* occasioned by the war in China and Syria. When this occurred, of course, it became the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to adopt some means to revive the state of the finances of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the first instance, added five per cent. to the duties on all the necessaries of life, and in this he was supported by the other side of the House, and was complimented on the energy which he had manifested on the occasion, and on his not being actuated by any fear of unpopularity from the course which he had adopted. On the present occasion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer came forward not to add to the burthens of the people, but to lighten the heavy and oppressive charges on such important articles, as sugar, timber, and corn, and forsooth, in consequence of this, hon. Gentlemen opposite, met him with a vote of want of confidence. The party opposite were anxious one year to tax the people and were he next year just as anxious to prevent any reduction of taxation. When the people of England reconsidered these circumstances, and the decision which they had given at the late election, under delusion and intimidation, he was satisfied that they would arrive at a different verdict. This would be the result when they found the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had been changed for another; the business of whom would be to invent new taxes instead of reducing them as the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed to do. He admitted, that hon. Gentlemen opposite had been returned by a large majority, and although with a hostile and powerful majority opposed to them, those with whom he acted would, as before, persist in bringing forward measures of liberal policy, feeling confident, as they were before, when in a small minority, that they should ultimately carry them in triumph, as they were founded on the principles of truth and justice. He found in the amendment the following expression:—

> "To assure her Majesty that we are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations which her Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct our attention in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn."

He would ask, although he did not expect to get an answer to his question, whether, when Gentlemen opposite had carried their amendment, they intended to act upon it. Did they mean to take into consideration the great subjects of commerce and revenue, and the laws which regulate the trade in corn? If they intended to do so, was it too much to ask for some explanation as to the course they intended to pursue. If they did not, but intended to postpone the whole subject, never were a people more insulted by a House of Commons, or a Speech from the Throne treated with greater disrespect. He believed that what they intended to do was to adjourn the House immediately after they had carried their amendment and obtained place and power. They admitted that they were fully aware of the sufferings of the people; but still they were determined to postpone the consideration of the subject until next spring. Was ever a Speech from the Throne suffered to be treated in this way before? The House of Commons was to be prevented going into the consideration of this subject for nine months. He did not believe, that history furnished an instance of a communication from the Throne being treated with greater insult. The noble Lord who seconded the amendment had stated, that he was an advocate of free trade, and had identified himself with the support of the principles of Mr. Huskisson. He hoped the noble Lord would explain what measures he intended to submit to the House in conformity with the principles of that statesman. The party opposite claimed merit for the alteration of the tariff, and would have it believed that they intended to carry out their principles in altering and mitigating the laws referring to commerce. If they were sincere in this, did they mean to let the subject rest for nine months? What a contrast was this proceeding with that of the Liberal party in 1825 and 1826. Seeing, at that time, the measures which Mr. Huskisson had brought forward were highly beneficial and calculated to promote the good of the country, and that that statesman had been taunted and abused, and charged with being a cold-hearted metaphysician for having brought them forward, the great Liberal party of England came forward and gave their zealous aid to him so as to enable him to carry them in triumph. Again, in 1829, when the right hon. Gentleman brought forward the Catholic question, the Liberal party gave their liberal support to the Government. In 1830, the Speech from the Throne gave great dissatisfaction to the agriculturists in that House, and by the great forbearance of the Whigs, and the support of the Liberal party, the Government were able to carry the Address. On this occasion the measures alluded to in the Speech were acknowledged by Gentlemen opposite to be of great importance, and with respect to which there was proof upon proof that, if carried, they would greatly extend the markets for our manufactures. They determined to postpone all consideration of these subjects for almost twelve months, that they might get place and power. A system of policy more mean and sordid never was exhibited in any country, or, at any rate, the history of this country never furnished an instance of such a proceeding. The party opposite admitted the justice of the principles embodied in the proposed measures, but would not apply them; and notwithstanding the sufferings of the people, they refused to take them into consideration, for nearly a twelvemonth. The House had been told that it was a proof of great statesmanship to be silent on questions of this kind for the present. What was the explanation of their refusing to relieve the country from taxation? He believed the reason was, that the new Government was one of coalition and compromise, and they feared that if they spoke out and delivered their opinions on these questions, that those of one Gentleman would be found to clash with those of another—that the interests of one class of its supporters would be found to interfere with those of another, and that, therefore, they were obliged to be silent from the most unworthy purposes. He believed that no coalition Government could stand in this country, and he sincerely hoped that such a Government never might. Did hon. Gentlemen mean to say, that anything of the kind existed on his side of the House. The party opposite had two Whigs to form part of their new Government The noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, stated that he had changed his place, but had never changed his principles. Had the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, changed? No, he was consistent in his conduct. He (Mr. Hawes) declared to God, that he would rather have that right hon. Gentleman for dictator and sole governor of the country than a Government mixed up of such discordant materials as the new Administration would be composed of. There was the strongest feeling existing in the country against the formation of anything like a coalition Government. On this point he would refer to the language of a modern historian, who, in allusion to the formation of the coalition Government in the last century, said that,

> "In the first place, that Government had to contend against the hostility of the King, who never forgave their forcing themselves upon him, and they never possessed the confidence of the nation, who ever regarded the formation of a coalition Government as an abandonment of principle for the sake of place."

Was it not notorious, that the party opposite were chiefly returned at the last election, on the pledge of the maintenance of the Corn-laws, and of affording protection to agriculture? The very first public step that all persons expected of the so-called adherents to the present Corn-laws, would be to propose an alteration. The very first duty that it was believed they would have to perform, was the revision of these very laws. It was not to him a matter of surprise, that they had come to a determination to re-consider these laws, for the effect of them was, to give protection to the farmer, by the sacrifice of the other portions of the community. It was scarcity on the part of the consumer that gave protection to the farmer. This was admitted in several of the agricultural reports. The last committee on the state of agriculture made no report, but it was stated in that House, that it was the opinion of the committee, that it was desirable to leave agriculture alone; but then, and even up to the present moment, the principle that he had stated was acknowledged to be true as regarded these laws. At present there was general distress, which he must attribute to the Corn-laws. They were said now to serve as a protection to the farmers, but they were only beneficial to that body when they were injurious to the people. In years of abundance they were injurious to the farmer in our home market, and in seasons of scarcity they prevented a proper supply of food being brought to market. In 1834, they were told that these laws should be maintained, as it was desirable that in the supply of food this country should be independent of foreigners. From year to year had they secured their independence? Had they not been obliged to obtain corn from foreign markets almost every year since the period he had just alluded to? In that year, when there was such an abundant harvest, the Corn-laws trembled in the balance, and they were then continued, as was alleged, simply on the ground that the people ought not to be dependent on foreign nations for the supply of food. The whole history of the Corn-laws, from 1820 to 1841, tended to show that this country must be dependent on foreign nations for a portion of its corn. This country was, and, indeed, ought to be so; for a great commercial country must derive an advantage from interchanging its produce with the industry of other nations. He contended, therefore, that for our own welfare, it was desirable that we should look to other nations for a portion of their raw produce. Another reason which had been alleged for a continuance of the Corn-laws, was, that our manufacturers had protection, and that therefore, the agriculturists should be protected. The manufacturers, however, repudiated protection. He was a manufacturer himself, and for one, desired most ardently that all protection should be removed. His hon. Friend, the Member for Stockport, who might almost be regarded as the representative of the manufacturers, in his speech, the other evening, in which he displayed such singular ability, denounced protection on behalf of the class with which he was connected. They were told, that agriculture was subject to peculiar burdens which did not fall on the other classes—that, therefore, they were entitled to protection. Would honourable Gentlemen opposite agree to give a committee to inquire into this subject? He would himself move for such a committee, to inquire into the burdens said to fall peculiarly heavy on the agricultural interest; and if the committee was appointed and the result of the inquiry appeared to be, that they were charged more than the other classes, he would willingly consent to give them protection to that extent. In the present system there was neither justice nor wisdom, and there was no security in the course which had been taken. What was the state of the present averages? In the week ending the 10th of July, the price of corn was 64*s.* 11d. per quarter, in the week ending July 23, it was 66*s.* 2*d.*, on July 30, 68*s.* 3*d.*, on the 6th August, 70*s.* 3*d.*, on 13th August, 72*s.* 3*d.*, and in the week ending the 20th of August, 74*s.* 7*d.* He took these returns from the official averages in the *Gazette.* The average price regulating the duty would, therefore, be 69*s.* 6*d.*. If, however, between the present time and the week ending September 9, the three weekly averages should average only 71*s.* 7*d.*, then all the wheat now in bond would be admitted at a duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* If at that time the weekly averages should average 73*s.* 7*d.*, being 1*s.* under the last average advertised, then wheat would come in at 1s. duty only. Now, how much wheat was there in bond? The foreign and colonial wheat and wheat-flour in the warehouses on the 5th of August, 1841, was in quarters, taking 3½ cwts. of flour, as equal to a quarter of wheat:—wheat 708,373 qrs., and flour 366,675 cwt., or, in all, 813,137 qrs.; and since that date, in the last three weeks, there had been imported into London, Liverpool, and Hull, about 106,972 qrs., making a gross total, to come in, perhaps, at the lowest duty, of nearly one million quarters by the end of this month, or a little later; so that the result of the fine protection to agriculture, of which hon. Gentlemen opposite talked so loudly, was to let all this large quantity of wheat into the country at the lowest possible duty provided by the sliding scale of the right hon. Baronet. He had occupied the House at some length, but he could assure them he was not desirous of intruding himself upon their time beyond what he believed to be due to the subject, and due to the great interests which he had the honour to represent in that House. The hon. Member for Yorkshire had said, he was the bearer of an answer from his constituents to the question which had been put to the country. No doubt the hon. Gentleman represented a very considerable portion of the community, and the hon. Member must feel it to be a proud and distinguished honour to have been elected by them; but he also, represented no inconsiderable portion of the community; one of the largest districts of this great metropolis had been pleased to send him to that House as their representative, and in that capacity he distinctly and emphatically gave in a totally different answer from that which had been delivered by the hon. Member for Yorkshire. His constituents had sent him there, not to uphold any particular interest, nor, unless he could do so on grounds of sound policy and honesty, to support any particular party in that House; and this he would say, that if the right hon. Baronet were to come into power, and should really apply himself to serve and benefit the great interests of the country, without devoting himself to party or sectional interests, he, for one, as an humble individual, would give him his cordial support. As the hon. Member for Finsbury had said, he would not offer that right hon. Baronet any factious opposition; but his firm belief was, that the course which the right hon. Baronet must take, in accordance with all his former principles, and his party attachments, must be hostile to the views and interests of those whom he came there to represent; and he therefore believed it would be his duty to give that right hon. Baronet his earnest opposition. It had been put to the House, that no confidence was to be placed in the present ministry on general questions; and the hon. Member for Yorkshire had, with singular infelicity, selected the foreign policy of ministers as a ground for this assumption. The hon. Member, however, making the liberal concession that he had not quite made up his mind as to the question of right or wrong in the wars which had taken place; and that, indeed, he did not think the question of right or wrong had much to do with the consideration of the foreign policy of the Government. There was one great distinction to be drawn between the course taken by the right hon. Baronet, who was to be chief minister of this country, and that pursued by Lord Grey, when he was a candidate for that high station; that nobleman did not hesitate to pledge his party to peace, retrenchment, and reform; and he would take upon himself to say, that the great question of the peace of Europe had been maintained by the present Government, and maintained in spite of the greatest possible difficulties. Again, in the article of retrenchment, there had undoubtedly been a great deal effected by the Whig Government; and though he and other Radicals might perhaps think that retrenchment had not been carried to the extent which it ought to have reached, and of which it was susceptible, yet he could not say there was anything to induce him to transfer his confidence in favour of the party opposite, calling to mind, as he did, the whole history of their management in past times, of the finances of the country. The grounds, then, on which he retained the steady confidence which he had hitherto reposed in Government were these; that they had, in the main, preserved the great principles which they put forth clearly, distinctly, and tangibly before the world. On the other side of the House he found no principles at all; he heard of no measures being propounded, of nothing being in contemplation to meet the exigencies of commerce, the wants of the people, and to relieve the fearful distress of the community; all he heard from the Gentlemen who moved the amendment—he should probably hear something more that evening from the right hon. Baronet opposite—but all he had heard from the hon. Gentleman who had moved the amendment, was, that some time next year they would condescend to take into their consideration the state of trade and the sufferings of the people. He must say, that if there was anything more particularly calculated to repress confidence in the Gentlemen opposite, it was the course taken in this debate by those Gentlemen. The right hon. Baronet had had the honour of being a colleague of Mr. Huskisson, and had he become really imbued with the principles of free trade as announced by that statesman, surely—after all the discussions they had had on the timber duties, the Corn-laws, the sugar duties, the general principles of protection, and the general conduct of trade without protection—it would not be too much to ask the right hon. Gentleman to state what course he meant to take on those questions; but for the right hon. Gentleman who had so great an experience, and who, he was sure, was so desirous of serving his country—for him to rise in his place, as in all probability he would, to say to the people of this country, whose commerce was stagnant, whose prospects of improvement were very distant, and who in the mean time were suffering the most complicated distress—for him to tell them that at some future time, he would endeavour to think over a remedy for their distresses, and the depression of their commerce, would be a spectacle unworthy of his high position, and deeply disappointing the just expectations of the people.

Mr. *Goulburn* had never, for one moment, wished to throw any imputation upon the fair dealing and candour of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman was one of the last men upon whom any such reflection could be justly cast. All he sought to convey was, that he differed from the right hon. Gentleman in a matter of accounts, and his opinion upon that point he still retained.

Captain *Polhill* said, the simple question before the House was one which might have been brought to a conclusion at a much earlier period than, he feared, it was yet likely to be. That question was, not the question of corn, of timber, or of sugar, but whether her Majesty's present Government were capable or not of carrying on the business of the country. A resolution was passed by the late House of Commons to the effect that the Government did not possess the confidence of Parliament, and that their remaining in office under such circumstance was at variance with the spirit of the constitution. He could not, therefore, but express his surprise at seeing that Government in office up to the present time, a Government which had been condemned by a resolution of the House. He was convinced that the right hon. Baronet would have sooner submitted to have his right hand cut off, than have been seen clinging to place after such a violation had been proved against his Administration. The noble Lord (Lord John Russell) in his treatise on the British Constitution, had stated, that

> "The first disturbance which is likely to occur in such a constitution as ours, is a collision between the King as Sovereign, and the Parliament, formed of Lords and Commons, considered as his advisers. The King by the Constitution has, and must have, the power of naming his own servants, who are to carry on the business of the executive Government, but if these servants violate the laws, betray the cause, mistake the interests, or squander the blood of their country, it is as certain that the great council of the nation must have the power of demanding and enforcing their dismissal."

A few pages further on might be found sentiments which even the right hon. Member for Tamworth might have written. They were in these words:—

> "From the doctrine of responsibility of Ministers, it follows, that they ought to enjoy the confidence of the Commons. Otherwise their measures will be thwarted, their promises will be distrusted, and, finding all their steps obstructed, their efforts will be directed to the overthrow of the Constitution."

He expressed his concurrence in the sentiments of the noble Lord, and he could only regret, that the noble Lord was not found acting up to the sentiments he had himself put on record. The present was not the moment to discuss the topics which had been brought forward respecting free trade, and he should give his vote in favour of the amendment, because he thought, that it would bring into power a Ministry which would support the honour of the Crown, and the true interests of the people.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* said, that of all the debates he had ever listened to, this was the most peculiarly-marked by silence—by silence on those precise topics which the country most anxiously expected to hear discussed. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had either contented themselves with the assertion that Ministers had not and did not deserve to have the confidence of the country, without giving themselves the trouble to state any grounds for this opinion of theirs, or, like the hon. Member for Yorkshire, they had stated grounds on which the confidence merely of the opposition was withheld from Ministers. Upon the great questions of free trade and commercial reform, hon. Gentlemen opposite had been pertinaciously silent, and that other great question, the question of Ireland, had been equally omitted from all their speeches. These hon. Gentlemen, however, greatly deceived themselves, if they thought that because they passed these questions over in silence in the House, the country would not regard with a burning sense of indignation the conduct of those who thus kept concealed the distinction between their intended policy and that of the Government whom they proposed to supplant. Looking, however, to the prospects of the present harvest, it might, it was true, be somewhat awkward for hon. Gentlemen opposite to pledge themselves to any particular line of policy on the Corn-laws. It appeared to him that the position of the Conservative party on this question at the present moment, bore a great analogy to that of the Conservative party in 1828, in reference to Catholic Emancipation. After the most discouraging announcement from the Duke of Wellington and the right hon. Baronet, in 1828, of the impossibility of making any concession to the Catholics, the very next thing the public heard, was, that Catholic Emancipation had been determined on; it remained to be seen whether the Corn-laws would undergo the same fate at the hands of the proximate Premier. It would not be at all a subject of wonder with him to find the right hon. Baronet, when in power, availing himself of the principles and support of the present advocates of free trade in corn, as well as other articles, to the immense indignation of the stanch friends of monoply who now swelled his ranks, and who would then exclaim, as the stanch opponents of the Roman Catholics exclaimed, in 1829, *Nusquam tuta fides*. As to Ireland, how had the organ of hon. Gentlemen opposite, the *Times* newspaper, treated the Orange outrage committed by the late high-sheriff of Fermanagh, in sealing the return of the Members for that county with his own seal, bearing the detestable device, "The Pope in the pillory, the pillory in hell, and the devil pelting priests at him," that return also being tied with orange ribbon, instead of being fastened in the usual manner? Why the *Times* abused Lord Ebrington for dismissing the person who had been guilty of this outrage, and went the length of saying "that a Protestant magistrate had been dismissed, merely for sending the return of Members stitched with yellow instead of red tape." Now he would put it to the Members for the universities in either country—he would put it to every Member of the church of England—whether the seal put on that return was not, in reference to his religion, a sort of blasphemy? [*"Hear, hear," from the Opposition benches.*] He was glad to hear from hon. Gentlemen opposite this disclaimer of the language of the *Times* newspaper; but still it had a very unfavourable appearance for Ireland, that for dismissing the man who had committed this outrage upon the Roman Catholic faith, Lord Ebrington should be denounced by the organ of the Tory party, and that his conduct in the matter should almost appear to form a part of the grounds of want of confidence in the Ministry. The last intelligence from Ireland had informed the public of a practice of the worst tendency — the renewal, on the north eastern circuit of Ireland, of the old and unconstitutional practice of selecting jurymen, contrary to the instructions of Sir Michael O'Loghlen, who had placed the appointment of juries in Ireland on nearly the same footing as in this country. In a trial at Armagh, in which it was said some political feeling was mixed up, every Roman Catholic whose name had been placed on the list, was put aside by the Crown solicitor—a practice which, if it was permitted to revive throughout the country, would have the most disastrous effects upon the best interests and upon the tranquillity of Ireland. Nothing could more tend to poison justice in its source than the impression which would hence very naturally arise, that the selection of jurymen was a matter of political and religious bias. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted some years ago that one of his chief difficulties was Ireland, and he would find Ireland no less a difficulty now. There were men named as Members of the new Government, whose past conduct had inspired the Irish people with the very reverse of confidence or good will; at all events, it was to be hoped that the Irish people would have nothing to do with the noble Lord opposite; the consequences of his being invested with any control over that country might be most disastrous. The entire silence which hon. Gentlemen had observed upon the real questions in which the country was interested was a most remarkable feature in the present crisis; but the right hon. Baronet might find, that in some cases the extreme of caution was the extreme of bad policy; he might find ere long that the extreme silence which he had maintained was far more dangerous in its effects than the most unreserved candour and openness; for had he been open, he would only have had one party against him, whereas, as it was, he was exceedingly likely to have both parties against him. Looking, then, at the present disposition of affairs at home and abroad, he did not see any reason why the people should withdraw their confidence in the Ministers, and transfer it to the right hon. Baronet.

Mr. *Christmas*, in reference to what an hon. Member had said last night, when he alleged that the late Member for Waterford had been deprived of his seat, would contend that he had no right to say any thing of the sort. The registration regulations and the election petition arrangements had been referred to, but it must be admitted that whatever was good in the former was effected by the opposition, and all the merit of the latter was due to the same party. As to the point of confidence, he declared that he gave it to the right hon. Baronet, and withheld it from the Queen's Ministers, because he could depend upon the legislation of a Conservative Government, but upon that of the Melbourne Ministry he could place no reliance, since he had seen it proceed in a downward course of Radical innovation, until they had within the last ten years nearly realized, or at all events they had apparently attempted to realize, the absurdity of a monarchial government, surrounded by republican institutions. If he looked to the question of Canada, he could not help thinking that if the troubles there had not been created, they were at least materially increased, by the conduct of a Gentleman no longer a Member of that House. Then he could not help protesting against the mode in which allusion had been made a night or two ago, by the hon. and learned Member for Bath to the unfortunate case of M'Leod. That gentleman had stated that the United States had no constitutional power to reach the case, and that if M'Leod were convicted, he must be hanged. The Government ought to have interfered, considering that the act imputed to M'Leod as a crime was one performed in the execution of his duty to the country to which he belonged. That interference ought to have occurred to prevent the trial taking place at all; for that trial compromised our national honour, and though we might save the shedding of his blood, we could not redeem our character in regard to the original question. Strong allusions had been made to the question of the New Poor-law, and it seemed to be held that those who voted for it were bound always to uphold and defend it. Now, he could not agree to any such doctrine. He believed at the time it passed that it was a good measure, and therefore he voted for it, but surely he was not bound to uphold it for better or worse because he had so voted. The Whig Government, possessing power to pass any measure they pleased, having passed that law, would, if it had remained popular —if it had been found to work well, have been entitled to all the credit; let that Government, now that the Poor-law was found defective and known to be unpopular, take all the consequences of that unpopularity, let the House then look to the boasted Whig economy, and say on what side the balance of honest saving lay. An hon. Member formerly of that House had found his way to Ireland, and after filling a high judicial office for a few days, had retired with a pension of 4,000*l.* a-year. Let that recent act of the Whigs be contrasted with the last act of the Conservative side of the House. "When you Sir, (continued the hon. Member) were elected to the chair, what was the course of this side of the House, Did we determine on the election of one of our own party, as we might have done? Certainly not; and the effect of that forbearance has been that the country is saved from paying another 4,000*l.* a-year. But, Sir, I do not consider your re-election to the chair, which you so well and worthly fill, only as a triumph of Conservative economy, for to your eminent fitness no one objects, but also to show that we on this side of the House were not guided by a determination that that honourable post should at all hazards be filled by one of our own party. The hon. Member then proceeded to contend that no consideration of the cheapness of sugar should tempt the country to do anything to support indirectly so abominable a system as the slave-trade. He would not proceed through the items of the budget, but he might refer upon the Corn-laws to the conduct of certain Irish Members, who in their attacks upon those laws seemed determined to sacrifice the best interests of the country to party purposes. It had been said by these hon. Members that the Corn-laws were unpopular in Ireland; now, he having a considerable knowledge of that country, and representing one of its constituencies, knew that those laws were popular. If landlords' rents were reduced the other parts of the community must necessarily suffer; and if the Corn-laws were repealed disastrous effects would be felt by the agricultural and the mercantile classes. I shall give my vote, (concluded the hon. Member), for the amendment, a vote which I hope will have the effect of placing the right hon. Baronet in the office to which he is so justly entitled and for which he is so eminently fitted. But in placing him in office, I am aware, though it is one of great honour, it is also one of great difficulty. That the right hon. Gentleman may meet with difficulties is certain, that he will reap glory may not be easy, but it will be I believe equally as certain, as his difficulties in spite of an opposition, which we have reason to believe will be no very scrupulous one.

Mr. *Villiers* said, that having so often had occasion to address the House on the subject that had been recommended to its consideration in the Speech from the Throne, he had listened with great anxiety during the present debate to the things which had been uttered on the other side against their discussion, to be saved if possible the trouble of repeating his former observations, and for this reason he had given his best attention to those who had not observed the rule of silence which had been prescribed to the party—and who had undertaken to explain the question to which as they said they were confined on this occasion. He must confess, however, that they had failed to enlighten him. His hon. Friend the Member for Winchester had indeed wondered how any one dared now to speak on this subject, in short as it appeared to him how any one had the courage, in the face of the law and constitution, to discuss any other subject than that which he considered the subject before the House. It seemed to him, that his hon. Friend, whose skill in confusing juries he had often witnessed was not less successful on this occasion in confusing himself and the subject of debate, for, with every wish to do so he had really failed to understand what he meant. Another hon. Member thought questions respecting the suffering of the people were abstract questions and little in place at this time, and so on with several other Members who all upon some ground or other sought to justify themselves in avoiding the questions really proposed to them—but he owned that he saw as little in their reasons as in their silence, to make them think that this was not a fitting moment to discuss matters so deeply interesting to the people. He did not mean to say anything offensive to hon. Members on the other side, but he could not help thinking, that there was a way of accounting for their present silence considering the activity which they had lately displayed in giving circulation to every fallacy, in giving currency to every misrepresentation of the principles and objects of the Government measures. He could not but think, that hon. Members were somewhat ashamed of the means by which they had obtained their seats, and that when they came face to face with those whose policy and whose principles they had assailed so unscrupulously, they thought it the most prudent course to maintain a perfect silence. There was doubtless some discretion shown in not committing themselves to opinions, but the same discretion unfortunately was not observed elsewhere, and allusion here to the distresses of commerce, or the miseries of the people might check that ducal influence which assumed to itself the power of making Ministers, as grandees of old in this country had done, of making monarchs. While, on the other hand, the repetition at this moment of reasons for keeping the people in their misery, and preserving the tax on their subsistence, might have startled and disgusted the country in a manner not easily recovered, and this perhaps has rendered silence a very prudent course. In the performance of his duty, however, and, indeed, of his promise, to those who sent him there, he could not forego availing himself of the opportunity of discussing those vitally-interesting matters which the Crown had proposed for the consideration of the House. He would not be a party to wanton and marked disrespect shown to the Throne, in order to avoid the subject which of all others most nearly concerned the welfare of the people. Concurring as he did, entirely in the principles on which the financial arrangements of this year were proposed, and believing that if those principles had been carried farther, they would have been attended with unqualified advantage to the country, he should resist by every means in his power the opposite policy, which he considered to be identified with the amendment, for he could not shut his eyes to the notorious opinions of the hon. Member who moved the amendment; opinions so earnestly expressed by him in the important district which he represented; opinions by which he so largely profited, and which could not now be suppressed by any vague profession of attachment to the principles of free trade, or any shabby reference to the opinions of the late Mr. Huskisson. Considering the real opinions of that hon. Member, he could not but think him well qualified to represent the party and the policy directly opposed to the policy recently professed by her Majesty's Government. He considered, that the amendment placed in issue those great questions which now divided this country, and on which it was generally expected that Parliament was called together to decide. The time was now come which he had much desired to see, and which abler men had long expected, when the principles by which the trade and taxation of the country were to be regulated absorbed the consideration of the public mind. That case was now indeed ripe for hearing. The parties concerned were ascertained. There was on one side the community, on the other the aristocracy and the protected interests. The plea was the general interest, and the answer was vested interests and existing monopolies. It became the House, by every means, to elicit all the evidence which could prepare them for a judgment. He was satisfied that the country at large would view with impatience the attempt that had been made to draw their attention away to the mere vulgar topics of party. That story of party here was a short one, and soon told. The hon. Gentlemen opposite represented the aristocracy and the protected interests, and had achieved a victory over those who represented the general interests. How this great party had fallen from power was a question that might receive different answers. He certainly was disposed to think that the chief cause was to be found in the dissension which existed in that party. He believed, that the other side had obtained a majority because, one section of the popular party had made use of them for the purpose of chastising the other. The fruits of this strange confusion of parties had been seen. Supporters of aristocracy and monopoly worked their way into the House, by appearing as the friends of the Chartist and the pauper, and adopted against the Government the language of those who were discontented with its moderation. The reproaches of broken faith and unfulfilled pledges, indulged in by the hon. Member for Yorkshire, and others, were borrowed from the speeches of those whose hostility to the Government arose from its not going far enough. With such discordant allies, the party opposite was coming into power, not upon the principles which they themselves maintained, but upon the errors of their opponents. [*Oh! oh!*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite had listened with great attention to what the hon. Member for Bath, told them, and he said, that the grounds for condemning the Government was matter for Radical anger, and not for Conservative complaint. The Government had doubtless ceased to be popular. He was disposed to agree with much of what the hon. Member for Bath, had said. He did think that the Government had rather shrunk from the principles which placed them in power. They had been too much disposed to favour those who were more inclined to abandon than advance their principles. But he must in common candour say, that they had suffered as much for doing what would by many be thought right, as for doing what was wrong. There were two points in their policy which had weakened their popularity. He meant their policy towards Ireland, and their advocacy of the new Poor-law. He thought his hon. and learned Friend, the Member for Cork, (Mr. O'Connell) greatly exaggerated the prejudice which existed in this country against Ireland. He believed that it was less than his hon. and learned Friend represented; but it was impossible to deny that there did exist a great and unreasonable prejudice against Ireland. He did not know anything more unworthy or discreditable. He believed it was owing to the perverse principle of our nature, which leads us to hate those whom we have injured. It existed in almost every class. He trusted it was diminishing every day. He would venture to say, that many people in this country viewed with satisfaction the accession of the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, to power, because they thought he would put down the Irish. The impression was, that the noble Lord was very hostile to the Irish. [*No, no.*] He only said what the impression was, and he hoped the noble Lord would falsify it when he came into power; but it existed, and was undoubtedly a source of such popularity as attached to his accession to office. With respect to the new Poor-law, no one could deny that the Government had lost a great deal of popularity by their advocacy of that law. It was proverbial, and yet they had no possible interest or motive in that advocacy, but the belief in the improvement to which that new Poor-law would lead. He firmly believed that it was a great improvement on the old law, and if it had not been misrepresented, the people would see that themselves. In these respects unpopularity had been acquired by the Government by the honesty of their policy. He believed also, that the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies had suffered from incautious expressions made use of with respect to the Reform Bill. He always did think that a great deal more had been made of those expressions than there was any occasion for. He thought the honest and candid construction of the noble Lord's language was, that the noble Lord, being somewhat timid after the confusion which himself and his colleagues caused by passing the Reform Bill, was needlessly alarmed at the consequences of carrying out their principles. He could not believe, having no reason to suspect the intelligence or integrity of the noble Lord, that, in announcing the principle that the people ought to be fully and fairly represented, and that the system of nomination ought to cease, he could have considered the Reform Bill was a complete and final developement of that principle. It was very well for those who objected to all change, and who thought the old corrupt system ought not to have been disturbed, to oppose everything like farther reform. But he could not believe, that a Government of men who had caused such turmoil in the country as Lord Grey's Government had done in proclaiming the principle that the people should be duly represented, could have intended no more complete fulfilment of their principles than was contained in the Reform Bill. This, however, being said, was a source of unpopularity. He was disposed to overlook much of what the popular party condemned in the noble Lord, in consequence of the manner in which he had taken up the great principles of commercial reform. He was bound to say, that he believed the noble Lord had acted in everything he had said and done respecting the alteration of the Corn-laws, entirely from honest conviction. It was perfectly false that anything which had happened in that House, had influenced the noble Lord's determination to alter the Corn-laws. The determination had been taken before the occurrence of those decisions which were said to have led to it. There was perhaps no use in repeating this statement, because appearances were against it. The presumption was, that the decisions he referred to had influenced the Government, because their measures of commercial reform were not proposed before. However, he repeated, and he had no object in making the assertion but truth —as indeed there could be hardly any other motive for his saying anything in behalf of a Government about to go out, and he certainly was under no obligation to any of them; he repeated, however, because he knew, that the noble Lord had been most unjustly accused, that the noble Lord could have had no object in bringing forward the measures which he submitted to the House, but a conviction of the evil of the present law; and that he considered no man ought to continue a Minister without proposing its amendment or repeal. The party opposite was now coming into power, and it was impossible to be blind to the fact, that they were coming in in direct opposition to the principles of commercial freedom and unfettered industry. In the present alarming condition of the country —with commerce paralysed, capital unemployed, millions of industrious poor in the lowest state of depression, the opposite party were coming into power on the principle of maintaining the destructive system of commercial legislation which now prevailed. He had had lately submitted to him detailed proofs that the existing distress was of the most frightful nature, and in compliance with the request of those who represented the sufferers, he should call the attention of the House to the nature of those proofs. He held evidence in his hand, not referring to isolated cases, leading as the right hon. Baronet opposite had said, to no general conclusions, but such as established in the clearest manner the evils which resulted from the law. He had evidence of distress from numerous and widely-separated districts, and referring to people engaged in every department of trade. Hon. Members opposite were not disposed to receive very favourably anything coming from those clergymen who had lately assembled at Manchester. But it should be recollected that they were delegated by their congregations, including so many of our fellow subjects who were now suffering, and who had requested these gentlemen to go in their behalf to a spot where they knew the subject of their condition would receive attention. On their authority this evidence was collected, and the names and addresses of the parties who gave and collected it, were, in each case given, so that any one might test its correctness. The hon. Gentleman then said, that he had evidence referring to the trades, and coming from the places following:—

Hardware (Nos. 1, 2).—Walsall, West Bromwich, Darlaston, Willenhall, Wednesbury, Tipton, and Oldbury. *Hardware* (No. 3.)—Dudley. *Nail Making.*—Belper and Forfar, N.B. *Herring Fishery.*—Caithness, N. B. *Silk.*—Coventry, Macclesfield, Middleton, Derby, West Houghton, Spitalfields, and Bethnal-green. *Woollens.*—Leeds, Huddersfield, Golcar, Lockwood, Rochdale, Bradford, Thornton with Denholme, Sowerby-bridge, Haworth, Wilsden, Allerton, North Owram, Middlebro', Ossett, Martin Top near Gisborne, Radcliffe, Dursley, Stroud, Stonehouse, Wotton-under-edge, Westbury, Bradford, Frome, Shepton Mallet, and Trowbridge. *Cutlery.*—Sheffield. *Carpet Weaving.*—Barnard-castle. *Hat Making.*—Denton. *Shoe Making.*—Daventry and Stone. *Hosiery and Lace.* — Nottingham, Mansfield, Sutton in Ashfield, New Basford, Beeston, Hyson-green, Leicester, Hinckley, Lutterworth, Loughborough, Earl Shelton, Arnsley, Ullathorpe, Oadby, Ilkeston, Belper, Melbourne, and Tewkesbury. *Glove Making.* —Hexham (Northumberland), Worcester, and Yeovil, Somerset. *Agriculture.—Beds.*—Leighton Buzzard. *Bucks.*—Amersham, High Wycombe, Newport Pagnell, Olney, and Stoney Stratford. *Berks.* — Reading and vicinity. *Cambr.*—Bassingbourn. *Cheshire.*—Knutsford. *Devon.*—Exeter, Bideford, Witheridge, and Great Torrington. *Shipping.* — Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Bridport, Whitehaven and Falmouth. *Cotton.*—Manchester, Bolton, Preston, Carlisle, Kendal, Bury, Heywood, Wigram, Stockport, &c." " *Mining.*—Forest of Dean, Pontypool, Talywaen, Rhymney, Sirhowy, Abersychan, Llanelly, and Mnyddyshoyn district.

Now he would not venture to weary the House at this time with the detailed contents of these documents, but he would read from one of them what he might term a specimen of the evidence which they afforded of the condition of the people—it referred to the Preston union, and was as follows:—

"Population, 51,072. Inhabited houses, 8,974; uninhabited, 1,017. The poor-rate has regularly increased from 1836; it was then 4,725*l*, it is now 7,299*l*. It would have been much heavier, but for the large voluntary subscriptions which have been raised. The reports of the dispensary show that, in 1836, 1,911 persons were medically relieved; in 1840, 3,072. Deaths in the Preston union: 1838, 1,269; 1839, 1,277; 1840, 1,739—an increase in 1840 of 462 over the preceding year. This extraordinary increase in the number of deaths excited the attention of the registrar-general, who wrote to the clerk of the union, to inquire the cause. The following is an extract from the reply: 'The cause is, in a very great measure, insufficiency of food of a good quality, which has tended to engender death among the labouring class, who have been exposed to high prices for provisions (and those of an inferior kind), whilst in the receipt of decreasing wages.—Joseph Thackeray.' Many suffer their great privations with much patience; others are discontented and sullen. Many give up all in despair, whilst not a few are confident that open rupture can alone relieve them. A very great indifference is felt towards constitutional efforts, such as petitions, &c., for the relief of their distress. Many of the hand-loom weavers live almost entirely on water-porridge, and are distressingly destitute of clothes and bedding."

Now the people firmly, in his opinion justly, believed that the frightful mass of misery exhibited in this evidence was entirely owing to the restrictions which Parliament imposed upon their industry and their commerce with other countries. A state of things had now arrived, which had been always foreseen and long since expected by all the best heads that had been engaged on the subject when the population of this country would exceed its means of subsistence, and when it must depend on other countries, differently circumstanced, for a supply of food. There was nothing unnatural in that, when we had a population increasing at the rate of one thousand a day; and the time was at hand when this state of things would be universally acknowledged to have arrived. He was not one who was anxious to bring before them distinct cases of suffering for the purpose of their legislating upon them: that he knew was useless, but in this case it was generally alleged, and believed, that the distress was occasioned by the operation of the Corn-laws. That law they had passed, and that law they could repeal. When that opinion was well founded, and when such a general feeling prevailed, to that effect, he said that they were called upon to repeal it. Therefore it was, that he must say, that he had seen with the greatest sorrow the opinions which the right hon. Baronet opposite and the noble Lord had expressed upon this subject. He was sorry to see the right hon. Baronet labouring in his public address to justify those who would maintain the law as it was, rather than encourage them to prepare for its immediate change. Certainly he had expected and that expectation was formed from hearing what the right hon. Baronet had said in that House, that when he came into power, he would use the influence that he possessed over the party to which he belonged, in inducing them to change the opinion they maintained, with respect to the Corn-law; but now that the right hon. Baronet was on the eve of coming into power, he saw by his speech at Tamworth that he only displayed his ingenuity and talent, to show that there were other causes for the prevailing distress than the Corn-laws; and in thus acting, the right hon. Baronet helped to confirm the opposition that existed in the minds of the advocates of that law to any modification of it. When the right hon. Baronet was thus speaking he was, it was to be remembered, addressing himself to the world. Now, when the right hon. Baronet said, that the Corn-law was not chargeable with the present distress—that it was not the cause of it—he was sure the right hon. Gentleman could not deny, but that that law had something to do with the derangement of the currency; he could not deny that it had produced a scarcity of money necessarily exported abroad—he could not deny, that there was a scarcity of food during the last three years, and surely every man's means must be diminished when he had to sacrifice more of those means for the purpose of procuring food — each must suffer if he paid a higher price for food than he was in the habit of paying for it before. What, then, did the right hon. Baronet mean by saying, that the Corn-law had nothing to do with distress? Was it that high price for food was not an evil—that it was no evil to see the bullion going out of the country—to find credit contracted, and the Bank distressed? And yet all these evils followed from it. He did not mean to say, that the right hon. Baronet had made statements to that effect, but these were the legitimate consequences of his position. When, therefore, he declared that the law did not give an additional cause for the present distress, he said what was difficult to comprehend, and impossible to assent to. How any person of intelligence could come to that conclusion he could not understand. Let them, for instance, see how the law affected the agricultural class. It was calculated that there were about a million of families employed in agriculture in this country, and it had been further calculated that each family received 30*l.* a year at least. If there were a million of agricultural labourers, then there were 30,000,000*l.* to be expended in some way or other. Now, it was found in the evidence before the committee that had been already referred to in this debate, that when wheat was 57*s.* the quarter, the class of persons described had to pay 7*s.* 6*d.* out of their week's wages for bread and flour; but when they knew, as in 1839 and 1840, that the average price of wheat in this country was 70*s.* the quarter, he asked them what they thought could be left to a man after paying for his bread, of his 10*s.* or 12*s.* a week, when he paid 7*s.* 6*d.* a week, and the quarter of wheat not more than 56*s.*? What would be left to him who had to pay for manufactures after expending so much in provisions. Surely, the manufacturing interest in that case must feel the loss of their share of the thirty millions. And what in fact did we hear from Leicester and other places, (the people of Leicester produced coarse goods, principally for the use of the agricultural labourers)? Was it not — that they received no orders during these years for these articles, because the people had to expend all their wages in food? The consequence was, that in Leicester, where a number were supported principally by manufacturing for the agricultural labourers, they had now no demand for their labour, they were thrown out of work, and 14,000 were depending upon support from the parish of Leicester. And yet with these facts before them, they heard that the high price of food was of more advantage to the labourer than otherwise, or that it was no evil—or that it would make no difference whether they had Corn-laws or not. He complained of the speech of the right hon. Baronet, but he complained still more of the speech of the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire. In the right hon. Baronet's speech it was not asserted that the Corn-law was a positive good—the right hon. Baronet confined himself to the assertion, or the argument, that it did not produce distress. But then the noble Lord the Member for Lancashire, in addressing the agricultural labourers, attempted to show that the high price of provisions was an advantage. Now, he could not believe that any man of common sense—certainly any man of extraordinary mind—could honestly believe that to be the case; because he thought, of all the delusions that had ever been practised upon human credulity that was the greatest. How could he, asked any man of intellect and common honesty, tell a poor creature that the less food there was in the country the better it would be for him; that in short the more scarce were the provisions, the more he would get. Why, there was nothing in witchcraft; there was nothing in cajolery on a large scale; nothing in the history of successful delusions practised upon the minds of ignorant men, equal to it that he had ever heard. They knew how it came to succeed. It was by using vague terms. It was by telling the poor that their wages would fall, and the poor people thought that if wages fell, their condition would be worse; and then those who used such an argument as this, if argument it could be called, told the people of the cruelty of their masters. The noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, selected Lancashire as the proper place to set the men against their masters; to tell them that it was the cruelty of their masters that made them free traders, and anxious to promote their doctrines: but that it would ruin them and deprive them of their comforts; that these masters would take them from occupations that they liked, and transfer them to others for which they were not suited. But the noble Lord had tried farther to persuade the people of that which he did not think could now be revived by any one; namely, the stale and exploded fallacy which had formerly been used with regard to the war taxation. He used the same fallacy with respect to rents that had been formerly employed with regard to the taxes; for he said, that the higher were the rents the more men were there employed. That was the old doctrine that had been started by Mr. Vansittart, when he said of the taxes, that they came back to the country in "refreshing showers," and that the more the people were taxed, the more the Government gave them employment. Thus it was, that the noble Lord stated of the landlords, that it would be highly dangerous to reduce their rents, because, if they were reduced, they could not keep so many grooms and gardeners. That they wanted now the gardeners to watch their pleasure-grounds; but if the Corn-laws were repealed, then the landlords would be obliged to reduce their expenditure, and to suit it to the means that they possessed. This was the way in which it was attempted to be proved, that great evil would follow from a change in the Corn-laws! The grooms and gardeners were to be well employed! But, surely, the weavers and the stocking makers were human beings also, and not less worthy of their consideration; and he thought it was just as essential that they should be supported as the grooms and gardeners. He should like to have known what the noble Lord would have said, if a weaver had risen, and asked him what he would do if a machine was invented for making clothes cheaper than they were at present, what would he, who had such tenderness for grooms and gardeners, do with respect to new inventions, which injured the unfortunate artisan? Would he not scout the idea of taxing or suppressing machinery, and yet he did not know why there should be more sympathy displayed for grooms and gardeners, because the landlords might have less rents, than for the weaver, whose employment was superseded by the use of new machinery. The noble Lord said, that land must be cultivated and high rents kept up, for the purpose of employing labour; but the same argument might be used to keep up any existing trade or occupation. If the noble Lord advocated a new line of railroad, and the people in business who occupied the houses on an old line of road told him they would be ruined by being deprived of their occupation and advantage, why that would be a stronger case than that of the grooms and gardeners, and yet who would entertain it? But the noble Lord spoke of the main principle of his policy being protection. The noble Lord ought distinctly to announce to the country what he meant by protection, because he told them that he was a disciple of Mr. Huskisson. It was said, that he had been the colleague of that Gentleman, and he had announced himself as clothed with his mantle. Now, Mr. Huskisson had said a great deal, like other people in office, to square their opinions with existing circumstances; but still throughout the course that he had followed, it would be found that he had never upheld the principle of protection as opposed to the principle of free trade. It was not for them to state that Mr. Huskisson did so and so, but if they quoted his authority, they should look to his recorded opinions in 1825 and 1826, or they ought to look to the last speech that he had made in 1830, that with respect to the state of the nation, when he gave his opinion as to the causes of distress and the proper remedies to be applied to them, and when his opinions were unfettered by any connection with Government. They might remember that a charge had been made in that House against Mr. Huskisson, and it was made in a very unworthy spirit; very much, indeed, in the spirit in which the noble Lord opposite now attacked the advocates of free trade. He was charged with cruelty and heartlessness, and having no feeling for the rest of mankind. Then Mr. Huskisson explained his principles and vindicated his policy. On that occasion he read a petition from the merchants of London, from which he would quote a passage:—

> "That of the numerous protective duties of our code, it may be proved, that while all operate as a heavy tax on the community at large, very few are of any ultimate benefits to the classes in whose favor they were originally instituted, and none to the extent of the loss occasioned by them to other classes.
>
> "That in thus declaring, as your petitioners do, their conviction of the impolicy and injustice of the restrictive system, and in desiring

every practicable relaxation of it, they have in view only such parts of it as are not connected, or are only subordinately so, with the public revenue······But it is against *every restrictive regulation of trade* not essential to the revenue; against all duties merely *protective* from foreign competition, and against the excess of such duties as are partly for the purpose of revenue, and partly for that of protection, that the prayer of the present petition is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Parliament. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honourable house will be pleased to take the subject into consideration, and to adopt such measures as may be calculated to give greater freedom to foreign commerce, and thereby to increase the resources of the state."

What then was Mr. Huskisson's object in reading that petition? Why, in the first place, to show that what was ignorantly called a heartless theory of his own, was anxiously maintained by all the great practical commercial men of the time, and for the purpose of declaring his entire agreement with them; and to that effect he spoke on the occasion. These were his words:—

"But I say now, as I always have said, that those who, either by their speeches in Parliament, or the exertion of their talents out of it, have contributed to bring the people in England to look with an eye of favour on the principles recommended in this petition, have done themselves the greatest honour, and the country an essential benefit."

It was therefore plain, that Mr. Huskisson identified himself with the principles contained in the petition, and that his opinion was against all protective duties. Persons like the noble Lord, said, they were against prohibition, but for protection, why they were not opposed to each other, prohibition was only a means of protection. They might, to be sure, mitigate it; but then it was opposed to that sound policy laid down in the petition for the abolition of all protective duties that were not essential to the revenue. And as long as the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord adhered to the restrictive system so injurious, as he was convinced, to this country, he, for one, would withhold all support from them. He did not despond however, he saw the progress that public opinion was making; hardly a day passed in which they did not hear of fresh converts to free trade, and he never heard of any who, having been converted, ever honestly abandoned that opinion. He did not in the least regret the change of Government that was about to take place. He believed, that it was highly useful; he believed actually necessary, that some change should take place, to lead to the ultimate success of the measure. They should now have a large political party interested in converting the community on the subject. He was rejoiced that the dissolution had taken place; it had produced discussion on the subject; it had invited the attention of the people to it, and he was happy to see what had been the result. [*A laugh!*] If he stood there as a partisan, he must regret the result; but the subject on which he was now speaking was the one that chiefly engrossed his attention. He was there not to promote any party whatever; it was this question, that affected so largely the welfare of the country, that chiefly excited his interest in politics, and he was watching its progress. The dissolution, he was satisfied, had contributed much to advance it. More persons had been returned favourable to it than there had ever been before, and judging from the speeches of two or three, that they had already heard, they would by their influence, he was sure, render great service to the cause. It must be greatly promoted by the facts and arguments so ably put forward by the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), and the effect of which produced at the time was creditable to the House. It was by constant discussion, that they had hitherto advanced, and it was by the same means they should ultimately succeed. He certainly would follow out in practice the promise that had been made by the hon. Member for Renfrewshire, and never cease, day and night, in eliciting facts that would strengthen the case, and in bringing into light every point that bore upon the subject. He could not now sit down without remarking, upon the heavy responsibility that rested upon those who were coming into office. He supposed that the right hon. Baronet opposite would have to form the next Government, and if so, he would have the complete power to do what he thought right; he had moral influence sufficient, he presumed, to convert his friends to his own opinion if they differed with him, and he had strength enough to execute what he proposed; therefore it was, that he should treat whatever disaster might follow from the present system, or whatever advantage might accrue from a change, to the circumstance of his coming into power. If the sufferings of the people continued; if commerce languished; if trade were checked; if the means of employment were diminished; the whole of the responsibility must rest with the right hon. Baronet opposite. He believed that the right hon. Baronet had the power of changing our present commercial system, now so pregnant with evil, and the determination to support it, or to change it, would determine the opposition or the support that he would receive in the country.

Lord *Francis Egerton* observed, that whatever might be the opinions that prevailed upon that or the other side of the House as to the course that ought to be taken in this debate, and the question that was immediately before the House, still he did not presume to offer any objection to Gentlemen on the other side, who considered it to be their duty to speak on a subject that he did not believe to be the immediate question for debate. So far from presuming to offer anything like dictation to Gentlemen on the other side, he must say, that he had listened with deep, painful, and respectful attention to the lengthened statements of Gentlemen who were adventitiously connected with districts, the distress of which they described, and also to their opinions as to the causes to which the distress was to be ascribed. He enjoyed—in the sense in which it was said a man enjoyed bad health—the melancholy privilege of appreciating, in some degree, the commercial distress that existed, and the consequent privations in those parts of the country to which hon. Members had particularly referred. He trusted, then, that if he did not enter into a detailed consideration of what those Gentlemen had thought fit to dilate upon—the causes of the evils that existed, and the immediate remedies to be applied to them—that when he declined to do this, it was not to be supposed that he was of opinion that this great and important subject was not fit for consideration. He was of opinion, that the present state of the civilised world was not only in that House and in the country, but in every deliberative assembly throughout civilisation, a matter to which the intelligence and knowledge of statesmen and men of learning were imperatively called to consider, as the great problem that pressed upon society—namely, the problem how, by human means or human contrivance, they were to distribute the productions, so as to meet the exigencies of a country possessing a large manufacturing population. To this subject he was not unwilling to devote his attention; but, then, he did not think that this was the proper occasion for doing so. The Government of the country was now in an anomalous and strange position. They were in doubt as to how it was to be conducted and regulated, and he would be doing wrong, at such a time, to a subject on which he was equally anxious with the hon. Gentlemen opposite, if he were at such a moment to enter upon its discussion. It was not in the midst of undefined questions and conflicting arguments and opposing statements that the truth could be arrived at. It would not be difficult, perhaps, to point out, that there were as different views between the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, and the Gentlemen who advocated a total abolition of the Corn-laws, as there were on his side as to a fixed duty, and any other mode of protection. The hon. Member for Stockport appeared to him, in his observations, to have shown that the deterioration in the condition of the labouring classes began precisely at that period when a great political change took place, which gave power to the hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that the progress of that deterioration had been *pari passu* with the deterioration of the Government.

Mr. *Cobden* was not aware that he had stated anything that could justify the conclusion the noble Lord appeared to have arrived at.

Lord *Francis Egerton* said, he was merely stating a coincidence, which, perhaps, was but fortuitous. Great promises had been made to the people, that they would receive material comforts from great political changes, in which promises he had at the time but little faith; and these promises he found followed by a deterioration in the condition of the labouring population, which, having commenced in 1839, had continued to progress up to the present moment. He could assure the House that he did not desire to proceed to the consideration of the question before them in any tone of exultation or triumph on account of the late elections. Such would not be in accordance with his feelings, nor would it be consistent with that state of distress in which the country they were told was at this moment. He was only there to say, that he represented the wishes, the feelings, and the opinions of his constituents, when he assented to the amendment proposed in the Address. Various objections had been offered as to the course adopted on this occasion; but these objections did not come from those most interested—the Members of her Majesty's Government, who had spoken in this debate. In framing the amendment, it was said by the hon. Member for Meath and the hon. Member for Finsbury, that it was disrespectful to her Majesty. His experience showed him that what was called her Majesty's Speech, was only the Speech of Ministers, and as such to be dealt with. His right hon. Friend, the President of the Board of Trade, did not object to that course, and said that it was fair, open, and honourable, but then he said, that in ascribing a want of confidence in Ministers, they ought themselves to be prepared to state what they would do, supposing that they (the Opposition) came into power. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that their not doing so, was like the play of *Hamlet*, with the part of *Hamlet* omitted. But he told the right hon., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they would not play *Hamlet* at all until the company was formed, and the theatre prepared, so as to be ready for the performance. How did anybody know that his right hon. Friend, the Member for Tamworth, was to be a Minister of the Crown, and that therefore he was to have measures to prepare? How did they know it? He asked them that? They knew it but for this reason—because, for ten years past, every measure of theirs had been discussed—every plan of theirs commented upon *nullum tetigit quod non ornavit.* It was because he had so acted that it was very probable he would be a Minister of the Crown; but, then, they assumed the fact, and they it was who offered disrespect to her Majesty, by attempting to declare how the prerogative would be exercised. If his right hon. Friend would take advice from his gray hairs, he would not comply with the unreasonable demands made upon him. But, then, the Chancellor of the Exchequer called upon them to state the offences that they imputed to the Government, and for which the country was to withdraw its confidence from them. For himself, he would say, he was exceedingly unwilling to do so. He had rather be excused from touching upon them at all; but if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not heard enough of them in the five nights' debate, which had occurred not long ago, then he was a Chancellor of the Exchequer very difficult to satisfy; and he did not believe that the events which had since occurred, when the motion against them was carried, as he admitted, by a very narrow vote, had materially improved his situation in that respect. He would not give his own opinion as to whether the course pursued by the Government in the dissolution of the old, and in meeting the new Parliament, would be satisfactory to the people, but he thought that course did not tend to promote the relief of distress; on the contrary, he thought it had, in some respects, aggravated that distress, and that it was unwise and impolitic. His opinion was confirmed by the declaration made by his right hon. Friend behind him (Sir R. Peel) in the last Parliament, when he predicted that a dissolution under such circumstances would not remedy any practical evil that existed. It had been stated that the Government acted upon the precedent of his right hon. Friend in 1835. If that was a bad and questionable precedent, the justification was equally bad and questionable; but, in his opinion, the circumstances of the two cases were widely different, and there was no precedent at all. His right hon. Friend came into power in a new Parliament, with numbers much more closely balanced. He dissolved the Parliament, and he thought he was justified in doing so, as the result gave him a very large accession of supporters. His right hon. Friend thought that the opinions of the people were gradually coming over to his views and general policy, and although his anticipations in that respect were not fully, they were very largely justified. It was stated that his right hon. Friend met the Parliament under a certainty of defeat. He remembered no such thing; on the contrary, he well remembered that the betting on that occasion was even before coming down to the House. The hon. Member for Finsbury said that the present Government did not, on that occasion take the ungenerous and unjust course of at once proceeding to a vote of want of confidence. Why, that was the very course which his right hon. Friend begged and entreated that they would pursue. Undoubtedly, his right hon. Friend failed in obtaining the opinion and judgment of the country, but his failure was even more glorious than success. In a passage in the Life of the great Emperor of Europe, Napoleon, it was stated that it was not in the early days of his victories—it was not when Kings crowded to his closet—that he exhibited the resources of his master mind, but in his last disastrous campaign in which, with exhausted resources, he contended against the collected forces of Europe. He thought that impartial history would pass a similar verdict upon the passage he had alluded to in the career of his right hon. Friend. He must say he much doubted whether impartial history would pass the same verdict upon the course at present pursued by the noble Lord opposite. He knew not what the muse of history might have said if great success had crowned the noble Lord's efforts; he would not say that success would have justified that course, but certainly now there could be no doubt that the course of dissolving Parliament was either a fault or a miscalculation. If it was a fault, it was a fault and something more, and if a miscalculation it was so great a one as indeed justified that want of confidence which he believed the country entertained of the judgment if not of the principles and views of the noble Lord. No doubt the noble Lord intended to weed the manufacturing districts of some obnoxious plants, and was not aware that in that operation he might mow down some of the flowers of his own flock. The Tories of the noble Lord's manufacturing flock had fallen before the scythe of the reaper. The constituencies of England felt that on some occasions neither wealth nor accomplishments, nor spotless private character, nor unimpeachable public integrity, could compensate for the single defect, that the possessors of these virtues were firmly and conscientiously attached to the opinions and participators in the measures of the noble Lord opposite. For this single defect, in one constituency he could name, high rank, extensive property, and far more, worth and accomplishment, were found to be vain. But in his fall, he had exhibited a grace and a dignity that extorted the applause of his warmest antagonists, and hushed the shout of triumph that might be permitted in the victory over an ordinary and vulgar antagonist. What conclusion was he to draw from incidents such as these? It was this, that if he concurred with his hon. Friend in the amendment he had moved to the Address, he thought he would be doing that which would meet the commands, he might say the wishes, of those who sent him there. They had sent him there, successful not by his own means, strong not by his own strength, but that of a large mass of public opinion, and victorious by such assistance, and not by any superiority of his own, over his antagonists, who were not always very moderate in their language, not always very careful in their means, or very scrupulous in their statement of facts when their opponents were likely to suffer by a mistake which might not be easily corrected at the moment; and this success, at which he felt no undue pride or triumph, he merely alluded to, as an instance of what he considered to be the state of public opinion in the country upon the snbject before the House.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, the noble Lord has distinctly admitted, beyond controversy, the deep distress of the manufacturing classes. The noble Lord spoke of that distress with becoming feeling, and said, that a most difficult problem to solve was, how that distress could be relieved. I will furnish the noble Lord with a simple and efficacious remedy; give the distressed classes a loaf of bread. The noble Lord has not leisure to discuss the awful consequences of that distress, but whether the pleasantry which the noble Lord has indulged in be in good taste or not, it is not for me to say. This is a subject of the utmost importance, and I claim this deference for my opinions on the Corn-laws, that I stand here the representative of two of the largest agricultural communities in the country. I am the representative of more than one million of the people of the Irish nation. Yes, I have been returned for two counties, without canvass or solicitation, without my personal presence, or my asking for a single vote, and with my opinions on the Corn-laws being well known. My opinions I am not in the habit of concealing, and no opinion of mine is better known in those counties than that I am for the total abolition of those laws. There is another testimony in my hon. Friend the Member for Waterford, with respect to the feelings of the Irish constituencies, for he fully informed his constituents that he would vote against those laws. This is a proof that the Irish people do not estimate the advantages which the agricultural interest derives from the Corn-laws. Indeed Ireland illustrates the fallacy of some of the topics used by the supporters of these laws. It is said, that they increase the rate of wages. If they have that operation any where, surely it is in Ireland. Ireland has the full benefit of the Corn-laws, and yet there is the lowest rate of wages in any part of the kingdom. Ireland is an agricultural country; you have taken care she shall not be a manufacturing country; but the people see distinctly that Corn-laws do not raise the rate of wages, and they feel, and I feel, that it is a robbery upon the operative to make him pay more for his bread than his earnings enable him to pay. Yes, they feel that these Corn-laws are an aristocratic impost upon the food of the poor man. If the Corn-laws did not increase the price of bread to the operative, they would not contend for them; no, they contended for them in order to increase their rents. What, is the problem so difficult to be solved as to the mode of relieving the existing distress? I ask, is there any proposition more clear than this, that having cheaper bread, and a greater quantity of it, would be an immediate mode of relief? But you want to reduce that quantity. You want to increase your rents and not to give cheaper food, and then you come with your doleful lamentations about the state of distress. The people understand and feel it to be a mockery. They ask for bread, and you give them a stone, and then you come and boast of your triumph and your overwhelming majority against the Ministers who propose an alteration. For my own part, I only agree to the Ministerial plan of 8*s.* protection as an instalment of the debt of justice due to the people, with the full determination of getting rid of it ultimately. The question between you and the people is, whether there shall be a tax upon their bread—whether there shall be an impost upon their food—and whether you shall increase your revenues by increasing the price of that without which existence is insufferable? [*No, no.*] I say yes, yes. And you insist upon continuing this plan of starvation, in spite of the evidence read by my hon. Friend, the Member for Wolverhampton, showing an accumulation of disease and death, following the dearness of provisions and the scarcity of food. You may talk as you please; you may boast of your triumphs as you like, but you must come round to this. The question between you and the people of England is, whether they shall pay millions more by the year for food than they can get it for from other countries. It has a double aspect of iniquity; for, while it increases the price of the poor man's food, it impedes the progress of our manufacturing interest. If you allow foreign corn to be imported, we shall at once find immediate payment for our manufactures, and an increased demand. At present you diminish labour by increasing the price of food, and then you come with lamentations about the state of distress, and about the difficulty of solving the problem of how that distress is to be relieved. I recollect a story of a Frenchman, who complained that he never fattened his horse. He had tried a thousand remedies; he had fed him with spices and tobacco, and different other articles; when, one day, a friend asked him, "did you ever try oats?" He declared he had not. Now, I say to you, by way of experiment, in order to solve the problem as to the best mode of relieving the present distress, try bread. Give the poor man food, and then, if he does not thrive and prosper, go to any quack doctor that chooses to set up, and, for my part, I should not interfere. Everybody knows that the great mistake in the Reform Bill was that of augmenting the representation of the counties, and not giving to the better instructed town populations a more adequate share in the representation. I do not ask for a preference. I ask for equality. You, however, gave the preference to the 50*l.* tenant at will clause, and I ask how much of your triumph is owing to the fatal policy of having thus augmented the members for the counties of England? Your majority consists almost entirely of them. I complain that the Whig Ministers did not go far enough. They halted too soon. They did not answer the just expectation of the people by working out their own measures so as to give the people a fair representation. I complained because of the unequal preference given over the manufacturing and commercial classes. The supporters of dear bread, however, succeeded, and they have again succeeded in obtaining a majority. What, then, are the merits of the two great parties who contend for the government of this country? I will contrast them. What fault, I ask, is to be found with the Government for the last ten years? They have done much to increase the franchise. They have almost totally abolished the hideous, uncivilised punishment of death. They have done more, and I speak of my own profession—they have wiped out the stain of injustice in the criminal law which permitted the counsel for the Crown to address the jury, shutting out the prisoner's counsel. That is a measure of great importance, although shorn of part of its utility in the House of Lords, where they introduced a clause, giving two speeches to the counsel for the prosecution, and only one to the prisoner's counsel. Although, therefore, there was such an unjust diminution of the benefit conferred by that measure, I think the Ministers deserve credit for going so far in ameliorating the law, and merit the gratitude of the country. They have done more. They have increased the circulation of information of every kind, by diminishing the stamp duties on newspapers and periodicals from 4*d.* to 1*d.* It should not be forgotten that they did these things. There was another great advantage arising from this measure, namely, it got rid of the temptation to a violation of the law by the sale of unstamped publications. Ministers cannot be deprived of the glory of having accomplished these things, even though their career be about to terminate. There is another measure of great public utility, namely, the penny postage. The reduction of the newspaper stamp duty allowed the circulation of information. The reduction of the postage duty allowed the circulation of the effect of that information. It keeps up the tie between parent and child, between brother and brother, and for the first time places in the reach of the poorest person the easiest mode of communication. Before that measure the poor man paid one-third of his weekly earnings for a single letter, and was in this painful contrast with the man of fortune—that the man of fortune could hold communication for the ten-thousandth part of his income. Again, the present Ministers opened the trade with India and China. They have also advanced the principles of religious liberty. They have relieved the Catholic and Dissenter from the necessity of bowing before a clergyman whose tenets they did not believe, and whose mission they deny. They have allowed them to celebrate their baptisms and marriages, and to preserve their burial scenes free from intrusion. The present Ministry have made a great step towards the abolition of tithes in Ireland. They have succeeded in striking off one-fourth of the entire burden. They would have gone farther, they would have appropriated the surplus, had the Parliament permitted, to purposes of public utility. I do not reproach them for having given up that clause, for I was one of those who, despairing of carrying it, urged their giving it up. I do not shrink from my share of the blame, but I say that in abolishing one-fourth of the odious impost they have set an example, and established a principle, which may enable, at no remote period, a future Parliament to abolish it altogether. But that is not their only claim. Were they not the persons who introduced reform into this House? Did they not abolish 115 rotten boroughs in England and thirteen in Ireland? Have they not done more for England, and have they not abolished the restricted, narrow, and self elected corporations? Have they not almost identified the electors with their representatives in the new corporations? They have done so, and it affords a painful constrast to the conduct pursued towards Ireland. They have done more, and let the fact be proclaimed to the world, they have emancipated 800,000 slaves. Early in Mr. Pitt's political life, he joined with Mr. Wilberforce, in pressing for the abolition of the slave trade. He succeeded in every other measure he undertook, but in this he was in a minority, and these minorities continued until the Whigs came into office, in 1805. They were only eight months in office, but they signalised themselves by the abolition of the slave trade. They gave a lesson to the nations of the earth, and the generosity with which the British nation made such sacrifices was compensated by the perfect safety which attended their humane experiment. The party which did this deserved popular support. That party had called upon Englishmen to estimate all these valuable and important ameliorations in the law, both as regarded religious liberty and human freedom. I will not dwell upon their conduct in Ireland. They have given ten years of almost complete repose to the people of that country. They have, for the first time, taught the people of Ireland that the Government may select persons not for their creeds but for their virtues—not for their religious opinions but their merits—that exclusion shall no longer be the fate of one party, and that offices of power, honour, and emolument shall no longer be confined to a faction. I thank them in the name of Ireland for what they have done, and for what they intended to do. I thank them for the good they have performed, and for the greater good they were prevented from effecting. I ask why a party of this kind should be thrown out of power? I will not stop to argue upon the question whether they fall short of their own undertakings—I will not stop to discuss how many of the more ardent friends of reform have been disappointed and irritated—I will not stop to ask why they did not carry out their own principles by extending the representation to the operative classes, to whom it must soon be extended. But I will say this, that you at least ought to be the last to complain of their labours not having been more extensive in that direction. What are the claims of the Tory party upon a liberty-loving people? What has the Tory faction ever done for public liberty? When were they the advocates of freedom of conscience? Never. They have been exclusionists from first to last, and only yielded to the impulse of the pressure from without, adhering to the principle of exclusion still. I have spoken of a few instances of the benefits conferred by the Whig party in ten years; I will give the Tories a century, and I ask them to tell me what they have done for public freedom to put in comparison? They opposed the emancipation of the negro as long as they could. They opposed Parliamentary Reform. They supported the abuses of the old corporations; and yet, this is the party, it appears, which the people of England prefer. This was the party that all along opposed religious liberty, that kept the people of Ireland in chains until their limbs grew too large, and they burst their fetters. When they could no longer keep from the people of England their liberty, they revenged themselves by diminishing the franchise of the people of Ireland. That franchise was so restricted, that the curse of the noble Lord's bill was scarcely necessary to effect its early annihilation. You gave to England corporate reform, under which every man rated to the poor-rate, however low became a burgess. You gave Ireland a corporate reform, obtained only after four years' struggle, but it was at last conceded by the hon. Gentlemen opposite. How did your leaders treat the Irish people? In the city of Dublin there has been an enumeration to the poor-rate, and the number of rate-payers on the books is 15,000. Every one of these, if he resided in Bristol or Liverpool, would become a burgess; but happening to be on the other side of the Channel, 5,000 of them are excluded. Heaven help us! misery makes us acquainted with strange company. The hon. Member for Evesham has condescended to patronize Ireland. But, first, all agitation must be put down. Has the hon. Gentleman wit enough to know that agitation is impotent, unless founded on a just cause? and I ask any one, possessed of the old spirit of Englishmen — a spirit which, I believe, has considerably evaporated—would you endure that Ireland should have got a corporate reform, giving to every rate-payer the right to be a burgess, whilst England was restricted to one-third? How would the old spirit of an Englishman prompt him to answer that question? If he answered that he would bear it patiently—I will not say that I would treat him with contempt, but I should think he deserved to be so treated. If, on the other hand, he said he would not endure such injustice, I would hail him, and say to him, neither will we, the people of Ireland, endure it. I want to know what the Tory party have done to recommend them to the good will of the people of England? It was said formerly, that no people in the world were more desirous of public freedom, or more attached to the privileges and the rights of freemen, and they carried them out, in the madness of their zeal for liberty, by dragging one monarch to the scaffold, and driving another, a wanderer and a beggar, through the nations of Europe. What party was it that supported these monarchs in their attempts upon the liberties of the people? It was the party that was now coming into power. Their very name dated its creation from the period of the Revolution, and from that period to this what proof have they given of their love of liberty? They opposed the House of Hanover as long as they continued attached to principles of liberty; they opposed them to the very verge of rebellion, and they became loyal only when they got the Crown into their custody in the reign of George 3rd. Have the party shown no disposition to return to their ancient disloyalty during the present reign. They have not as yet the Crown in their custody. Accordingly the loyalty of the party out of that House is expressed in base calumny, and the vilest, and need I say most unfounded slanders? One would have imagined that the youth and sex of her Majesty might have awakened some feeling of sympathy and regard.

Yet it was you who framed these calumnies against your young and beautiful Queen—you deny that, at your orgies, you insulted her by your marked preferences. What said the reports, in the newspapers—your own newspapers? "The health of the Queen was drunk with the usual honours;" and the health of another person—need I name her?—"with nine times nine, and loud and long-continued cheering," accompanied by that music invented by the saint of Canterbury, and entitled "the Kentish fire." And what is there in you to countervail all this? What public good have you ever done? What cause of public liberty have you ever advocated? I have read your history, and I am astonished that the people of England should be so fallen as to consent to give you their confidence. And how was that seeming confidence obtained? Never was such gross bribery known since the world began. Take the great leading organ of your party, the *Times*, which states the fact distinctly, and no other paper has contradicted it. The *Times* is the authority on the point of bribery; and somebody belonging to it has tried his chance at elections two or three times, and has succeeded once, and was sorry for it. You may boast your majority, but take it with this reflection, that it was all owing to gross and unlimited bribery. The *Times* is a liar of the first magnitude, and yet he admits as much. Another cause of your temporary success is your antipathy to Ireland, and the use you made of it. Look at the late speech of your champion, the Earl of Winchilsea: shame on you for listening to it. This, your hatred of Ireland, was one of the leading topics in all your addresses, from Chester to Canterbury. And yet, with all these foul and hateful means, you could not have succeeded but for the sordid and selfish interests of the owners of land, and those dependent upon them. Yes, the farmers were brought to believe that their interests were knit up with those of the landlords, and that the alteration of the Corn-laws would depreciate both, and it was in a sordid, selfish feeling, that they combined to obtain a majority against those who proposed the scheme. And with this majority, there you stand the enemies of civil and religious liberty, and hating from your heart that country, which, from its heart, returns your hate despising as she hates. There you stand, the haters of your right hand in war; with respect to whom you delight to make odious distinctions of political and moral rights—denying her the same franchise, the same representation, and the same corporation reform as you yourselves enjoy. You refuse her also that equality in religion, which, if your parchment union were a real union, would be her's by right. And now you are going again to govern Ireland. Who is to go over there? Is the Orange flag again to wave over the Lord Lieutenant's head? On your last advent to power you sent us a gallant officer—brave as his own sword—and a noble Earl who took the first opportunity to exhibit himself in public, when the Kentish fire was set up to greet him, and the Orange flag waved over his head. True, the man who did this was punished. But how? Three years afterwards, the right hon. Baronet opposite called him in this House a vagabond. He had three years of perfect impunity and enjoyment of office, and at the end of that time he was signally punished by being called a vagabond,—and the vagabond holds his office to this day. And now for the future—What is your plan, what is your prospect? Is it possible to suppose that Ireland can be governed by mere good words? The county of Cork has a population of 750,000 souls, and a constituency of only 3,000. Of this Ireland complains. I have often gone over statements of this kind [*hear*], and on each occasion I have met with the same cries of derision which I now hear. But do you think that, as an Irishman, those cries can have any other effect than to inflame my spirit to defy, and move my energies to oppose and resist the enemies of my country who utter them. Do you think that because you have got a majority that you will put down the spirit of Ireland? do you think that with this bribed brute-force majority you can reconcile her to a rule of injustice at your hands, or drive from her memory and her affection a Government under which she has made such advances in moral feeling and tranquil happiness? But this tranquillity, which she has enjoyed under the present ministry, is, indeed, in your estimation, her only fault. It is a picture which you cannot bear to contemplate. True, there have been, as there are in all countries, and in all times, some instances of sanguinary outrage in Ireland. But before you make a sweeping condemnation for the faults of a few, look nearer home, I pray you. Look at the fact, that in Liverpool alone at the last assizes there were as many offences of a serious nature for trial as in the whole of Ireland. Ireland has calumniators, and always will have—and, shame to say it, too many of them men born upon her soil. Children thus hating and reviling their country—and can we wonder at it, when the enemies of Ireland have always received all the rewards of place and favour which power and authority could confer. Will you continue to follow this system now? You may pretend to administer the affairs of Ireland impartially, without this unfair regard to persons, but if you do, you will find that you will not have a single member of your party voting for you. And if you do not attempt to act impartially, I will not say, that you will lose Ireland—God forbid that you should! but you will deserve to lose her, and you will assuredly lose place and power. But can you act impartially—have you the men and means amongst you to do so? Look at the ranks of your party, and who do we see? Look at the noble Lord opposite, who, as he has made himself most profoundly hated in Ireland, is, I suppose, by the principle that action and reaction are equal, most beloved in England. How will it be with the noble Lord, who calumniated the honour and integrity of the people in Ireland, in order that he might deprive them of their franchise? When I reflect what endeavours I have made to purify the stream of justice in Ireland, that I have voted, night after night, in support of a Ministry who did not go half as far in the good cause as I did, solely with a view to accomplishing, through their hands, the purifying of the stream of public justice, I look with dread and sorrow to what we may now expect from you. Do you mean to restore the sheriff of Fermanagh? No doubt you will find means to initiate him, no doubt you will try means to tranquillise Ireland; and then you will think you have made all safe. But you will find yourselves wrong; there is but one safety-valve for a great and suffering people, and that is, to afford them the means of giving expression to their distresses and their grievances. Your majority will carry you into power; but how long will you remain there? Look at the starving and unemployed millions of your fellow-countrymen; your factories desolate, and your cities rendered hideous by squalid misery and thick contagious mortality. Look at your declining commerce, the result of your unjust and pernicious system of legislation. Do you suppose that the people of this empire will be long before they form a fair estimate between the friends of freedom and its foes? You are coming into power; how long will it be, I wonder, before you will have cause to regret it? Power is in itself always unpopular, and you will not be long in office before your acts are criticised with severity, and the warmth of your temporary friendships begin to decline. Your alliance with the Chartists will soon be at an end. Anything but the Whigs for the hon. Member for Winchester; and this was precisely the cry of the Chartists, who said, "Let us bring in the Tories, and we shall soon multiply the number of Chartists." The Tories consider themselves a distinct and superior class, and look upon all the rest of the community as slaves. Seventy-five per cent. of the population of this country is entirely unrepresented; the people begin to feel this, and see the effect of it in the Corn-law, of which they now so bitterly complain. They begin to see the misery which results from want of freedom and insufficient food. They feel that the Reform Bill has been a failure, and that that measure which would best secure them from intimidation and corruption, namely, the ballot, is denied them. There are abundant distresses, abundant causes of complaint in the country; and how do you propose to meet them? Will you impose new taxes? I do not wish for evil in order that good may come of it; but if I could do so, I should wish that you would try some of these new taxes. Never did a party come into office surrounded with greater difficulties and dangers, and with less of that *mens divinior* of civil and religious liberty to recommend them; and I can only conclude by observing, that as "men's infirmity is God's opportunity," the party now coming into office may be compelled, in spite of themselves, to do justice to Ireland.

Sir *R. Peel*: Mr. Speaker, if I felt more acutely than in fact I do, either for myself or the party with whom I am connected, the weight of the censure and vituperation which the hon. and learned Gentleman has cast at us, still I could find some topic of consolation in the fact, that whatever may be his present abuse of the Tory party, it falls infinitely short of that he has lavished upon his own beloved Whigs. The hon. and learned Gentleman has in fact reduced himself to a condition in which his praise and censure are equally valuable. If these are men who have been so good to Ireland—if these are men who for ten years have preserved that country in happiness and tranquillity, what could justify the hon. and learned Gentleman's loading them with every species of calumny? Are these "the brutal and bloody Whigs?" And when the hon. and learned Member accounted for the cause of their difficulty and embarrassment in the government of Ireland, did he not bear in mind that there is not a distinguished Member of that party who has not been honoured with his vituperation. For ten years, too, this Government had ruled over Ireland and secured to her tranquillity and order. For four of those ten years my noble Friend near me was Secretary for Ireland—for four out of those ten years the man whom you deprecate was the immediate agent of the Whig policy with regard to Ireland. I ask, is it the fact that these men had acted in a way to deserve so well of Ireland? and if so, what has been the object and motive of the hon. and learned Member in coming down night after night increasing the difficulties and embarrassment of this Government, and denouncing them to the country by every calumnious expression which an imagination fertile in calumny could invent. I am sorry if I have been betrayed into a single expression of irritation on the present occasion, but I think I have received sufficient provocation from the hon. and learned Gentleman. It is my earnest wish to discuss this question now before the House in the spirit and temper becoming the gravity of the occasion, and the magnitude of the interest involved. I have been in opposition to the hon. Gentlemen who sit on the other side of the House for a period, with only a brief exception, of ten years. I have always endeavoured to conduct this opposition, in a way reconciling at the same time the practical exposition of my own opinions, and my direct condemnation, when necessary, of the measures of her Majesty's Government, with the absence of every expression of acrimonious or personal hostility; and, certainly, on the present occasion, when, according to the apparently prevailing feeling of the House, our opposition is likely to be attended with success, I shall not allow myself to be betrayed into a different tone than that which I have always endeavoured to adhere to. If the consequences anticipated from this debate be well founded—if it be true that the fortunes of the country, so far as the Government is concerned, are to be committed to other hands, those who, apparently in public opinion, are called to the exercise of power, ought to survey the position of public affairs with feelings far more elevated than those connected with mere party conflicts. I hope I contemplate—if the anticipation of hon. Gentlemen be correct, and that it is likely that I am to be called to any concern with public affairs—I hope I contemplate those difficulties and dangers which hon. Gentlemen have adverted to, and which may, in some degree, account for the want of confidence in the present Administration—I hope, I say, I contemplate them with no unmanly fear or shrinking from the responsibility that belongs to public station. But at the same time it is perfectly consistent with that feeling to entertain an awful sense of the obligations which high office imposes, and of the responsibility which public duty involves. It is in the spirit of that contemplation, rather than that of party rancour or party exultation, that I proceed to give my opinions on the topics adverted to in the course of this debate. Let me first briefly notice two or three points of the Address, on which no great difference of opinion exists. The first is that in which we express our satisfaction:—

> "That we learn with much contentment that the objects for which the treaty of July, 1840, was concluded between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, have been fully accomplished; and that we share in the gratification with which her Majesty is enabled to state that the temporary separation which the measures taken in execution of that treaty created between the contracting Powers and France, has now ceased."

Sir, no man who hears me feels a more sincere satisfaction than I do that that "separation" has ceased. No man who hears me feels a more cordial satisfaction than I do that France has been enabled consistently with her honour to enter again into the councils of Europe. I do hope, however, that that re-union will not be nominal, but will be accompanied with the restoration of those feelings of amity and that cordial good understanding between this country and France which are essential to the security and tranquillity of Europe. I have read with the greatest satisfaction the sentiments recently expressed at a meeting in France (I do not allude to any opinions delivered in the Chamber of Deputies) by a man so eminent, holding so important a station, and who has proved himself so truly deserving the character of a great statesman as the present minister of France. I have seen, I say, with the utmost gratification the frank declaration made by that minister that he rejoices at the prospect of a restoration of the good understanding between France and the other powers of Europe. In the next paragraph "her Majesty trusts that the union of the principal powers upon all matters affecting the great interests of Europe will afford a firm security for the maintenance of peace." I, for one, with the rest of this House, also reciprocate that sentiment. What is the first interest which it behoves the European powers to attend to? Is not the time come when the powerful countries of Europe should reduce those military armaments which they have so sedulously raised? Is not the time come when they should be prepared to declare that there is no use in such overgrown establishments? What is the advantage of one power greatly increasing its army or navy? Does it not see, that if it proposes such increase for self protection and defence, the other powers would follow its example? The consequence of this state of things must be, that no increase of relative strength will accrue to any one power, but that there must be an universal consumption of the resources of every country in military preparations. They are in fact depriving peace of half its advantages, and anticipating the energies of war, whenever they may be required. I do not mean to advocate any romantic notion of each nation trusting with security the professions of its neighbour, but if each country were to commune with itself, and ask "what is at present the danger of foreign invasion, compared to the danger of producing dissatisfaction and discontent, and curtailing the comforts of the people by undue taxation?" the answer must be this, that the danger of aggression is infinitely less than the danger of those sufferings to which the present exorbitant expenditure must give rise. The interest of Europe is not that any one country should exercise a peculiar influence, but the true interest of Europe is to come to some one common accord, so as to enable every country to reduce those military armaments which belong to a state of war rather than of peace. I do wish that the councils of every country (or that the public voice and mind if the councils did not) would willingly propagate such a doctrine. There is a great revolution in public affairs of late. The peace of twenty-five years, the intercourse of commerce, new connections, new interests which have sprung up therefrom, have effected a great change in public affairs. Take France for example: why, there is no country in Europe, if common sense ruled her councils, that could wish to see France curtailed of its fair pretensions to the rank to which it is entitled. There is a supposition, too common I believe in France, that the old feeling of national hostility prevails in this country. That notion is founded on a complete delusion, and if you were to canvass public opinion in this country on the subject you would find that in the proportion of ninety-nine to one there is no other wish than that France should consolidate the free representative institutions by which she is governed; and there is not one feeling of hostility directed against her successful competition in the paths of science, of the arts, of literature, of manufacturing industry, and of commerce. And if France were in any danger of an unjust aggression, the security of France would not be found in the number of her regiments, but in the mind and public spirit with which she would rise as one man to revoke and dispel the danger. It is the same with that magnificent country, which has abolished the name and distinctions of separate states, Germany, at this moment, from Hamburg to the Tyrol, and from Berlin to the southern confines, burns with a spirit which would intimidate and overbear any invader. These are the securities against aggression, and the securities for peace.

"Not high-raised towers nor moated gates,
Not cities proud with spires
And turrets crown'd; not bays nor broad
arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the storm,
Rich navies ride; not gay and spangled courts,
Where low-bowed baseness
Wafts perfume to pride. No; but man,
High-minded man, with powers
As far above dull brutes endued,

In forest, brake, or dell,
As these excel cold rocks or brambles rude."

At the call of patriotism, Germany or France would rise now with an energy which France displayed in 1793. I give this opinion, subject, I know, to the imputation, "All this man is afraid of, is war, and he would have the states of Europe reduce its establishments in order to gain some paltry advantages." I hope the time is not yet come when public men can be influenced by such low and grovelling imputations. You can't conduct war as Bonaparte did. No power in Europe can do it. You can't make the country you conquer bear the price of the conquest. The thing is impossible. With states, as with individuals, that most unpleasant day—the day of reckoning—comes round; and when, in their sober moments, men calculate the relative advantages of immense armaments, and the illusions of military glory, with the cost of the taxes to pay for such exploits, they come to take a calmer and more discreet view of the comparative advantages than they could be expected to do in the moment of excitement. The expression of these sentiments is perfectly consistent with an earnest determination, if occasion should require it, to risk anything that the honour and interests of the country may require. I come now to a point of home policy—but I must say, that I did see with great pain the omission of any notice in the Speech of our relations with the United States—not that I necessarily blame that omission. I am sure it was not a casual one—I am sure it was not inadvertent. My regret is this, that I fear you have nothing satisfactory to say. Questions were asked of the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs by the hon. and learned Gentleman to which the noble Lord made a reply that must necessarily have suggested other questions. When the noble Lord laid down the principle that we had nothing to do with the municipal institutions of other countries—that our demand must be made on the public organs of those countries, and that their own international laws and regulations could not be held out as an answer—when the noble Lord read a dispatch from Mr. Webster recognising, as I understood, the principle for which the noble Lord contended, and which was dated in March last—if the question had been an ordinary one some further questions must necessarily have been asked had not the noble Lord deprecated those questions being put. I understood from the noble Lord that he thought it would be more conducive to the great interests of peace, and consistent with the national honour, that the questions should not be pressed; and drawing this inference from what I considered to be the opinion of the Noble Lord—though I shall refrain from pressing the question, or seeking any further explanation from him—the noble Lord, I am sure, will permit me to say, that the explanation given by him is anything but full or satisfactory. I will not detain the House any more on these matters, but proceed at once to the consideration of those great subjects which are adverted to in the Speech and in the Address that the House is called on to assent to. The speech of the noble Lord delivered by her Majesty—calls on us, if I understand the object of it, for an expression favourable to the measures recommended by her Ministers last Session. The Speech has special reference to those measures, which were intended to supply the deficiency in the public revenue, and which relate to the timber duties, the sugar duties, and the corn duties. I do not mean to avoid the expression—I should rather say the repetition—of my opinion on the subject of these propositions. I stated before the last Session terminated, what course I intended to pursue, and what view I took, with reference to these subjects. I have been told that the country would disapprove of the secrecy which I maintained—I have been told, that it was unworthy of any person looking to the possession of power to withhold the developement of his plans for remedying the financial embarrassments of the country. But I gave an opinion then to which I will adhere now—to which I will adhere now with the greater resolution, because it has been supported and confirmed by the voice of the country. That opinion was, that at present I ought to be regarded as an individual; that I am not called upon by any consideration of public duty; that, in fact, I am precluded, by my own sense of public duty, from developing the detailed measures by which, if called to power, I would attempt to rescue the country from its present difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman, the President of the Board of Trade, asked me whether or no, if I dissented from the Ministerial measures, I, therefore, dissented from the principles of free trade. Sir, I protest against the principles of free trade being tried by these individual measures. I protest against the conclusion, that because you oppose these individual measures, therefore, you imply an opinion adverse to the removal of the restrictions on commerce, or hostile to the doctrines of free trade. In the first place, if I do profess a general conviction of the truth of the principles of free trade, I cannot be charged with a new or hasty adoption of them. When I was Secretary of State, in 1825, I was intrusted with the preparation of the Speech from the Throne, and I recommended the removal of restrictions on commerce in a manner as it appears to me more calculated to promote that removal, and to make it acceptable and satisfactory, than the mode which had been adopted by the Government opposite, of trying the principles of free trade in a mere scheme of financial policy. In 1825, this was the language of the Speech which I recommended to his Majesty:—

> "His Majesty commands us not to conclude without congratulating you upon the continued improvement in the state of the agricultural interest, the solid foundation of our national prosperity; nor without informing you, that evident advantage has been derived from the relief which you have recently given to commerce by the removal of inconvenient restrictions.
>
> "His Majesty recommends to you to persevere (as circumstances may allow) in the removal of similar restrictions. And his Majesty directs us to assure you, that you may rely upon his Majesty's cordial co-operation in fostering and extending that commerce, which, whilst it is, under the blessing of Providence, a main source of strength and power to this country, contributes in no less a degree to the happiness and civilization of mankind."

Now, these were the sentiments to which in 1825 I was a party. The right hon. Gentleman has, I think, a fair right to say, "don't content yourself with these general declarations in favour of free trade—of the principles by which you will be guided, since they throw on you the onus of establishing the exceptions." I may say again, when the right hon. Gentleman talks of assuming the mantle of Mr. Huskisson, I can say, with truth, that I did cordially co-operate with Mr. Huskisson in his financial measures, and that I did receive from Mr. Huskisson the assurance that, from no Member of the Government had he received more cordial support than from myself, in carrying his measures and in mitigating the difficulties with which he had to contend. The right hon. Gentleman says, that he did not propose these measures alone, but that there were other measures intended to carry out the same views. It is true there were other measures founded on the principles of free trade, of which I have spoken, and he says there were also others of a more extensive character in contemplation. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will not expect me to express any opinion on those which were only in contemplation. But with respect to those which he did propose, what course did I take? One of these measures was a new regulation of the duties on Brazilian coffee, in order to abolish those absurd restrictions which prevented the direct importation of coffee, and to prevent the sending it in future round by the Cape. On that measure the right hon. Gentleman met with no opposition from me. On the contrary, it had my cordial support. Another measure proposed by the right hon. Gentleman was, the equalization of the duties on East-Indian as well as West-Indian produce. The right hon. Gentleman met with some slight opposition from this side of the House; but I well recollect that I expressed an opinion in favour of this measure. There was a third measure for diminishing the cost of production in the West Indies, by allowing the free importation of timber and provisions, and certainly the right hon. Gentleman cannot say he met with any formidable objection from me in carrying that measure into effect.

Mr. *Labouchere:* It was opposed by the right hon. the Member for Cambridge University.

Sir *R. Peel:* The measure, as I remember, was but slightly opposed, but not by me. I shall now refer to another passage of the Speech.

> "It will be for you to consider whether some of those duties are not so trifling in their amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, whilst they are vexatious to commerce."

Now, you ask me if I contend against that principle of reducing the public burdens. Not the least. I consider nothing more proper. If such duties exist, there can be no rational objection to reduce them; but, for the other part, that we ought to consider,

> "Whether the principle of protection upon

which others of these duties are founded be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the State and the interests of the people."

I cannot contend against the principle, and my only reason for contending against the Address is, that it solicits an opinion on the three measures which form part of the budget; and what I fear, is, that were I to allow it to pass in consequence of any acquiescence in its general words, that you might consider it, and that the public would take it, as an acquiescence in the detailed measures. I now come to the details of those measures. With respect to the timber duties, I said, before the House separated, that I would reserve the consideration of that question, whether, circumstanced as the Canadas are, there may not be political considerations which may contravene the general principle of free trade which you desire to establish. What were the facts in our possession relative to the question of the timber duties? The noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, informed the House that Lord Sydenham had declared that the proposition for the repeal of the timber duties would greatly add to his embarrassments. Lord Sydenham added, that there might be other measures which, if adopted, would reconcile the Canadas to the reduction of the timber duties; but, to this hour, we have never heard what those measures were. What is the state of Canada at this moment? What is the state of that colony as it is affected by our relations with the United States? I saw lately published in the newspapers a despatch from the noble Lord—a despatch of a peculiar nature—such a despatch, as, I believe, was never published before. In that despatch the noble Lord frankly informs the Governor-General of Canada, and publishes to the whole world, that he has referred a project for the fortification of Canada, not only as would be done in ordinary times, to the Master-General of the Ordnance, but to the Duke of Wellington, and that 100,000*l.* a-year is to be appropriated to that purpose. Thus, it was proclaimed to the world at this moment, that we are not content to rest upon the superiority of our navy, but intend also to fortify Canada. What is the object of all this? It is for the object of convincing the United States that we have made up our minds to defend Canada at any risk, and also of assuring the people of Canada, that notwithstanding our financial difficulties, notwithstanding the embarrassments in which we are involved, we are ready to take upon ourselves the debt contracted by Upper Canada. I do not contest the wisdom of the measure. It may be right to tranquillise the public mind in Canada—it may be wise to spend a hundred thousand pounds annually in fortifications in that colony—it may be proper to resort to the extraordinary step of publishing to the United States the communications which have taken place on the subject with the Duke of Wellington; but if these proceedings are correct, they indicate a state of public feeling, and a state of public danger, which justify my reserve and hesitation as to increasing, at this juncture, the embarrassments of the Canadian Government. I will not say a word more on this point, and I hope that I shall be excused from taking any step to increase the notoriety of the document to which I have adverted. I suppose it was the noble Lord's wish that it should obtain the widest publicity; but I shall deeply regret if I have contravened his intention. Here, however, is the document, published at full length in an English newspaper. I now come to the sugar duties. Upon that subject I must maintain precisely the same language which I held previously to the dissolution. At any rate, you shall not have cause to charge me with having, before the dissolution, employed language which now that I have obtained a majority, I am inclined to modify; and that whilst I have assisted in removing you from office, on account of distinct measures which you have proposed, I contemplate confirming myself in power by proposing measures of the same nature. I tell you frankly that I contemplate no such thing. I maintain now the same opinions as before. I say, that seeing you have proposed to admit the sugar, not only of the Brazils, but of Cuba, at a reduction of duty to the amount of 12*s.*; seeing that your own measure was so ill-considered that you were obliged to alter it within a week of its introduction—seeing that you made no stipulation whatever, at the time of offering that great advantage to those countries, in respect to slavery—it did appear to me, in the first place, that looking at the risk we would run of aggravating the horrors both of slavery and the slave-trade, particularly as far as Cuba was concerned, and considering that you had taken no precautions upon that subject, which, even if your views were just, you might, and ought to have taken, by exacting conditions from the government of those states, it would be unwise and impolitic to make the alteration proposed, the more particularly when the prospect of an increased supply of sugar from the West-India colonies and the East Indies was such as to give assurance of a reduction in the price of the article. I freely admit, that I cannot reconcile this course with the just principles of free trade. The principles of free trade, strictly applied, would require a disregard of the considerations respecting slavery; but those considerations did weigh in my mind, and I also mistrusted your calculations as to the probable supply of sugar from our own colonial possessions. I do not blame the right hon. President of the Board of Trade for changing his opinions with respect to this question in 1841, and I must say, that although I have had plenty of provocation in the course of this debate to pursue an opposite course, I think, it would be much better for us to abstain, as far as possible, from taunting each other with changes of opinion. But, although I do not mean to taunt the right hon. Gentleman, I must pay him the compliment of saying, that the grounds on which he opposed a reduction of the sugar duties in 1840, were urged with great ability. In 1840 the right hon. Gentleman opposed the reduction of the sugar duties on the ground that the West-India colonies were tottering under the weight of a great experiment; he said that sugar stood upon a different footing from cotton and coffee—that it required a peculiarly laborious cultivation, and that, consequently, the loss of life on a sugar estate was greater than was sustained in cultivating any other kind of colonial produce—and that the people of England required that a fair trial should be given to the great experiment of free labour. These were the grounds on which the right hon. Gentleman resisted, on the proposition for reducing the duty on foreign sugar in 1840. These reasons satisfied my mind, and I voted with the right hon. Gentleman. I do not mean to say, that the right hon. Gentleman had not a right to change his opinions, if circumstances created a necessity which would overrule the grounds on which that opinion rested; but the grounds on which the right hon. Gentleman resisted the reduction of the sugar duties in 1840, were not of an incidental or temporary nature. I thought that there was a prospect of the price of sugar being reduced in consequence of an increased supply from British colonial possessions. Now, what is the fact? The right hon. Gentleman did not refer to it in his speech the other night. He made an able speech, entered into a great variety of details, but he, too, forgot the part of *Hamlet*. He altogether omitted to allude to the price of sugar. The price of sugar, the produce of British colonial possessions, on the 1st of September, 1840, was 58*s.* 4*d.*; on the 8th of January, 1841, it was 50*s.* 10*d*; and the present average price is 36*s.* 2*d.* I do not say that this reduction in the price of sugar, the produce of our own colonial possessions, is a conclusive argument against the admission of foreign sugar to compete with it. The principle of free trade would disregard any considerations founded upon the low price of sugar. In point of fact, low prices might be perfectly compatible with monopoly. I merely refer to the reduction in the price of the article as a conclusive proof that the prophecies of the Ministers on the subject have been falsified. The right hon. Gentleman, however, may say, "True, the price of sugar has fallen; but there has been a great decrease in consumption—the consuming power of the people has abated." If that were the case, it must, of course, be taken into account in estimating the value of the reduction in price; but will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to ask him why he confined his estimate of the consumption of sugar to the first six months of the present year? During those six months there was a great derangement of the trade in sugar, because the Ministerial propositions had been announced, and everybody expected a great change in the duties levied on foreign sugar. These circumstances must account for the diminished consumption in the first six months of the present year, or at least for a smaller quantity than usual having been taken out of dock for consumption. What, however, has been the case within the last three months? I have been told, that in the three months ending the 5th of August, 1841, the consumption of sugar, the produce of the British plantations, and the Mauritius, was 937,000 cwt., and that in the three months ending the 5th of August, 1841, the consumption has been 992,000 cwt. Is that statement true or not? If it be true, why did the right hon. Gentleman confine his estimate to the first six months of the year? If it be true, it is a most important and consolatory fact. I value it less on account of the augmentation of the revenue than as indicating an increase in the consuming power of the people. If it be true, that reduction in price has been accomplished by increased consumption, I refer to the circumstance as encouraging the hope that the period had arrived when there would be a stop to the downward progress of depression. I now approach the more important and exciting question of the Corn-laws. In order that I may make no mistake, allow me to refer to the expressions which I made use of on this point before the dissolution. I said, that on consideration I had formed an opinion, which intervening consideration has not induced me to alter, that the principle of a graduated scale was preferable to that of a fixed and irrevocable duty; but I said then, and I say now, in doing so I repeat the language which I held in 1839, that I will not bind myself to the details of the existing law, but will reserve to myself the unfettered discretion of considering and amending that law. I hold the same language now; but if you ask me whether I bind myself to the maintenance of the existing law in its details, or if you say that that is the condition on which the agricultural interest give me their support, I say that on that condition I will not accept their support. [" *Cheers.*"] Hon. Gentlemen cheer; but am I not maintaining precisely what I said before? I know it is the fashion; but I confess it appears to me to savour of intolerance, for some Gentlemen opposite to assume that they are right, and that those who differ from them are not only in error—that was the infirmity of our inferior judgments—but that in holding our opinions, we are actuated by base and sordid motives. The right hon. Gentleman says that there are great errors in the mode of taking, the averages. Would any man of common sense debar himself of a full opportunity of correcting those errors? There may be various modes of correcting those errors, but I purposely avoid entering into details. As I said before, I reserve to myself the unfettered power of considering details. Now, you are not satisfied, and the whole stream of obloquy which has been directed against me, and which after the experience of about thirty years produced as little irritation and uncomfortable feeling in my mind as it could in the mind, perhaps, of any man, has flowed from this, that I will not state what alterations I intend to propose. It is said, " But although you prefer the principle of a graduated scale, you do not tell us what your scale will be." I ask any reasonable man whether a more preposterous demand was ever made upon a public man than that he should not only declare his preference of a principle, but explain to the whole world and bind himself irrevocably to the precise mode in which he will carry it out. You made the demand in May last, and you have remained in office ever since. You said in May last, " You are coming into power; we are going out. There is a candidate for power on the eve of his advent to office, and he will not tell us what his sliding scale will be." What if I had done so? Your demand proceeded on the assumption that you were about to quit office. If I had explained my plans on the 18th of May, you would, in the interval between that time and the present, have occupied yourselves in attacking my details, and as far as lay in your power, rendering it impossible for me ever to carry them into effect. If I had, on the 18th of May, stated the details of a plan which subsequent events have proved I could not have proposed, at the earliest, until the middle of October, my opponents throughout the country would have been engaged in sifting and condemning my plan, and I should have been told that I was bound by an irrevocable pledge to adhere to it. If I had attempted to deviate in the slightest degree from what I had originally laid down, I should have been subjected to this observation :—" Here is a man who came forward with the details of a plan which he offered to carry when in opposition, and now he has got into power he has altered its details." I was an individual Member of Parliament, standing in a peculiar position I admit, because honoured with the confidence of a powerful party; but I contend that I was under no obligation to furnish you with a budget. If this is expected from me, why should we maintain an immensely expensive civil government? If an individual without the means of obtaining information which are possessed by Ministers, is expected to furnish such measures as have been demanded from me of what use would be our civil Government with its expensive establishments. I'll prove you really feel you ought not to require what you ask from me. I'll prove that you feel the justice of my objecting to it. Why will you give me a year to consider the Poor-law Amendment Act? That has long been the subject of discussion. Why not demand of me the production of the details of a measure on that subject. It would be just as reasonable. You know that to afford an opportunity of sifting and attacking a measure in popular assemblies, which is to be brought under the consideration of Parliament tends to prejudice its consideration. But it was said, "Tell us what your pivot will be." Suppose I had done so, and proceeded afterwards to form a Government. I must, I presume, have informed her Majesty, that the great principle of the Government was involved in an adherence to my pivot. I was to go to each colleague to ask him to assent to belong to the new Government; but I was to tell him there is one irrevocable principle to which you must subscribe; not merely an alteration of the Corn-laws—not a preference of the graduated scale over a fixed duty—but this precise and particular mode of taking the averages, and this particular pivot and price is finally determined upon, and from which you cannot depart, because I have publicly pledged myself to it. I leave a blank for the name. Can any reasonable man gravely say that was the course I ought to have pursued? Why there never was a more preposterous demand made upon a public man than that I, not being in office, but supposed by you to be a candidate for power, should declare what precise measure on the subject of the Corn-laws, in the event, the distant event—the event contingent upon your inclinations—I should propose? I stated that before the elections, and no demand, no solicitations, no ridicule shall induce me to depart from it. What was the question between us? On your side of the House are Gentlemen who are advocates for free trade, many of them not Members in the last Parliament, and they may not know what the real question at issue is. We both acknowledge the principle of protection to agriculture. The first finance minister of the Crown being asked if this measure of a fixed duty was a tax or a protection? answered, "It is a protection." We start then from the same point. The Government proposes a fixed duty of 8*s*. to be levied upon foreign corn at all times, and under all circumstances. No matter what may be the glut in the market—no matter what the price of corn, whether 90*s*. or 100*s*.—the proposal of the Government was, and I suppose is, that the duty of 8*s*. should be rigidly exacted. Will the hon. Member for Stockport have the goodness to apply his calculations to the Government proposition of an 8*s*. duty; and when he estimates the amount of duty upon bread, which is taken from the pocket of the poor man, as compared with the amount of duty that is taken from the pocket of the rich man, I ask him to tell me whether his calculations are not literally and precisely as applicable to a fixed duty of 8*s*. as they are to a graduated scale? When I have adopted a fixed duty, and accepted it as a final settlement of the Corn-law question, what security shall I have that their fiery denunciations, which have daily and nightly been lavished against the bread tax, will not apply with equal force to a duty of 8*s*., as to a duty levied under a graduated scale. [An hon. *Member:* it depends upon the amount.] No, it does not. If a certain quantity of flour be necessary for the consumption of a poor family, and a certain other quantity is necessary for the consumption of the family of the rich man, every one of those elaborate calculations of the hon. Gentleman will apply, with precisely the same effects, to that fixed and unvarying duty, as they do to the shifting duty, without reference to the amount; and every argument of a popular nature, calculated to produce dissatisfaction and discontent, will apply, with at least equal force, to a fixed and irrevocable duty levied directly under the name of a tax upon bread, as they do to that duty which is levied on the principle of a graduated scale. The principle of free trade is as much opposed to the one as to the other. And I ask, would that be a satisfactory state, if we are to have a mere intermediate adjustment of the Corn-law, public declarations being made by some of the most eminent Members in the House—some saying that they accept the fixed duty only as an instalment—others avowing that they consider it only as a stepping-stone to free trade, and all telling us openly that they do not accept it as a final settlement, but upon its being gained, they will proceed to immediate agitation for a total repeal? That is one consideration that causes me to doubt the advantage, and if I may borrow an expression from the noble Lord, which makes me doubt the "finality" of such a settlement, let me ask this question of the noble Lord: Suppose you had passed your law in May last, fixing the duty at 8*s.* upon corn; suppose the weather continued unfavourable, more so than we have now reason to hope it will be; but suppose the harvest had been decidedly bad, and towards the end of September, or the beginning of October, the price of corn had risen to 90*s.* a quarter, would you insist upon your fixed duty of 8*s.* That case might have arisen. That is no improbable conjecture. You say you want to give security to commerce. Now what is the meaning of that? That men may speculate in corn—that they may know the amount of the fixed duty—that they may take their chance of making great gains by pouring in corn from the continent when the English price is at 90*s.*, subject only to the fixed duty of 8*s.* Of course, then, the principles of free trade require a rigorous exaction of that duty. Or is there to be a discretionary Board of Trade to remove the duty if they should think fit? That surely would not be in accordance with the principles of free trade. You say that the remote consequence you contemplate is, that the price will not rise. That is not the speculation of those who contend for a total repeal; but I speak to those who advocate a fixed duty. I was about to say, that the tax upon corn was contemplated to come into immediate operation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplated that tax as forming part of his budget for the year; and I merely refer to the right hon. Gentleman to prove that no delay was in contemplation, but that he estimated the 8*s.* duty as a part of his ways and means. Well, suppose the prospects of the harvest to be gloomy; suppose that there had been a defective supply, and the price had risen in consequence; suppose, I say, all this as taking place in September or October next, would you have insisted upon a rigorous exaction of your 8*s.* duty. [A *Hon. Member*; Yes.] You would! Then I publicly notify to the country, upon the authority of a great manufacturer and a stern free trader, that be corn at the price of 80*s.*, or 90*s.*, or 100*s.*, his rigid adherence to the principles and doctrines of free trade will compel him to exact the duty of 8*s.* Then, when the hon. Member for Stockport should come forward with the distressing details of the misery of the poor, when others should come forward with their sympathy; and, as I sincerely believe, their unfeigned sympathy, with the sufferings and distresses of the poor, sufferings of which they themselves are cognisant; when they should say, "Here is corn at a price of 90*s.* or 100*s.*, a foreign supply is pouring in;" then their neighbour and friend (the hon. Member who answered "yes") will say, "No matter what may be the distress that prevails, no matter what may be the extent of privation; no matter what the amount of suffering, yet still the 8*s.* duty must be exacted, there is no power to remit it." In vain would it be to show, that under the existing scale it would have been admitted at 1*s.* In vain would it be to draw a comparison between the state of the law now, defective as it may be, admitting corn when there is scarcity, in vain would it be to draw a contrast between that state of law which admitted foreign corn when prices were at 80*s.* or 90*s.* with that state of law which required 8*s.* irrevocably and under all circumstances. No matter these considerations—hon. Gentlemen would adhere strictly to the 8*s.*, and would say, that the importer of corn was entitled to the letter of his bond. It may be very well to make all this parade of strict adherence to principle, but I tell you, that under those circumstances the duty of 8*s.* could not be levied. You would be obliged to admit a relaxation of it either by the power of Parliament, or by some subordinate authority. How will you provide for that relaxation? Will you provide, that when corn shall arrive at a certain price, the council shall be required to abate the duty? If you do, then you must maintain the system of averages. And then I say, that in that case the right hon. Gentleman must apply himself to the correction of the system of averages, for there would be the same temptation, as now, to deal with the averages when there should be a price fixed, enabling the council to relax its duty. If on the other hand you take no such power, then that principle of law which provides for the total redemption of the duty when corn is inconveniently high, is far more likely to work well than that principle which requires irrevocably and under all circumstances a fixed duty. With respect to the fluctuations in price I confess, having paid my best attention to this subject, that I have great doubts whether your expectations, that free trade in corn will produce a great fixity in price will be realised. It does appear to me, that there are and must be such fluctuations in the price of corn, from the very nature of the commodity itself; a commodity not dependent upon production by machinery which can be limited, but dependent upon circumstances varying and accredited, as the seasons or as the quantity of corn produced. That the proposal of a fixed duty, therefore, would be an improvement in the law as regards ensuring fixity of price, I very much doubt. In considering this part of the subject, it will be important to compare the price of grain in those countries in which Corn-laws do not operate with the prices in this country. And here let me say incidentally that, in considering this question, I wish to disregard every party and political feeling whatsoever, and treat it as only it ought to be treated. With respect to the fluctuations, then, in the price of corn, they have been great—greater than could have been wished. The main object to be attained is a comparatively fixed price. Now, then, let us compare the variation in the price of corn in the United States with the variation here. America is a country not subject to the operation of any Corn-law: America is a country with a perfect free trade in corn internally, and with a produce more than than the inhabitants can consume. It is not, therefore, supposed to be subject to the fluctuations which a country like England, partly dependent upon foreign supply, must necessarily be. I have here a paper which gives the price of corn in the different countries of the world, and particularly in the United States. I take the State of New York, and unless I have made some error, or there is an errror in the print itself, there is an account of a very remarkable fluctuation in price. In November, 1834, the price of the Winchester quarter of eight bushels was 33*s.* 4*d.*; in October, 1836, it was 54*s.*; in January, 1837, it was 63*s.* June, 1839, it was 67*s.* 4*d.*, and in October, 1839—mark, in the same year, it was 39*s.* 7*d.* Thus, in the State of New York alone, in the course of six months, the price of corn varied from 67*s.* 4*d.* to 39*s.* 7*d.* Whence arose that fluctuation, how was it to be accounted for, unless by the nature of the intervening harvest producing so immense a variation? In October, 1840, the price was 31*s.* 9*d.* So that we see the price fell from June, 1839, when it was 67*s.* 4*d.*, to October, 1840, to 31*s.* 9*d.*, a great deal more than 100 per cent. But it has been said, that the Corn-laws of England derange all the markets of the world; yet Mr. Whitmore tells us, that little corn can be obtained from the United States—that the average price is 40*s.*, and that we must not expect a very material import from America, and that the markets there, from their distance, are not liable to much derangement from the Corn-laws of England. As regards fluctuations arising from seasons and similar causes, the variation must be as great there as here. Why, in January, 1837, when corn was 63*s.* a quarter in New York it was only 55*s.* 6*d.* in England; and in October, when it was 64*s.* in New York, it was only 45*s.* 9*d.* here. Here then, in a country subject to no Corn-law, the operation of the seasons occasioned these high prices. If I look to other papers presented to Parliament in the present Session, and which I have yet had scarcely time to look into, I find that the very second page contains a most extraordinary statement relative to the produce of Russia. Here is an account from your own consul, stating that St. Petersburgh sent out, besides the supply for its own inhabitants, from 175,000 to 210,000 imperial quarters. But he says, likewise, that in a season of abundance that supply might be trebled. It is clear that on account of the variation of the seasons there cannot be otherwise than a fluctuation in price. Your own consul tells you that the supply may be three-fold, if the changes in the weather are favourable. He also adds, that in order to give an idea of what that country was able to produce when the harvest was good, he begged to state that he had been informed by one of the principal merchants in the corn trade that, in 1835, the government of Tambov alone produced 38,000,000 quarters of grain. [An hon. *Member*, "It is impossible"]. You say it is impossible? Now these are the men who asked me in May last to produce my Corn-law measure, ready and complete in all its details, anticipatory of the information now furnished, and which they say, after all, is wrong. When I read your own information, the first exclamation I am greeted with is, that "It is impossible!" That information, however, was derived from your own consul, in answer to a despatch transmitted by the directions of Lord Palmerston, and asking for minute and particular information. In the same document I find that the cost price of wheat at first hand at St. Petersburgh is stated to be from 13*s.* 6*d.* to 14*s.* 1*d.*; oats, 4*s.* 5*d.* to 9*s.* Now, if these facts be true, is it not quite possible that a great fluctuation in the price of corn may arise from other causes than the operation of the Corn-law. Now, speaking in the spirit in which, as I before said, this question ought to be discussed, I cannot help thinking, that you, who contend for such inestimable benefits to arise from a change in the Corn-law, as correcting all fluctuations, are greatly exaggerating the advantages to be derived therefrom. I am sure that I listened with the greatest pain to those accounts of manufacturing distress detailed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, whose character and opportunities for observation entitle them to the greatest respect. But some of these details were so afflicting, so harrowing, that I involuntarily said—What must be the mode in which the Poor-law is there administered. Surely it must be impossible that an unfortunate man can be found dead upon his loom after his labour was completed, and no inquiry instituted, no helping hand stretched forth to him. However that may be, this much I know, that we ought not to content ourselves with a bare expression of our sympathy, but those in authority ought in the first instance to demand by whose laxity it was, and by whose neglect it was, that such a horrible instance of suffering could have been permitted to occur in a Christian community. If I could bring myself to think—if I could believe that an alteration of the Corn-laws would preclude the risk of such distress—if I thought it would be an effectual remedy, in all cases, against such instances of lamentable suffering as that which have been described, I would say at once to the agricultural interest, "It is for your advantage rather to submit to any reduction of price, than, if an alteration of the Corn-laws would really be the cure for these sufferings, to compel their continuance." I should say, that it would be for the interest, not of the community in general, but especially of the agriculturists themselves, if, by any sacrifice of theirs, they could prevent the existence of such distress. If any sacrifice of theirs could prevent their being the real cause of the distress—could prevent the continuance of it—could offer a guarantee against the recurrence of it, I would earnestly advise a relaxation, an alteration, nay, if necessary, a repeal of the Corn-laws. But it is because I cannot convince my mind that the Corn-laws are at the bottom of this distress, or that the repeal of them, or the alteration of their principle, would be its cure, that I am induced to continue my maintenance of them. I own to you that mine is but a gloomy view of the subject. I fear that in the complicated commercial, and manufacturing concerns of this country, no legislative remedy that you can by possibility devise will be an effectual remedy against the recurrence of such distress as has been described. There is something in the sudden invention and application of machinery—conferring I admit, in several instances, inestimable advantages upon the country, as increasing its productive powers—but it is at the same time necessarily attended with the infliction of distress upon those who have previously subsisted on the produce of manual labour. In the course of the inquiries that I have made into this subject, I have been most forcibly struck by documents which appear in the first report of the Poor-law commissioners, giving an account of the state of manufactures in Lancashire in 1835; and, if such things as are there described, can exist—if there can be such stimulants applied to production, then I fear that the inevitable consequence must be, that, when the check arrives, when the markets are encumbered with produce, when wars in China, wars in Syria, and disturbances in Europe affect the vent of supply, then the inevitable result must be that there will be a recurrence of that distress, general and in detail, which has been described in such forcible terms in the course of the present debate. Now, this is the account which Dr. Kay, a gentleman possessing the confidence of the Government, now holding an office of great importance under the Government, but who, at the time I am speaking of, was employed as a Poor-law commissioner—this is the extraordinary account which he gives of the state of manufacturing industry in July, 1835. I recommend the whole document to the attention of every hon. Gentleman who sits in this House. Dr. Kay says, that within two years a new power, equal to that of 7,507 horses, will be brought into operation—that 45,032 fresh hands, at the rate of six mill hands to each horse power, will be required, and that in addition to that 45,032, an equal number of mechanics and labourers will be required, making in the whole 90,064 fresh hands in the then state of Lancashire for working the new power about to be brought into operation. The erection of this power pre-supposes the outlay of an immense capital. Dr. Kay says that it involved an outlay of 3,752,000*l.* This is independent of the mills which were in existence in 1834. The document goes on :—

> "Whence must the population required by the manufacturers be derived ?
>
> "And it recommends that a suitable agent to encourage immigration, *ab extra*, be established."

Dr. Kay gave an account of the population of one township as follows :—

		Population.
"Township of Hyde,	1801 . . .	830
—	1811 . . .	1806
—	1821 . . .	3355
—	1831 . . .	7138

of which 5,000 must be the result of direct immigration, to be obtained by establishing an agent in Manchester to encourage immigration—

> "In June 1835, Messrs. Henry and Edmund Ashworth state that it is calculated that nearly twenty thousand persons would be required in the neighbourhood of one of our seats of manufactures alone—that of Staleybridge."

When you have got this population together, what takes place? In a short time you find them suffering from distress for which there is no remedy without drying up the sources of our prosperity—the application of machinery. When you have erected your new power, and collected the hands necessary to work it—when you have established your mills, and drawn together the 10,000 or 20,000 persons who are to keep them in motion—then the ingenuity of man discovers some new mode of producing similar articles of manufacture with a great curtailment of manual labour. This immediately gives rise to great want and great distress; thousands are thrown out of employment, and seem for the time to be deprived of the means of existence. Is not this a necessary consequence of mechanical inventions, and will they not continue to exist after an alteration in the Corn-laws. What I deprecate, then, is the exaggerated view that is taken of the advantage of an alteration of the Corn-laws, as a remedy for the distress from which some portions of the population are suffering. Let the whole question be looked upon in a philosophical point of view—let it be borne in mind that there are other causes than the Corn-laws that occasion distress, and do not take the unjust, the unwise step of attributing all the ills our fellow-men endure to the operation of those laws. I will not enter further into the discussion of this part of the question. I am sure the deep importance of it will have justified me in the eyes of the House for the extent to which I have gone; but I shall now draw my observations to a close. I cannot acquiesce in the Address moved by her Majesty's Ministers. It involves an approbation of the specific measures that were involved in the budget to which I expressed my dissent. It would imply also that confidence in her Majesty's Ministers which I do not feel. I do not think that the noble Lord will quarrel with the proceedings that have been taken. I think he will feel that it is infinitely fairer—infinitely more direct, more just, after the appeal which has been made to the people, to come at once to the issue, whether the Government has or has not the confidence of the country, than to permit the noble Lord to remain in ignorance upon that point, and to take the ordinary course of thwarting his measures. The hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, who in his speech last night, affected the most extraordinary and sentimental loyalty, who seems to suffer more from an irritation of the feelings of romantic and chivalrous loyalty than any other Gentleman in the House—the hon. Member for Finsbury says, that we are acting in opposition to the Queen's wishes, by moving an amendment to the Address. Why, this is strange doctrine from one professing a great regard for the constitution. We, the House of Commons, are to be prevented from performing our duties in respectfully submitting our opinions to the Sovereign, by the fear of contravening the Sovereign's private wishes! And the hon.

Gentleman contrasts the course which I am now pursuing with that which was pursued by my opponents in 1835. The hon. Gentleman says, that after the generous treatment I experienced, after the forbearance which was manifested towards me—after the earnest desire that there was to permit me deliberately and fairly to lay upon the table of the House those measures for the public good which I proposed to recommend to the attention of the legislature—after all this I ought to feel discouraged from taking so indecent and hostile a step as to declare a want of confidence in her Majesty's Ministers on the first day of the meeting of Parliament. True, when I was in office, I think I remember the opposition to the election of Speaker, and the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman, whom I see opposite, that, being beaten on the question of the Chair, I ought at once to have resigned. But if that hint were not sufficient, there was another in store for me on the succeeding day; for an amendment was moved to the Address, which censured me me, in direct terms, for having advised the Crown to dissolve the Parliament. What affectation, then, is it for the hon. Member now to come forward and state, "True, there was an attempt to censure you; but no want of confidence was implied—the vote was not a vote of want of confidence, but an abstract, dispassionate, impartial view, taken by great patriots, of the single measure of dissolution, and you, the unhappy object of the censure of those great patriots, were to continue in the administration of power, not considering that as an indication of the slightest distrust." Now I will destroy that illusion by the authority of the right hon. Gentleman opposite; because last year, speaking upon this very question of want of confidence in Ministers, he made use of these expressions:—"He (Sir Robert Peel) advised the King to dissolve the Parliament. I do not deny his right to give this advice, any more than the right of the next Parliament to give an opinion on that advice. We know what that opinion was, it condemned the advice given by the right hon. Baronet in this most essential particular; and the House of Commons, by a majority of seven, pronounced a verdict against the right hon. Gentleman—a verdict which amounted to a vote of no confidence, as much as any vote could do." No doubt it was meant as a vote of no confidence. It was a perfectly legitimate mode of trying the question, and it was but a short time that I survived it. [An hon. *Member:* The right hon. Baronet remained in power some time after that vote.] I am proud of having retained power till I found that the sense of the House of Commons was decidedly against me. Then I resigned—then I threw up a power that I felt I could not properly continue to hold. But I had previously fought the battle of the Speakership, and several other battles. Do not suppose that I call upon a minister, upon the first intimation of dissent or distrust, at once to throw up office. No; he owes obligations to the Crown which would not warrant him in taking so precipitate a course. After the division on the Speakership, I knew that the fate of my government was sealed, and I at once determined to resign; but, at the same time, I do not think I was exercising an undue discretion in continuing in power as long as I did. My position at that time was perfectly different from that of her Majesty's Government at the present moment. It is now upwards of two years since the Government declared their own opinion, that they had not sufficiently the confidence of this House to enable them satisfactorily to discharge their public duties, and I firmly believe that their retention of power, in defiance of the important constitutional principle, which declares that any ministry that undertakes to administer the affairs of this country, must possess the confidence of the House of Commons, has weighed more with the constituencies of England than any other misdeed of which the noble Lord, and his colleagues have been guilty. Lord Melbourne declared, that the worst Government was that which could not execute its measures. He declared that great interests might be exposed to hazard by a minister's attempting to hold office after he had lost power. Those words made their impression upon the public mind; and the result of the late and general election was, in my opinion, a vindication on the part of the people of the great constitutional principle—a principle which every friend to popular government—every friend to the representative system of government ought to hold in honour, namely, that the favour and support of the Crown ought not to maintain for a long and indefinite period a Government in existence against the will of the representatives of the people. It compromises the prerogative of the Monarchy so to retain power, because it exhibits the prerogatives of Monarchy without their just influence. It exhibits the House of Commons wanting in its just influence when it can thwart the measures, and censure the acts, but cannot decide the fate of a Ministry—And now, when you appeal to the constituency—the constituency which you yourselves have framed, professing to consist of the middling classes, and selected from them, as less liable to undue influence than if you had widened the franchise—when you make that appeal to them, and tell them that, in your opinion, as expressed by your chief, you are retaining power at the hazard of great interests; when the House of Commons has declared, that you do not possess their confidence—when you thus appeal to the people, the day of retribution comes, and the people, vindicating the constitutional principle, confirm the decision of the House of Commons. The public opinion has been frankly expressed. That opinion, I firmly believe, is unfavourable to the Government. You say, that that opinion is unjust—you say, that the people are too fastidious. These are unjust reflections upon public opinion, and upon those you have made the depositaries of a great public trust. I do not believe that the constituencies of this country are so disqualified to form an opinion of the character, conduct, and acts of public men. But this I am sure of, that their judgment must be decisive, if you intend to retain the popular mode of Government. There is no appeal from it. I might have said in 1835, "It is very hard to condemn me; I have brought forward no measures; it is very hard that the people should declare against me before I have an opportunity of explaining what I mean to do?" What would have been your constitutional reply? "The people are to judge of that—they have decided against you—you are not to remain here holding power and executing public trusts—the people are against you—you must submit to the will of the people." That is the constitutional principle, and it is in deference to that principle that we have moved this amendment, partaking, I trust, as little as possible of any unnecessary acerbity, but embodying an expression of the public opinion which must be decisive. The result is expected to be the resignation of power of the present government. It is not for me to speculate what may be the result of that—others have speculated upon it. I contemplate with calmness, without anxiety, nay, with confidence, whatever may be the result. If power do not devolve upon me I shall make no complaint. If power do devolve upon me, I shall accept it with the consciousness that I have gained it by direct and constitutional means, and that I owe it to the voice of the people of this country, and to the favour of the Sovereign. I am told that in the exercise of that power, I must be the instrument of maintaining opinions and feelings which I myself am disposed to repudiate. With my views of Government—with my views of the obligations which it imposes, the duties which it entails, the sacrifices it involves—I am little disposed to add to those sacrifices, by accepting it with a degrading and dishonourable condition. I am told that I must necessarily be the instrument of effecting objects in Ireland which I myself disapprove. I am asked whether I dare affront my associates and partisans. The hon. Member for Meath (Mr. H. Grattan) had alluded to the conduct of a public functionary in Ireland. who, he said, had offered an insult to the religious feelings of his fellow-countrymen, by some public act of an offensive nature. I am not afraid of expressing my opinion with respect to acts like this; and I say at once, that there is no man in this House—no Roman Catholic Member in this House—who heard with deeper pain or deeper regret than I did, that a gratuitous, an unprovoked insult, and an unnecessary insult had been offered to the religious feeling of the people of Ireland. If I cannot gain power or retain it, except by encouraging and favouring such feelings, I say at once, that the day on which I relinquish power, rather than defer to such feelings, will be ten times a prouder one, than the day on which I obtained it. If I do accept office, it shall be by no intrigue—it shall be no unworthy concession of constitutional principle—it shall be by no unnatural and factious combinations with men (honest I believe them to be) entertaining extreme opinions, but from whom I dissent. If I accept office, it shall be by walking in the open light, and in the direct paths of the constitution. If I exercise power, it shall be upon my conception

—perhaps imperfect—perhaps mistaken—but my sincere conception of public duty. That power I will not hold, unless I can hold it consistently with the maintenance of my own opinions, and that power I will relinquish the moment I am satisfied that I am not supported in the maintenance of them by the confidence of this House and of the people of this country.

Lord *John Russell* then rose and said: If I have to request the attention of the House at this late hour, and at the close of a lengthened debate, I must beg the House to recollect that it was not till a late hour on this the Fourth night of the debate, that any leader of the party opposed to Ministers, rose to justify the amendment on the Address expressive of a want of confidence in the present Ministry. I complain not of the motion which has been made by hon. Gentlemen opposite, because I think that the meeting of a new Parliament affords the first and best opportunity of deciding the question whether the party now in the possession of the Government, or any other party is entitled to the confidence of the House. But when I say this with regard to the House of Commons, I say it is with them, as with all depositaries of power in this country, there must be reasons given for their proceedings. As a Sovereign would not be justified in appointing a minister without merit of any kind from mere caprice, so neither is a House of Commons justified from a mere consciousness of power in setting aside appointments made by a due and legitimate exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. What, then, are the arguments in support of this motion? The only reasons which have been urged, have been those adduced by the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, who moved the amendment to the Address, and the noble Lord who seconded it, and by the right hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House. But between the arguments used by those hon. Members, and those addressed to the House by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, I must observe, in the first place, that there was a most remarkable discrepancy. The hon. Gentleman felt it incumbent on him, in bringing forward a motion of such magnitude, involving such vast consequences, to ground himself on the best reasons he could state to prove to the House the necessity of the motion. The arguments which the hon. Gentleman brought forward, were founded on the conduct of the present Government from the time of its commencement under Lord Grey, in 1830, up to the present year. The right hon. Baronet opposite, has made a speech to night in which he stated his opinions on the present state of affairs, but the whole of his objections rested on the budget proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the measure connected with the Corn-laws, which I intended to propose in the course of the present year. Now, Sir, I beg, in the first place, to address myself to the arguments of the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and I must say, that there never was a motion of so much importance, and extending over so long a period, that had more meagre arguments for its support. When former Ministers were attacked, those who attacked them usually stated some grounds for their doing so—some defect in their policy which made it the right, the incumbent duty, of the House of Commons to interfere with the prerogative of the Crown. The American war—considered as a most impolitic war, in which much blood and treasure were squandered, and the loss of thirteen of our colonies—was the accusation made against Lord North. A motion of a like nature against Mr. Addington, was made on the ground of his being engaged in a war against a formidable enemy, with the naval preparations of this country in an inadequate state. These were grave motives, adequate grounds if supported by facts, for the interference of the House of Commons with the executive. Without going into other and similar instances, let us now look to the state of things to which the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire has referred, and in doing so I beg the House will grant me its indulgence while speaking in defence of the Government, and while I review the facts connected with the foreign relations and the internal state of the country. The hon. Member said, that Lord Grey came into office pledged to maintain peace; but my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, very truly said, that this pledge meant that Lord Grey's government would act in the spirit of peace,—not that they would brook insult or neglect the essential interests of the nation for the sake of avoiding war. Now what has been the result of the foreign policy of the Government? It has been, without any material interruption to the peace of Europe, a successful policy. In regard to the first question to which the hon. Gentleman has alluded, the question of Belgium, that country has been the motive for war, and the source of disturbance to Europe in the days of Queen Elizabeth, in those of William the 3rd, in the time of the French revolution, and down to the close of the last war. That difficult affair has been by means of negotiations amicably settled, begun by the Government of Lord Grey, but concluded by that of Lord Melbourne. Other questions arose concerning Portugal and Spain, countries which had also been the cause of involving Europe in trouble and in war. I am not here disposed to enter into any argument in regard to the merits of the policy pursued towards these two countries, but I say that in both instances it was a successful policy. We were in favour of placing Donna Maria on the throne of Portugal. She was placed on the throne of Portugal. We were in favour of the present Queen of Spain and of a free constitution, against the pretensions of Don Carlos and Absolutism. The Queen is now on the throne, and the constitution exists in Spain. Take another instance of our foreign policy, we were of opinion that Mehemet Ali should no longer retain Syria. The chief powers of Europe concurred with us in this respect, and the result of our policy was, that Mehemet Ali was deprived of Syria. In India attempts had been made to shake our power, and Dost Mahomed had been put forward as an instrument by which the safety of our possessions in that quarter were threatened. Hostilities were undertaken, and Dost Mahomed is now at Calcutta, seeking refuge under the shelter of the British Government. There are other transactions which are now in operation, the result of which it is impossible for some time to know. I allude to those in relation to China; but putting this part of our policy out of the question until its results be known, I say that our foreign policy has been eminently successful. And while the peace of the world has not been disturbed, the reputation of the British name has been raised, both under the Governments of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne; and the lustre which always attends a policy pursued with perseverance, and crowned by success, has been shed upon our councils. Then again, the state of the fleet has been the subject of attack both in this House and by a portion of the press, but the gallant Admiral who commanded on the coast of Syria, and the gallant officer, a Member of this House, who seconded him in the operations, have amply sustained the ancient renown of the British navy. With these few observations, I am ready to leave this part of our defence. I do not think it necessary to enter into any explanation of the particular parts of that policy; but I do say, as regards the foreign affairs of this country, that the present Government will leave the name of England high in the estimation of the world—with a character not diminished, but raised, by the course which we have adopted. In regard to the next department—I mean that over which I now preside, the colonial department—I know not what you can say otherwise but that the colonies are in a state of advancing prosperity. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to one of these colonies in connection with the timber duties, and in reference to the opinion which the governor-general of that colony had expressed on the subject. With the permission of the House I shall say a few words on the state of that province generally. In Canada you had given the power of popular representation to the French population, a great portion of whom were not well disposed to British connection, and still less well disposed towards British habits and institutions. The result was, after long bickerings—after an attempt to deprive that popular assembly of the power of disposing of its funds—and after some attempts at conciliation in pursuance of the report of 1828, the dispute ended by the disaffected breaking out into a violent and open rebellion; that rebellion was successfully put down by the energy of the Governor-general, Lord Seaton. His military energy and the resources placed at his disposal enabled him to suppress that insurrection, but much still remained to be done. The minds of men were disturbed, and in a British colony, inhabited to a considerable extent, by men of British race, without British institutions no permanent prosperity could be looked for. We have restored free institutions to Canada, and everything which I have heard induces me to believe that these institutions will prosper—that there will be, as there has been already on several occasions, a majority in favour of British connection and animated with feelings of loyalty towards the Crown. In these circumstances I stated to the Governor-general that all the questions relating to the province had been taken into our consideration, and that we were of opinion, seeing that Canada had a frontier of nearly 1,200 miles in extent, with so powerful a neighbour, that some means should be adopted to secure the future peace of the province, as well as its future prosperity. There were certain measures which, if adopted, would, in the opinion of the Governor-General, reconcile the colonists to an alteration of the timber duties. His opinion was, that the prosperity of the Canadas would be crippled unless some assistance was afforded them in regard to the public debt of the province. We concurred in the opinion of Lord Sydenham. I stated it was our wish to support to the utmost of our power, her Majesty's subjects in Canada, and that we were determined that those loyal to the Crown should not be abandoned by the Crown—that means would be taken to shew that we were interested in their prosperity, and that we wished to make common cause with them and to share the risk of any future contingencies that might arise. The right hon. Gentleman has not disapproved of that policy. My belief is that it is the only policy which could be pursued. If you are determined to act as some philosophers advise, and as I believe, a noble Lord in the other House advised—to separate the mother country and the colony, then you should make it an amicable separation at once; but if you are determined to maintain the connection between the two countries, you must not hesitate, you must not waver, your first course must be to support the loyal subjects of the Crown. Leaving, however, this consideration, the present state of things is, that our colonies are well affected to the mother country, improving in every part of the world in wealth and in strength, and except the chance of external danger to the Canadas, there is is not, I believe, at the present moment any room for apprehension. I come now to the domestic Government of this country. Is there any thing in the present state of the country calculated to give rise to alarm, if you proceed to take the measures which we have proposed for its well-being into your consideration? I will speak presently of the distress that exists: but, in regard to the disposition of the people, I may fairly say, that that disposition is a disposition of loyalty, tranquillity, and of obedience to the laws. In regard to Ireland, there has not been, under our Government, any outrage that may not be traced to a state of things existing many years back, and no one can affirm that any feeling of alienation has existed towards the Crown, during the administration of the present Government. Well, then, the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, has come forward to propose a vote of want of confidence in a Government which has been successful in its transactions abroad — successful in its Government of the Colonies — successful in its Government of Great Britain and Ireland. You may tell me that you have party reasons for the course which you have taken; you may tell me that your party is strong, by means which I may yet have to speak of; you may tell me that there are others to whom you are disposed to transfer your confidence; but I say that though this is a right which the House can exercise, you have no moral claim to exercise it where you have not proved any defect in the administration. Again, I affirm that you have not proved that any great interest of the country has suffered in the hands of the present Government. Why, Sir, we have had debates on this question before now. I remember we had a great debate in the commencement of the Session of 1840 on a motion of want of confidence made by Gentlemen opposite against the present Government, when the gravest charge brought against the Government, was a speech that I made at a dinner at Liverpool, at which reporters were not present, and, consequently, not one-half of what I said was published, and the half that was so, required the qualification of the other half. Another of the charges then brought against Government was, that the Registrar-general had appointed a person to the office of registrar of marriages at Birmingham, who turned out to be a Socialist. But in a Government of a great country, I doubt whether these are sufficient grounds to induce this House to withhold its confidence, and to depart from their usual course of proceeding. Well, we had another great debate in the present year on the same subject, and then the accusation was, that the Government had not been able to carry a particular measure to which I must now allude, although by doing so I may perhaps weary the House, but yet on such an occasion, when our reputation has been repeatedly attacked, I trust that the House will extend its indulgence towards me. I mean the question of what is usually called the appropriation clause; let me first observe, that clause was not, as is so earnestly imputed, brought forward for the first time for the purpose of driving the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, from office in 1835. Many Members of the party who now sit on this side of the House, had repeatedly stated, that the revenue of the Irish Church was too large for the services it performed. It was thought a part of the revenue could be usefully diverted to the education of all classes, Catholic as well as Protestant. It so happened that the Marquess of Wellesley, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, recommended a measure in respect to the tithes, and recommended at the same time the appointment of a commission to inquire into the different religious persuasions in Ireland. Soon afterwards the hon. Member for Sheffield brought forward his motion, with which many, in fact a great majority of the then Government agreed, and among others Earl Spencer; while the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, whom I see opposite, left office because he held opinions totally opposite. The consequence would have been, that the Ministers who remained in office under Lord Melbourne, would have felt it their duty to have brought forward the question of the Irish Church, and a new appropriation of part of its revenues founded on the information gathered by the commission that had been issued. At that time Lord Althorp succeeded to the peerage. The Government was dismissed, and a new Government occupied our offices. Were we to alter our opinions on that account? Were we, who had consented to separate from the noble Lord opposite, whose talents would be valuable to whatever party he attaches himself—were we to say, that because a Gentleman to whom we had always been opposed had become Prime Minister that we would consent to abandon propositions for his sake, which we had not yielded to a Friend and a colleague? That certainly could not be expected, and accordingly under the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman, we brought forward a resolution of appropriation affecting the revenues of the Irish Church. The course taken by the right hon. Gentleman after two divisions against him was the resignation of office. He might have resigned office on the vote of censure contained in the amendment to the Address, which I thought the stronger vote against the Ministry, than the vote on the Irish Church. Or he might have remained in office till a more direct resolution was proposed. He took a course which I then thought, and which I admitted, was in accordance with the Constitution; he resigned office. It was for him to choose the time of his resignation. He had never been in a majority, and it was for him to say when the period had arrived when he could no longer hold office. We immediately proposed a bill, containing the appropriation clause—we passed it twice through this House—it was defeated in the House of Lords. We had then two different courses to pursue. We might have gone on proposing the appropriation clause, and have had it continually defeated, leaving the tithe question unsettled; or we might have taken the course we did adopt. We thought the first course would be pregnant with evil to Ireland. It might be said, "You ought to have gone on proposing your appropriation clause, and you would have preserved your consistency." But for the sake of that consistency, we should have entailed upon Ireland the evils of an agitation with respect to tithes for many years to come. Besides, the honourable and learned Gentleman, the Member for Cork, has stated this night most truly to the House, and others have also stated, that this clause had ceased to give content in Ireland. We, when we brought the clause forward, thought, that by it we should give satisfaction to the Irish people; we thought that this clause would have tended to reconcile the people of Ireland to the Protestant Church Establishment. But after that proposition had been defeated two several times, we did not think it likely to attain the end we had proposed; and even if we had proposed it in a future year, it would not have allayed the hostility of the people of Ireland, because a concession so small in amount could only be valuable if it were carried early and with good will. But then, Sir, it is said, it was our duty to have resigned office. I think, Sir, that it was our duty to consider what was best for Ireland. We were aware that, though we could not carry the appropriation clause, the other party was most decidedly opposed to that clause. Therefore, with regard to the appropriation clause, we were unable to carry it, and the other party were opposed to it; so that our resignation could make no difference; but with regard to the practical Administration of the Government of Ireland, there was a difference. There was a great, a marked, an important difference between the principle which the party with which I act, adopt, and that of the party who follow the right hon. Gentleman opposite; and notwithstanding all that the right hon. Gentleman has said, and notwithstanding all his fair intentions, which I do not doubt, I believe that he must place power in Ireland in the hands of what I cannot help believing is a small minority; and not only small, but also an exasperated minority in that country. The right hon. Gentleman's orders may be beneficial, they may be impartial—they may be in accordance with the wishes of a wise and beneficent Sovereign; but the execution of them must, I fear, be left with a small portion of the people, feeling no sympathies with the majority, and carrying those orders into effect in a spirit, and perhaps with a rancour, that cannot fail to exasperate the people of Ireland. [*"Oh! Oh!" from the Opposition.*] The right hon. Gentleman and many of the party opposite, may think that I have formed a wrong impression. I do not wonder at that, but I must say, that as far as our experience has hitherto gone, and I must say also, from the mode of speaking of the great majority of the people of Ireland, from the mode of speaking of them and their clergy, usually adopted by the Friends of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and from the mode which I have heard adopted by an hon. Member of this House in calling a crowd assembled at a hustings by no other name than "savages." I think that we cannot expect that those who adopt such language will fulfil the wishes of the right hon. Baronet, however benevolent. Holding these opinions, we thought it our duty to remain in office, although the appropriation clause was not carried: because, although we could not ensure to the people of Ireland the benefits of that clause, we could give to them that just and impartial administration of the Government, which we could not expect them to receive from hon. Gentlemen opposite. In respect to the internal condition of this country. I have one more remark to make. One of the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman, and of others on his side of the House, which is a constant resource for them when speaking on the subject of the Corn-laws is, that our exports have gradually increased, but this fact shows at least that the security and the tranquillity of the country have not been disturbed in consequence of the great changes which we proposed. The Reform Bill which we proposed was undoubtedly a great change, and the right hon. Gentleman and others felt it as such, and described it as dangerous to the public tranquillity; yet, since that period, our exports year after year have been increasing, and during the last five years they have been greater than they ever have been. This may not show a flourishing state of trade, for goods may have been exported at a loss, but one thing it does prove, and that is, that the great changes which we have instituted, have not been attended with any doubt as to the security of property, and that no disturbances were to be apprehended from them. Then, Sir, we are assailed from another quarter, and the hon. Member for Bath says—

> "Year after year you have departed from the principle with which you commenced, if you had gone on with reform, and continued in the path in which you set out, you would have retained the support and confidence of the country, and you would still have retained office."

I can only say, in answer to that objection, that it can hardly be expected by a gentleman of the pure political principle of the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Bath, that we could have proceeded in that course, if it were contrary to our conscientious opinion. We have opinions, with regard to the consequences of another course, and we have our views, with regard to the Reform Bill, and the danger of constant and perpetual changes, which led us to resist the changes proposed to us. The hon. Member for Finsbury, in 1837, and other hon. Members since, have recommended another course; and they tell us, that if we had taken that course, we should not be at this day about to lose the reins of power. Now, if I were to tell the hon. Member for Bath, that should he profess violent Conservative opinions, and declaim against the Poor-law Bill, he might come into office under a Tory Government; he would say, in reply, that such conduct would be contrary to his opinion, and that he could not honourably profess such principles. We tell him the same thing, and when he says to us, "consider the course you took after the Reform Bill; you lost the confidence of the Liberals, and you did not gain the good opinion of the Conservatives;" I tell him, that we perceived the consequences as well as he did, we knew we could not expect to conciliate the Conservative party to the policy of the present Government, and we never expected to do so; we knew likewise, that our course would weaken the attachment of eager Reformers to our Administration. But it was our opinion, that we could not consistently and honestly support the plans which were proposed; and if any hon. Gentlemen says, that if we had taken such steps, and had adopted such plans, we could have remained in office, while our refusal to do so is the cause of our loss of power; and if our principles were opposed to such changes, I say, " welcome the consequence." If we could retain power consistently with our own principles—and our own opinions—well; but we would not retain power by the adoption of schemes which we considered dangerous and unsound. That was a course, which, as a Minister of the Sovereign, I could not adopt, and I hope, that it is one which the Government of the country will never adopt. Well then, I come at last to the speech of the right hon. Baronet, and I observe, that he has applied himself to one subject, and that subject the budget. Yet even upon that subject the right hon. Gentleman has no more committed himself than he did before. He was not required to develope or to give the details of his measures, because, that he was never asked —it was never proposed to the right hon. Gentleman to develope his plans in detail; but what he was asked to do, was, to give an explanation of his general principles. We say, " Here is a deficiency in the revenue—here is a diminution of trade—here is poverty in the community; we think, that an approximation to the system of free trade will be of advantage in all respects," and we ask whether " you consent to this principle;" and to this day the right hon. Gentleman has not made any answer to that question. He tells us, to be sure, that he is not to be expected to go and tell his Sovereign that there is one principle to which he shall adhere, and that is a particular arrangement of the pivot; but it seems there is a principle to which he adheres, from which he will not be moved; and that is the sliding scale. Now I am at some loss to conceive why the right hon. Gentleman, taking every other matter into consideration—leaving himself at large with respect to almost every other matter—should be so determinedly wedded to this fancy. He will not say to his Sovereign, that he will adhere to the pivot; but the Address which he would make to his Sovereign would be this:—" To be sure I formerly stated, with regard to the Roman Catholics, that their admission to power would be the destruction of the Church, and the ruin of the constitution; but they have been admitted, and the constitution goes on perfectly well. As to reform in Parliament, it was to be entirely destructive to the monarchy and subversive of all our institutions; but it was passed, and still the constitution, some how or other, flourishes under this plan, and none of those institutions which were so threatened have suffered in the smallest degree, and so satisfied am I with the Reform Act, that I mean to make it the guide of my future conduct, and the foundation of my future proceedings. The admission of the Roman Catholics into Parliament — the admission of Dissenters into offices—entire religious liberty —the change of the constitution of Parliament—the destruction of fifty or sixty boroughs, and the admission of numerous classes to the exercise of the franchise—these are trifling matters, on which a change of opinion may take place, but the sliding scale is a principle which I never can or will give up; it is so necessary, that come what may—be the change in the Corn-law what it may, the maintaining inviolate the sacred principle of the sliding scale is the great matter to which I shall devote my future public life." I am extremely sorry to differ so much from the right hon. Gentleman, but I must say, that all the information which I have acquired; all that I have read of the writings of enlightened men on the question of the Corn-laws, have only convinced me more and more that the graduated scale—the sliding scale—is the main cause of the evils under which the country is at present suffering. If you have a fixed duty, no doubt you have a tax on corn; but you may have a certainty of trade. If you make it a moderate fixed duty, you will have a continued admission of corn, with regular and continued markets; but, if you have a sliding scale, you can have nothing but uncertainty and fluctuation. I will take the liberty to state, in the first place, how contrary, as I think, the sliding scale is to the general notions of free trade, which the right hon. Baronet professes. The right hon. Gentleman read the Speech delivered from the Throne in 1825, which recommended to Parliament the adoption of measures founded on the principles of free trade, and he declared himself to be one of those by whose advice that recommendation was made. In the course of that year there were comments made on that Speech, not only by Mr. Huskisson, who showed by details the evils of prohibition, but by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day, Mr. Robinson, who was attached at that time to the principles of free trade. He said,

"The House, I am happy to say, has gone along with me, in promoting this great object and I trust that the country is by this time convinced of the good sense which dictates the policy of getting rid both of positive prohibitions and of prohibitory duties. Much has already been done, but much remains to be done; and it is the intention of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Huskisson) to take an early opportunity of submitting to the House a plan for reducing, within moderate and reasonable bounds, all the remaining prohibitory duties, and thus to strike as it were from our recollection all those errors and prejudices which have so long shackelled the energies of our own commerce, and restricted the productive industry of the world."

Unhappily, these prohibitory duties, so far from being struck from our recollection, are even before as at the present time, and commended by those who then promised their abolition; but the declaration of Lord Ripon was received with very great approbation by the House; and the hon. Baronet, who is now the Member for North Wilts (Sir F. Burdett), especially declared that all those restrictions should be taken away, that there ought to be free trade with all the world, and that if there was that free trade, he was convinced that this country would rise to a degree of prosperity which had never before been witnessed. Great conversions, undoubtedly, occasionally take place, and the noble Earl (the Earl of Ripon) is now expressly opposed to doing away with the prohibitory duties, and the hon. Baronet to whom I alluded, at a public dinner at which he recently presided, took occasion to attack her Majesty's Ministers, on that very ground But I hear the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir J. Graham) say, that the present Corn-law was founded on that very recommendation; now, let us see whether it does not come under the description which the Earl of Ripon has given of prohibitory duties. I have here a description of the effect of the present Corn-law for three or four years. The Speaker in praising the present Corn-law says, that during 1834, 1835, and 1836, the duty was 47*s.* per quarter. Now, a duty of 47*s.* per quarter is neither more nor less than a prohibitory duty. You may tell me that it is right that it should be so; that when corn is cheap it is right that there should be a prohibitory duty; but do not tell me with one breath that you are going to do away with all prohibitory duties, and with the next impose a duty of 47*s.* per quarter on corn. But in point of fact, a prohibitory duty is that which destroys all regular commerce in corn; and I will refer to the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Launceston, who appears to have been studying the question of the Corn-laws; for his argument, according to my mind, is in favour of the view which I take of the case. He said, that "in 1838 the harvest was deficient, and British wheat rose in price, and the doors being opened for the importation of foreign corn, it was allowed to come in at 28*s.* 1*d.* per quarter. In 1839 the duty was 1*s.* 7*d.* only, and then there came in 1,718,771 quarters of corn, an amount more than 1,740 times as many quarters as were brought in, in 1835 and 1836, when the duty was at 47*s.* per quarter." Now, I ask, can there be any regular trade when such a state of things exists. A man might engage in commerce, and might import a large quantity of foreign corn, which, from the state of the market, he would be unable to introduce. For three years his commodity might be shut out, and he might be ruined by the waste and destruction of his corn, whilst some other speculator might come in in the fourth year and secure a very great prize. If the House will permit me, I will state a little more of what occurred in the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, because it will illustrate those fluctuating duties, to which the right hon. Baronet is as much attached as to the most valuable part of the Constitution. In 1838, the maximum of duty was 34*s.* 8*d.* and the minimum was 1*s.* From the 1st of January, 1838, to the 2nd of August, in that year, during seven months the duty fluctuated from 18*s.* 8*d.* to 34*s.* 8*d.*, but on the 26th of July, the corn jobbers commenced operations; they held back the inferior corn, and by bringing forward the best corn raised the averages, and the duties ranged from 18*s.* 8*d.* to 16*s.* 8*d.*, to 10*s.*, to 2*s.* 8*d.*, and finally to 1*s.* It was expected, that a great deal of corn would come out at 6*s.* 8*d.*, which would have made up the deficiency of the revenue for the year; but only 4,130 quarters came in between the 30th August and the 6th September, and the quantity entered at 1*s.* was 1,520,000 quarters: at 2*s.* 8*d.*, 131,000 quarters; at 6*s.* 8*d.*, 4,000 quarters. In 1839, the quantity of wheat entered was 2,521,494 quarters; and of this, 776,000 at 1*s.*, 147,000 at 2*s.* 8*d.*, and 1,340,000 at 6*s.* 8*d.* The jobbers, foreseeing that they might enter their corn at a low duty, sold only the best wheat, and kept back the worst; the consequence was, that by the 1st September they had raised the average to 73*s.* What followed this proceeding? It may be said, "You have now a large quantity of foreign corn entered, and that ought to relieve the people, as corn will continue to enter." But the same jobbers who by fictitious sales were enabled to lower the duty and raise the averages, then took an opposite course, and sent bad wheat to market, by means of which process they raised the duty and lowered the averages. Having acted against the farmer in the first instance, they acted against the consumer in the second instance. [*Cheers.*] The right hon. Baronet seems to doubt the fact, but I am speaking from information derived from the Board of Trade. The price of wheat, in common transactions between the farmer and his customers, and the price of bread during these great fluctuations of duty scarcely varied; therefore the effect of this intricate and artificial scheme is merely to promote jobbing and fraud in the trade in corn, and to enable speculators to make enormous fortunes at one time by depriving the consumer of the supply of corn, and at another by depriving the farmer of his just remuneration. I own, that this seems to me a system fraught with great evils, and not to be corrected by any alteration of the averages, or by any change of the sliding scale. It appears to me to be a system so vicious in its nature and so false in principle, endeavouring by complicated legislation to defeat the natural operations of trade, that we ought to abandon it and establish a fixed duty whether of 8*s.* or any other sum Parliament may think fit to establish. I ask you to fix your duty; or, in other words, to allow persons to send their orders abroad, to bring the article into the market, and to dispose of it like any other commodity. This year 900,000 quarters will enter during the month of September; but suppose a merchant to send orders to America for corn to arrive at a later period, he may find at the time that there is so heavy a duty as to make it ruinous to him to sell it, and he may be compelled to keep the corn for more than a year, to his enormous loss. This state of things is not only injurious to trade, but evidently injurious to the great body of the people. Tell me, if you will, that you want to be independent of foreign supply, but can you? You import corn at the rate of a million of quarters a year; in one year you had two millions and a half of quarters brought in. If you are afraid that foreign nations will not give you a supply, you are in as much danger when you want two millions and a half of quarters, as under any system of trade, however free. Your state at the present moment is that of dependence. The notion of independence of foreign supply is one which does not accord either with your present Corn-law, or with any you may hereafter venture to establish. But then if you do not mean to be independent of foreign supply, if you expect a portion of the people to subsist upon foreign corn, let us get it equally and steadily, and let it be brought to market in the regular way, obtaining a certain sale and a ready purchase. As to a fixed duty, the right hon. Baronet says, "Suppose you had a fixed duty, could you venture to keep it if corn rose to 90*s.* or 100*s.* per quarter?" I believe, that the remission of duty in that case would be rather to the advantage of the importer than the consumer, just as under the present scale a 10*s.* rise in the price in Germany is to the advantage of the foreigner, and to the disadvantage of the consumer. At the same time, my impression is, that if there were a scarcity of corn, you would not be able to preserve a fixed duty of 8*s.* But I think the best answer is, that which the right hon. Baronet himself suggested, that if you had a regular market for corn, and a regular trade, you would very seldom have an actual scarcity. This appears to me so manifest, so self-evident, as not to require any argument. In proportion as you restrict the field from which your supplies are to be drawn, in that proportion you increase the fluctuation. If you restrain the supply of a single county to the produce of that county, the fluctuations would be much greater than if you extended it to the whole kingdom. If you derive your corn from only one kingdom, the fluctuation will be much greater than if you derived it from many kingdoms, from Poland, Russia, Germany, France, and America. There will be variations of seasons in different parts of the globe, and with the commercial enterprise and manufacturing industry of this country, you will be so certain of a supply from one or more of them, that I can scarcely believe, you would run any danger of scarcity. But if, on some rare occasion, that danger did arise, you might give power in your Act of Parliament to the Queen in council, to admit corn, duty free, for a certain time, and requiring the meeting of Parliament within a month or six weeks from the date of the order in council. If you enacted, that it should be admitted duty free at 72*s*. or 73*s*., similar frauds would be practised to those which exist under the present artificial system; but I think you might safely leave with the Crown a discretionary power of that kind. Let it be recollected, that this is a plan which has been adopted with regard to sugar and some other articles, so that there is nothing new in this policy. Mr. Huskisson, for two or three years, introduced a bill at the end of the Session, by which he let in all corn in bond at a much lower duty than that fixed by law, in order to guard against the possibility of scarcity. Much has been said about the great cheapness of corn which would follow this alteration. My own belief is, that corn would be cheaper than at present; without pretending to any very accurate means of knowledge, I should say, that the general average price might be 50*s*.; but, whatever it may be, it will be a much more steady price than at present. When I say a steady price, I mean not an average price taken on a number of years, but generally steady; to illustrate my view, you may have corn for one five years at 40*s*., and for another five years at 80*s*.; the average will be 60*s*.; but in the same way the price may be 55*s*. for one period of five years, and 65*s*. for another, and the average here will also be 60*s*. The average will be the same, but the case to the people and to the consumer will be widely different. But the main object to which I look is not the greater cheapness of corn, but additional employment to the people. With respect to wages, it has been said, that if you admit corn, wages will be lower. If this be stated as a disadvantage to the people, it is a complete fallacy; for if you suppose that out of 10*s*. wages a labourer spends 7*s*. in bread; if you lower the price of his bread to 5*s*., it is clear that 8*s*. are to him as valuable as 10*s*. were before. But if I am right in supposing that the demand for labour will increase, then by all the rules which govern price, the labourer will, in fact, secure higher wages than before. The change will produce such a demand for labour that wages will really be higher, and men now in a state of destitution will then be able to procure employment. Such is my case for our preference of a fixed duty to the sliding scale. The right hon. Gentleman, in arguing the question of the general vote of want of confidence, has again asserted that we retained power in the year 1839, after there had been a vote in this House against us; but the real test then was for him to have brought forward a vote of confidence, if he had, in fact, a majority in this House. If he did not then bring forward a motion for a vote of want of confidence, it could only be because he had not really a majority against us on the general question. That fact was soon afterwards proved, for early in the following year a motion for a vote of a want of confidence was brought forward, and we had a majority of twenty-one in our favour. Therefore, it can scarcely be said, that in that year we retained office in spite of a majority of this House against us. I consider after the right hon. Gentleman's speech, although it did not declare anything that could give certain expectation either on the one side or the other, that he and the party of which he is the leader, are ready to agree in a vote of want of confidence on account of the measures proposed by us with respect to trade, and especially with regard to the trade in corn. Be it so. I am of opinion, that by bringing forward these measures, and stating them as far as we could during the last Parliament, and again advising their being referred to in the Speech from the Throne at the commencement of the Session, we shall have added much to the progress of those measures. An hon. Gentleman who spoke to-night said, that when the right hon. Gentleman came into power, he expected to see a decline of this country, as all old countries must decline. Now, that is not my opinion, my belief is, that if only common sense is exercised in conducting its affairs, not only will this country not decline, but it must increase in prosperity. I have shewn, in what I have addressed to the House, that neither as regards the foreign affairs, nor our colonial establishments, nor our domestic state, is there the slightest reason for alarm or apprehension. But there is, I think, owing to various causes, such an embarrassment in trade, that it behoves you, not only because those principles are good for all time, but because those principles are good at the present moment, to put in practice the maxims of free trade which were embodied in the King's Speech of 1825, to which the right hon. Gentleman opposite was a party, and which were afterwards advanced by Mr. Huskisson and by Mr. Robinson, Ministers of that day. I am convinced, if you refuse to make corn an exception to those general rules—that if you do not attempt to say that to corn alone, those principles you yourselves acknowledge to be wise, shall shall not be applied—if you are prepared to give up the present restrictions, and adopt a more rational system, I am convinced that, as the hon. Baronet, the Member for Wiltshire, said, many years ago, there can be no bounds to the prosperity and power of this country. I have no reason to conclude that the right hon. Gentleman opposite will refuse to put into practice the opinions of which he has this night declared himself the advocate. I am sure, if he does, it will be from the want of inclination, not from the want of power; for, as for any supposition of his wanting power to deal with the Corn-laws, as we proposed to deal with them, I think he may despise it. I know not what course he may pursue, but the full responsibility remains with him. The right hon. Gentleman has no right to say, that he is shackled and thwarted by party trammels, because it is clear that the party to which he belongs could not resist liberal measures if he were to propose them. There are various divisions in the party to which he belongs. I hear language of the most contradictory kind from it, and I read the same in the organs of the party in other places, and at the late elections the same contradictions took place. To speak of one instance. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment on the Address—the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire—stated at the election that one great object with him was to alter one of the essential provisions of the present Poor-law, holding as he did, that the confinement of the poor in workhouses was unnecessary. Now, this is one of the many instances of a total difference of language between the leaders and the followers. If the hon. Gentleman, the Member for the West Riding, is really of opinion that confinement in the workhouses is not necessary, then clearly he must think that confinement under such circumstances is a hardship, and ought to be abolished. I think it is necessary—that it is necessary as a test of destitution—and I feel bound to vote for its continuance, however painful it may be. But the hon. Member for the West Riding goes and raises a flame on that subject — makes a cry through the West Riding, and when he has ejected Lord Morpeth, that honest servant of the public, he comes down to this House the first night of the Session, not with any proposition with regard to this law,—which, if not necessary, ought to be repealed,—but with a proposition to deprive the present Ministers of power, and place in their stead a noble Duke, and the right hon. Member for Tamworth, who had declared themselves supporters of the Poor-law, and a noble Lord and a right hon. Gentleman who were among the original promoters and proposers of the measure. So that it will clearly appear to the world, when that law is re-enacted, that the cry raised against the Government on the subject of the Poor-law was a mere fallacious and delusive cry, that Gentlemen were ready to take advantage of their unpopularity, which they most probably think we do not deserve; that having ejected the Government, their purpose is served; that then the Poor-law may safely be re-enacted by those leaders of the party opposite, who honestly supported the law, and we may remain under the influence of that misrepresentation, as we have done under fifty others [*ironical cheers*]. The idea of misrepresentation seems to be denied by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Now, one of the charges against us is, that we are enemies of the Church. What injury have we done to the Church? We have carried a tithe law, by which the property of the Church is made more secure—by which the clergyman obtains a larger income than formerly, without quarrel or dispute with his parishioners. We have also passed another law regulating the incomes of the higher clergy. And what have we done? We have reduced the Archbishop of Canterbury to the miserable pittance of 15,000*l.* a year—we have cut down the Bishop of London to no more than 10,000*l.* a year. The Bishop of Durham receives a wretched stipend of 8,000*l.* a year. These two bills were our propositions, and, on the other hand, when a proposition was made that in our opinion, tended to the injury of the Church, we incurred the enmity of the Dissenters by opposing it. But this is only one of the misrepresentations I complain of. I do not complain of the conduct of the leaders of the opposition, except, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dorchester. With that exception, I have not to complain of the acrimony of the tone of the leaders of the opposition. Indeed, on the contrary, in one of the last debates that occurred in this House, I mean on the motion of want of confidence, the hon. Gentleman was pleased to speak in language which I cannot quote, of the competency of the members of the present Ministry for the different offices which they filled. But while there was this proper tone on the part of the leaders of the opposition party, calumnies on the Ministers of the country of the grossest kinds have been uttered at the recent elections, and have been made in the public press—calumnies, I will say, for their extent and nature, never equalled. [*Hear, hear.*] Gentlemen opposite seem surprised at my alluding to the press. For my own part, I really think, that the right hon. Gentleman showed himself to be far more sensitive on the subject of some foolish stories which had appeared in a newspaper, and the notice he took of tales so little worthy of attention, excited considerable surprise in every mind. Accusations against my colleagues and myself of a much more serious character, have been made in the way I have described, with regard to our conduct in the most important points, and even involving our personal characters, and I think the authors of them have been fully aware of the falsehood of these attacks when they made them. These had been among the most prominent causes of the success of the opposite party, and although such means have thus been used against us with such effect, I trust, that when that party come into power there will be some cessation of this mode of attack, and that those who succeed us will not suffer in the same way. In conclusion, I have only to express my conviction, that if this country is governed by enlarged and liberal councils, that its power and might will spread and increase, its influence will become greater and greater, that liberal principles will prevail, and civilization will be spread to all parts of the globe, that you will bless millions by your dominion and mankind by your example.

The House divided on the question, that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question. Ayes 269; Noes 360;—Majority 91.

The *Speaker* then read the Address as amended. Upon the question, that a committee be appointed to draw up the Address,

Lord *John Russell* suggested, that the committee should be named by the hon. Gentleman who had moved the amendment.

Mr. *Wortley* moved as the committee, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Lord Stanley, Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Granville Somerset, and others.

Lord *John Russell* remarked, that the House would meet this day. He had no motion to make; but it was understood, that the House would meet this day.

The House adjourned.

List of the Ayes.

Abercromby, hn. G. R.
Aglionby, H. A.
Ainsworth, P.
Aldam, W.
Anson, hon. Colonel
Anson, Sir G.
Archbold, R.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Bainbridge, E. T.
Bannerman, A.
Barclay, D.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Barnard, E. G.
Bell, J.
Bellew, R. M.
Berkeley, hn. C.
Berkeley, hn. Captain
Berkeley, hn. F.
Berkeley, hn. G.
Bernal, R.
Blake, M.
Blake, M. J.
Blake, Sir V.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bodkin, J. J.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Bridgeman, H.
Brocklehurst, J.
Brodie, W. B.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, R. D.
Browne, hn. W.
Bryan, G.
Buller, C.
Buller, E.
Byng, G.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Callaghan, D.
Carew, hn. R. S.
Cave, hn. R. O.
Cavendish, hn. C. C.
Cavendish, hn. G. H.
Chapman, B.
Childers, J. W.
Clay, Sir W.
Clayton, Sir W. R.
Clements, Viscount
Clive, E. B.
Cobden, R.
Colborne, hn. W. N. R.
Collins, W.
Cowper, hn. W. F.
Craig, W. G.
Crawford, W. S.
Currie, R.
Curteis, H. B.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalrymple, Captain
Dashwood, G. H.
Dawson, hn. T. V.
Denison, W. J.
Denison, J. E.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, rt. hn. C. T.
Divett, E.
Drax, J. S. W. E.
Duff, J.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, Viscount
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, T.
Dundas, Captain D.
Dundas, F.
Dundas, hn. J. C.
Easthope, Sir J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Ellice, rt. hn. E.
Ellice, E.
Ellis, W.
Elphinstone, H.
Esmonde, Sir. T.
Etwall, R.
Evans, W.
Ewart, W.
Ferguson, Colonel
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Fitzalan, Lord
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Fitzwilliam, hn. G. W.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
French, F.
Gibson, T. M.

Gill, T.
Gordon, Lord F.
Gore, hn. Captain
Granger, T. C.
Grattan, H.
Greenaway, C.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Guest, Sir J.
Hall, Sir B.
Harford, S.
Harris, J. Q.
Hastie, A.
Hatton, Captain V.
Hawes, B.
Hay, Sir A. L.
Hayter, W. G.
Heathcoat, J.
Heneage, E.
Heron, Sir R.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Hobhouse, rt. hn. Sir J.
Hobhouse, H. W.
Holdsworth, J.
Hollond, R.
Horsman, E.
Hoskins, K.
Howard, hn. C. W. G.
Howard, hn. J. K.
Howard, Lord
Howard, hn. E. G. G.
Howard, P. H.
Howard, hn. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Humphery, Mr. Ald.
Hutt, W.
James, W.
Jardine, W.
Jervis, J.
Johnston, A.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lambton, H.
Langston, J. H.
Langton, W. G.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Layard, Captain
Leader, J. T.
Listowel, Earl of
Loch, J.
Macaulay, rt. hn. T. B.
Macnamara, Major
McTaggart, Sir J.
Maher, V.
Mangles, R. D.
Majoribanks, S.
Marshall, W.
Marsland, H.
Martin, J.
Maule, rt. hn. F.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Morrison, J.
Mostyn, hn. E. M. L.
Muntz, G F.
Murphy, F. S.
Murray, A.
Napier, Sir C.
Norreys, Sir D. J.
O'Brien, C.
O'Brien, J.
O'Brien, W. S.
O'Connell, D.
O'Connell, M.
O'Connell, M. J.
O'Connell, J.
O'Conor Don
O'Ferrall, R. M.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Orde, W.
Oswald, J.
Paget, Colonel
Paget, Lord W.
Paget, Lord A.
Palmerston, Viscount
Pechell, Captain
Pendarves, E. W. W.
Philips, G. R.
Philipps, Sir R. B. P.
Philips, M.
Phillpotts, J.
Pigot, rt. hn. D.
Pinney, W.
Plumridge, Captain
Ponsonby, hn. C. F. A. C.
Ponsonby, hn. J. G.
Powell, C.
Power, J.
Protheroe, E.
Ramsbottom, J.
Rawdon, Colonel
Redington, T. N.
Rennie, G.
Rice, E. R.
Ricardo, J. L.
Roche, Sir D.
Roche, E. B.
Roebuck, J. A.
Rumbold, C. E.
Rundle, J.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lord E.
Rutherfurd, rt. hn. A.
Scholefield, J.
Scott, R.
Scrope, G. P.
Seale, Sir J. H.
Seymour, Lord
Sheil, rt. hn. R. L.
Shelburne, Earl of
Smith, B.
Smith, rt. hn. R. V.
Sombre, D. O. D.
Somers, J. P.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Stanley, hn. W. O.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stanton, W. H.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Stock, Mr. Serjeant
Strickland, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tancred, H. W.
Thornely, T.
Townely, J.
Traill, G.
Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Turner, E.
Vane, Lord H.
Villiers, hn. C. P.
Villiers, F.
Vivian, hn. Major
Vivian, J. H.
Vivian, hon. Captain
Wakley, T.
Walker, R.
Wall, C. B.
Wallace, R.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Wason, R.
Wawn, J. T.
Westenra, hon. H. R.
Westenra, hon. J.
White, L.
White, S.
White, H.
Wigney, I. N.
Wilde, Sir T.
Williams, W.
Wilson, M.
Wilshere, W.
Winnington, Sir T. E.
Wood, C.
Wood, G. W.
Wood, Sir M.
Worsley, Lord
Wrightson, W. B.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Parker, J.
Tuffnell, H.

List of the NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Captain
Ackers, J.
Acton, Colonel
Adare, Viscount
Adderley, C. B.
Alexander, N.
Alford, Viscount
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Archdall, M.
Ashley, Lord
Ashley, hon. H.
Astell, W.
Attwood, J.
Attwood, M.
Bagge, W.
Bagot, hon. W.
Bailey, J.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baillie, Colonel
Baillie, H. J.
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Balfour, J. M.
Bankes, G.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Barneby, J.
Barrington, Viscount
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bateson, Sir R.
Beckett, W.
Bell, M.
Benett, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Captain
Beresford, Major
Blackburne, J. I.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blakemore, R.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen Rose, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bradshaw, J.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Broadwood, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Bruce, Lord
Bruen, Colonel
Buck, L. W.
Buckley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Bunbury, T.
Burdett, Sir F.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Burroughes, H. N.
Campbell, Sir H.
Campbell, A.
Carnegie, hn. Captain
Cartwright, W. R.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Chapman, A.
Charteris, hon. F.
Chelsea, Viscount
Chetwode, Sir J.
Cholmondeley, hon. H.
Christmas, W.
Christopher, R. A.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clements, H. J.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Codrington, C. W.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Collett, W. R.

Compton, H. C.
Colville, C. R.
Connolly, Colonel
Coote, Sir C. H.
Copeland, Mr. Ald.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Viscount
Cresswell, B.
Cripps, W.
Crosse, T. B.
Damer, hon. Colonel
Darby, G.
Darlington, Earl of
Dawney, hon. W. H.
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Dickinson, F. H.
D'Israeli, B.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Douro, Marquess of
Dowdeswell, W.
Drummond, H. H.
Duffield, T.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. B.
Eaton, R. J.
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Sir P.
Egerton, Lord F.
Eliot, Lord
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Farnham, E. B.
Fellowes, E.
Feilden, W.
Ferrand, W. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzharris, Viscount
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forbes, W.
Forester, hn. G. C. W.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, W. E.
Godson, R.
Gordon, hon. Captain
Gore, M.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. O.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Granby, Marquess of
Grant, Sir A. C.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, H.
Hamilton, C. J. B.
Hamilton, J.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hardy, J.
Hawkes, T.
Hayes, Sir E.
Heathcote, G. J.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hill, Sir R.
Hillsborough, Earl of
Hinde, J. H.
Hodgson, F.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Houldsworth, T.
Holmes, hon. W. A'Court
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hughes, W. B.
Ingestre, Viscount
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irton, S.
Irving, J.
Jackson, Mr. Serjeant
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Johnstone, H.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Jones, J.
Kelburne, Viscount
Kemble, H.
Ker, D. S.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Kirk, P.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Knight, H. G.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, rt. hon. T.
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lennox, Lord A.
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Long, W.
Lopes, Sir R.
Lowther, J. H.
Lowther, Viscount
Lowther, hon. Col.
Lyall, G.
Lygon, hon. General
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Maclean, D.
Mac Geachy, F. A.
Mahon, Viscount
Mainwaring, T.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Martyn, C. C.
Marton, G.
Master, T. W. C.
Masterman, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Meynell, Captain
Miles, P. W. S.
Miles, W.
Milnes, R. M.
Mordaunt, Sir J.
Morgan, O.
Morgan, C.
Mundy, E. M.
Murray, C. R. S.
Neeld, J.
Neeld, J.
Neville, R.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, J.
Norreys, Lord
Northland, Viscount
O'Brien, A. S.
Ossulston, Lord
Owen, Sir J.
Packe, C. W.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmer, R.
Palmer, G.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pemberton, T.
Pennant, hon. C.
Perceval, Colonel
Pigot, Sir R.
Planta, rt. hon. J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Pollington, Viscount
Pollock, Sir F.
Powell, Colonel
Praed, W. T.
Price, R.
Pringle, A.
Pusey, P.
Rae, rt. hon. Sir W.
Ramsay, W. R.
Rashleigh, W.
Reade, W. M.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Round, C. G.
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Captain
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Russell, C.
Russell, J. D. W.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Viscount
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Scott, hon. F.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Shirley, E. J.
Shirley, E. P.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smith, A.
Smyth, Sir G.
Smythe, hon. G.
Smollett, A.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, E.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sturt, H. C.
Sugden, rt. hn. Sir E. B.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, F.
Thompson, Mr. Ald.
Thornhill, G.
Tollemache, hon. F. J
Tollemache, J.
Tomline, G.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Vernon, G. H.
Vesey, hon. T.
Villiers, Viscount
Vivian, J. E.
Vyvyan, Sir R. R.
Waddington, H. S.
Walsh, Sir J. B.
Welby, G. E.
West, J. B.
Whitmore, T. C.
Wigram, J.
Wilbraham, hn. R. B.
Williams, T. P.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wodehouse, E.

Wood, Colonel
Wood, Colonel T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel
Wyndham, W.
Wynn, rt. hn. C. W. W.
Wynn, Sir W. W.
Yorke, hon. E. T.
Young, J.
Young, Sir W.

TELLERS.
Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, August 28, 1841.

ADDRESS.—REPORT.—Mr. S. Wortley brought up the report on the Address, which, having been read,

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, it was his wish, in reference to the last paragraph in that Address, to ascertain from the right hon. Baronet on the other side of the House, whether it were intended, by the wording of that paragraph, to admit the existence of the general distress of the country, because, it appeared to him, that the paragraph had been carefully framed so as not to express an opinion on that subject. He was, however, free to confess, that he had heard many speeches from hon. Members on the opposite benches in their private and individual capacity, wherein the existence of that distress had been acknowledged. Now, it would be observed, that in the original Address—the Address which had been framed by her Majesty's Government—it had distinctly been stated, that

> "The House shared the deep sympathy which her Majesty felt for those of her subjects who were now suffering from distress and want of employment, and that they recognised in her Majesty's expressions upon that matter an additional proof of her Majesty's tender regard for the condition and welfare of her subjects."

Now, in the amendment which had been moved by the hon. Member for Yorkshire, the paragraph wherein it was stated, that the House shared in the deep sympathy which her Majesty felt for those of her subjects who were now suffering from distress and want of employment, had been omitted entirely. He wished to inquire of the right hon. Baronet opposite whether the omission with regard to the House sharing in the distress of the people had been intentional or an accident. The paragraph in the amended Address ran thus:—

> "We assure your Majesty that in the gracious expression of your deep sympathy with those of your subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment,"

And so on. Now, it did appear to him, that that paragraph in the amended Address was not worded in so respectful a manner towards the Crown or towards the people of the country as the paragraph to which he had alluded in the original Address. He wanted, therefore, to know whether it were admitted by the right hon. Baronet that distress and want of employment did exist in the country. If the right hon. Baronet did admit that there was such distress and want of employment in the country, then he said that the paragraph in the original Address was much more explicit upon the point than that in the amended Address, and ought to be adopted. He should hope that the right hon. Baronet, under the circumstances of the case, would have no objection to alter the wording of the paragraph, so as to make it distinctly appear that the House did join in that sympathy of feeling, in reference to the distresses of the people, which had been so graciously expressed by her Majesty. If, however, the right hon. Baronet should decline to do so, he should then deem it to be his duty to move the substitution of the original paragraph in the place of that to the wording of which he demurred.

Sir *R. Peel* would state, as an individual Member of that House, and in that capacity alone he begged it to be understood he was about to offer his opinion on this subject in reply to the hon. Member for Finsbury, the construction which he put upon the paragraph complained of. He thought, in the first place, he could undertake to declare, that there had been no deliberate intention of departing from the words of the Address, in regard to the recognition of the existence of distress in the country, because, as the hon. Gentleman must be aware, the terms of that Address had not been known at the time when the amended Address had been drawn up. Therefore, as the hon. Member for Finsbury would at once see, there could have been no intention on the part of those on that side of the House to depart from the words of the Address. Well, then, with regard to the want of respect in the wording of the paragraph to her Majesty, he must beg to say, that while he was perfectly willing to allow that the paragraph in the original Address was quite respectful, he could not admit that the paragraph in the amended Address in any way fell short in that respect; because, whilst the Address stated that the House shared with her Majesty in her expression of deep sympathy, the amended Address stated, that in those expressions of sympathy the House recognised an additional proof of her Majesty's tender regard for her subjects. As far, then, as a respectful wording—respectful to her Majesty, and respectful to the people—was concerned, he must be permitted to observe, that in his opinion, there was no want of respect in the paragraph in the amended Address, but that the paragraphs in both Addresses were on an equality in that particular. Then, with regard to the admission, that distress existed in the country, it did appear to him that the fact was admitted in the fullest manner in the amended paragraph. How stood the case? An intimation had been conveyed to the House from the Crown, that there were many of her Majesty's subjects who were suffering from distress and want of employment. Of course, the House upon that assumed that such was the fact, and he, for one, would at once admit that there were many of her Majesty's subjects who were, he lamented to say, suffering from distress and privation. That being so, then he said, that in his opinion, the amended Address fully admitted that there were classes in the country who were suffering from distress and privation, and, further, he contended that the paragraph was worded respectfully both to her Majesty and to the country. He hoped that what he had said had fully satisfied the scruples of the hon. Member for Finsbury on the subject, seeing that the amended Address not only admitted the existence of distress in the country, but that the wording of the paragraph was quite, even if it were not more so, as respectful to her Majesty and to the people as that in the Address itself.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, that provided the right hon. Baronet admitted, that there was distress in the country, and that the wording of the amendment was not intended to evade the admission of the fact, he was satisfied.

The other paragraphs of the amended Address having been agreed to, and Address read a second time,

Mr. *S. Crawford*, rose to propose, that the following additional paragraph be added to the Address:—

> "That we further respectfully represent to your Majesty, that, in our opinion, the distress which your Majesty deplores is mainly attributable to the circumstance of your whole people not being fully and fairly represented in this House; and that we feel it will be our duty to consider the means of so extending and regulating the suffrage, and of adopting such improvements in the system of voting, as will confer on the working classes that just weight in the representative body which is necessary to secure a due consideration of their interests, and which their present patient endurance of suffering gives them the strongest title to claim."

He had, he said, to pray for the kindly indulgence of the House, while he attempted to call their attention to that additional paragraph, of which he had on a former evening given notice of his intention to move. It had not been his desire to take that course, because he had hoped, that some other hon. Member of greater weight and more prominent abilities and standing would have brought the matter under the consideration of the House. He should, indeed, have been much pleased to have been spared the necessity of presenting himself to the House on that occasion, but he stood in a peculiar position with regard to his constituents. He had been selected by the constituency which he had the honour to represent in a most singular manner, and without solicitation on his part. That constituency had selected him in consequence of the principles which he had professed upon all occasions. That being the fact, he trusted the House would think with him, that it was not very extraordinary, that he should be anxious to fulfil what he conceived to be his duty to that constituency. He stood there as an independent Member of Parliament, as one attached to no party, other than that of the people. He had felt deep regret when he had discovered that her Majesty's Government had not thought proper in the Speech which they had put into the Queen's mouth to allude in any way to those amendments of the elective system which were so absolutely necessary for the improvement of the condition of the people, and he could not but feel, that it was an imperative duty of an independent representative of that class not to permit the Address to pass without at least making an attempt to obtain an expression of feeling on the part of the House in favour of measures which were calculated to improve the condition of the people. The first clause of his amendment to the Address went to state, that the great distress under which the people were suffering was mainly attributable to the whole body of that people not being fully and fairly represented in Parliament; in other words, that there was not a fair representation of the people of England. There was not a fair representation of the people of England, or of those of Ireland, or of those of Scotland, under the operation of the present law. By the official returns which had been laid on the Table of that House, it appeared, that under the present representation of the interests of the people, the franchise of England was enjoyed only by one out of eighteen and a-half; of the population in Scotland by one out of every thirty, and in Ireland by one out of every seventy-seven. Now, he would put it to the House, whether that could be held up as a fair representation of the people. He for one considered, that as the consequence of that want of a fair representation had arisen through unjust and unnecessary laws, that it had led to a system of what was properly denominated, class legislation, and that it had been productive of gross monopolies, of which that in corn, which was so much complained of, was the most flagrant, the most objectionable, and the most oppressive upon the great bulk of the people. Had the people been properly and fairly represented, that monopoly, so grinding to the poor, never could have been placed upon the statute-book of the country. If the people had been properly represented in that House, such a monopoly never would have existed as that of the Corn-laws, and if that body were even now fairly represented, there would in the present day be no question as between the establishment of a fixed duty or a sliding scale, but the question would be, whether the law should not be altogether repealed. If there had been a fair representation of the country in that House, how was it possible that the great bulk of the people of England could have been reduced to the present state of distress and privation under which it was notorious they were suffering? It was a matter of utter impossibility, that such a state of things could have been arrived at. The amendment which he had the honour of submitting to the House on that occasion, stated, that

> "We feel it to be our duty to consider the means of so extending and regulating the suffrage, and of adopting such improvements in the system of voting, as will confer on the working classes that just weight in the representative body, which is necessary to secure a due consideration of their interests, and which their present patient endurance of suffering gives them the strongest title to claim."

The question, then, which was here put to the House, and which he was desirous of obtaining an expression of opinion on, was not, as to the adoption of any particular description of suffrage, but with a view to gain a manifestation of a disposition on the part of the House to regulate the system of voting in proportion to the number of the population. He did not call upon the House to pledge themselves in his peculiar opinions alone, but he was anxious to obtain an evidence on their part of an inclination or a disposition to take the subject into consideration, with a view to the attainment of a better representation of the people, so as to provide some means of protection to the voter against bribery, intimidation, corruption, and undue influence. It had been said, that it would be a dangerous experiment to extend the suffrage to the working classes; but that was an assertion that he would take upon himself to deny the truth of. The working men had as great an interest in the well-being and prosperity of the country as any other class of her Majesty's subjects [*Cries of "Question."*] — The working men felt as great an interest in the welfare of the country as any other class of persons—the more so as they were well aware that their employment, whereby they obtained the means of their existence, depended mainly on the maintenance of the tranquillity and prosperity of the country. It had been also said, that if the benefits of the franchise were to be given to them they would be liable to corruption; but let them tell the House that that would not be so if there were not a higher class to corrupt them. Was there corruption amongst the working classes? If there were, allow him to ask from whom did that corruption proceed? It had likewise been stated, that the working classes, if the right of exercising the franchise were to be given to them, would be open and liable to undue influence. That was another proposition which he would take upon himself to deny. Let him ask, however, in what other class of her Majesty's subjects there had been shown so much devotion to the cause of public liberty as in the ranks of the working men? He was prepared to contend that the British constitution had been founded on the great principle that the whole of the people should be fairly and equally represented in Parliament. The truth of that construction of the constitution was to be found in the fact that the House of Lords was supposed to represent the monied or rich classes—the aristocracy—whilst the House of Commons was conceived, as it had been intended, to represent the feelings, the views, the interests, and the sentiments of the people at large. The manifest intention of the framers of that constitution had been in reality that the one House should be, as it were, a check upon the other. If hon. Members on the other side of the House would but favour him with their attention he would call upon them to support his amendment. He called upon those Members to show by supporting his motion that they had an interest in the welfare of the great mass of the people. Let the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House —those especially who were to constitute a part of the new Administration—upon that occasion, establish for themselves some degree of popularity with the people, by not setting up in opposition to his proposition. The present Government had gained an unpopularity with the country, because they had ceased to advocate, as in former days, popular rights. Let, then, the supporters of the Government that was in expectancy prove, that they were the friends of the people, by giving their votes in favour of his amendment, and thereby voting in favour of an extension of the franchise. If they refused to adopt that course, it would be an admission on their part, that the majority which they appeared to possess in that House, was not the majority of the representatives of the people. He would ask the hon. Members on the other side of the House by what means it had been, that they had gained their present majority? Had it been by the support of the majority of the electors, and in opposition to the views of the people? If that were so, then he was willing to admit, that it was the duty of those hon. Members to endeavour to maintain the right of franchise at its present standing. But if that were not the case, but that they had been returned by the wishes of the people, then he called upon them to show, by supporting his amendment, that they had a feeling for the interests of that people by consenting to an extension of the franchise. If, however, those hon. Members, declined to adopt that course, then it would be considered as an admission on their part that their majority in that House was not a majority in accordance either with the wishes of the people, or a majority in advocacy of the interests of that body. He believed the fact to be, that the great power which had been obtained by the party on the other side of the House was attributable, not to the circumstance of the people's being favourable to their principles, but to the fact that they had become disgusted with the conduct of those to whom they had intrusted the advocacy and the protection of their rights. He called on the Administration of the country not to oppose the amendment he had proposed. As the Ministry of the country, how was it that they had not the majority of the voices of the electors? It was because the voice of the electors was not the voice of the people at large. He besought the Ministers, then, to increase their power, by giving to the majority that franchise which they did not now possess, and he called on them to give their support to his proposition — a proposition which had for its object an extension of the elective rights to those who were at present deprived of them. If the Ministers would but rely on the people, their power and strength would in no way be impaired. He called on them to advocate popular rights in the same manner as they had done in former days. If they were to do that, they would soon be restored to their former places. He acknowledged many services which the country had received at the hands of the present Government; but, whilst he did that, he could not refrain from pointing out what he conceived to have been their errors. He must ever lament that one of the greatest errors of which they had been guilty—an error, too, allow him to say, that had been the source of all the evils which had accrued in the career of the Government, was their abandonment of the Irish appropriation clause. Upon every consideration he felt that he had a right to look to the Government for support on the present occasion. In what other way could they successfully oppose what had been properly described as the Chandos clause, but by an extension of the suffrage? [*Oh, oh.*] He was extremely sorry that the subject which he had brought forward did not appear to possess sufficient importance to command the attention of the House. [*Increased signs of impatience.*] He conceived the question to be of the utmost importance to the best interests of the country, and yet the House seemed entirely deaf to the arguments which he had advanced. The hon. Member concluded [the House being very impatient] by moving that the additional paragraph be added to the Address.

Colonel *Johnson* felt great pleasure in seconding the amendment, in which he fully concurred. It fully embodied his own opinions. It had been impossible for him to vote for the original Address, because that would have implied an approval of all the measures of the Administration; and he considered that they had been guilty of a wasteful expenditure of the public money, and of an unjust and impolitic interference with the internal affairs of foreign powers, acting, therefore, against the principle they had laid down on taking office. He had not, on the other hand, been able to vote for the amendment of the Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, for that would have implied confidence on the other side. And on looking back to years past, and recollecting the misconduct of former Tory Governments, he could not say that he could repose any confidence whatever in them. There was nothing in the speech of the right hon. Baronet last night but flowing words. It was true that at the late elections, he had by one means and another obtained a majority in that House, and he had a majority in the House of Lords; but there was one thing wanting, he had not the voice of the people with him, nor their good will, and he must materially alter his conduct before he could expect to obtain it. He would give his cordial support to the present amendment, because he believed that it stated what was perfectly true, that the present state of distress of the country arose mainly from the want of a due representation; and till there was this and some arrangement of the debt, this country never would prosper.

Mr. *Ward*, amidst much confusion, said, that concurring, as it was well known that he did, in all the principles which were involved in the amendment of the hon. Member, he wished to state to the House in a very few words the reasons why he felt it to be his duty to decline giving his support to that amendment on the present occasion. He was not one of those who, like the hon. Member behind, thought that with the conveniences or practices of the Parliament they had nothing whatever to do. In his opinion, the more important the question—and a more important question than that before the House was not to be found—the more cautious and the more careful ought they to be in the manner and in the time of its discussion. For himself, in this instance, he was bound to say, that he could not but regard it as an insult offered to the popular interests in that House to bring forward a question of the magnitude of that which was involved in this motion at a moment when there was no Minister present—at a time too, when, in fact, he might say, that there was no Ministry in existence. The Ministry must, in fact, be looked upon as defunct, whilst the Ministry which was to be constituted had not yet been formed. Was such a moment, then, a fit time for such a proposition as this, to be dashed, as it were, upon the waters, without the slightest caution—without the slightest consultation, or without the slightest consideration—was that, he asked, a proper time to put forth such a question—a question upon which no five men in the House had been consulted, and with regard to which no ten men were agreed as to the course to be pursued in the event of its being carried—was that a time to launch such a question to take its chance of approval or defeat, and having done so, then to call the present a test of popular principles? He denied that it could be looked upon in anything like the light of a test of those opinions, and therefore although he would not record his vote against principles in which he fully concurred, he should not, for the causes he had just stated, be found voting in favour of the motion which had been brought forward in so inconvenient a manner. Although it was a matter of notoriety that he did not coincide in the political views or principles of the right hon. Baronet opposite, still he was prepared to state to the House that he considered the right hon. Baronet was fully entitled to a fair and unprejudiced consideration of those measures and questions which he intended to bring forward, questions in respect of which the right hon. Baronet had on the previous night assumed the entire responsibility. He regarded the right hon. Baronet as the representative of the majority in that House of the representatives of the constituency of the country, and therefore he held that the right hon. Gentleman was fairly entitled to the respectful consideration of his measures. At the same time he would declare that he had no confidence in the right hon. Baronet, and he had little hope that any measures which he might bring forward would be calculated to be productive of good to the great mass of the people. Notwithstanding that conviction, however, he felt that he was bound to give those measures his most respectful attention and consideration; and that attention and that consideration they should have. He deemed it no more than an act of common justice to the right hon. Baronet that he should have time to consider his measures previously to his assuming the reigns of Government. With respect to the proposition before the House, he must beg to decline to commit himself by voting for it, having been, as it had, brought forward at such an unfavourable moment. But whilst he should not support the motion, he should not record his vote against it, and therefore, if it were pressed to a division, he should feel it his duty to withdraw from the House.

Mr. *Roebuck* fully concurred in the observations which had just fallen from his hon. Friend, the Member for Sheffield. His sentiments with respect to the principles of the motion could not be doubted; but, like his hon. Friend, he thought that the present moment, there being no responsible Government, to deal with the question, was so ill-timed and so ill-judged for bringing such an important subject under the consideration of the House, that most undoubtedly he should decline voting upon it. Besides, it was as clear as the light of day, that the majority of that House was represented by the right hon. Baronet opposite, and it was no more than common justice that he should be placed in a fair position. That the right hon. Baronet stood on the high ground he had described him to occupy, had been fully established by the division of the preceding night. That being so, it was just to the opinions of the majority of the constituency, that a fair opportunity should be afforded to the right hon. Baronet to bring forward his measures. Individually he thought, that the people would be disappointed in their expectations in reference to those measures, but, notwithstanding that such was his own conviction upon the subject, still it was but right that they should wait until the right hon. Baronet had been fairly installed in office, and then, that they should be prepared to give him and his measures a fair trial. He was himself determined to give the right hon. Baronet and his friends that fair trial. Well, then, further allow him to say, that questions of such magnitude as that embraced by the motion of the hon. Member behind, ought not to be brought forward at the tail of a long and tiresome debate, at a time, too, when there was no responsible Government. He was not afraid of compromising himself by the declaration of his opinion with regard to this proceeding, because his principles and sentiments upon the subject were well known. But to bring forward a motion of that description at such a moment, was, he conceived, a great want of respect to the country. He would not peril the question by voting upon it; but, if a division were called for, he should think it his duty to take up his hat and withdraw from the House.

Mr. *Wallace* differed with the two last speakers. [Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Roebuck*, and about fifteen or twenty Members quitted the House.] He did not regret the departure of his Friends, those who remained could maintain their principles well enough without the leadership of the hon. Members who had deserted them. He was not aware of the existence of any Parliamentary rule against the introduction of such a motion as the present, even though the time selected was during the absence of Ministers, or though it were in the presence of their successors alone. If, however, he were to receive an intimation from the Speaker, that there was such a rule, then, of couse, he should most willingly be bound by that intimation. In his opinion the amendment then before the House, was a most judicious and a most timely one, and he considered, that the hon. Member was entitled to the thanks of the House and the country for having brought it forward. At all events he felt himself to be individually indebted to the hon. Member for having done so. The question was, whether or not this were the proper time to discuss this motion. He thought the motion was most judicious and timely, and he disputed the judgment of those hon. Members who had left the House. Notwithstanding the scene which had just taken place, hon. Members opposite would be much mistaken if they supposed that any division existed in the Radical ranks. His opinions were well known, and he defied any man to say he was ever afraid of announcing them. He hoped the occurrences of this day would reach the ear of the Sovereign indirectly, for he knew it could not reach her directly, and that her Majesty would know that a certain number of the House of Commons were willing and ready to support an extension of the suffrage. He should give his cordial support to the amendment, with thanks to the hon. Member who had brought it forward.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* was not surprised, that, after consuming the time of the House for some days in a most unprofitable debate, hon. Members should not like such a discussion on the present occasion, though followed by another defeat. He said, an unprofitable debate, because not one word of hope, of comfort, or consolation, was offered to the industrious millions of this country. The whole scene that had occurred was worthy of the House—not only what occurred then, but what occurred for the last four nights, and even this long time past. Hon. Gentlemen opposite might well triumph when they saw this division in the ranks of the popular representatives. He considered the hon. Gentleman had exercised his right to propose any measure he thought fit at any time he pleased, and especially upon an Address to the Crown. The hon. Member was but discharging his conscientious duty; and when hon. Gentlemen said, he had no right to propose his amendment without consulting them, they quitted the House, and left them in the hands of their enemies. He liked to see open and manly enemies better than professing friends. He himself would vote for the amendment, because it was consistent with his former actions. In the year 1839, he proposed a very similar amendment upon an Address to the Crown. He then proposed—

> "To assure her Majesty, that as the amendment of the representative system enacted in 1832, has disappointed her Majesty's people, and as that measure is not, and cannot be final, her Majesty's faithful Commons will take into further consideration the further reform of the Commons House of Parliament."

That, in fact, was the essence of the present amendment, to which he could not but give his assent. Eighty-six Reformers voted for his amendment, and 426 Members against it. He doubted very much whether that majority would not be considerably increased now. If it were, to what conclusion would the people of England come, except that there was a greater proof the House required further reform? He thought his hon. Friend, the Member for Rochdale, was perfectly justified in standing upon his right to bring forward his motion for a great principle, and take the sense of the House upon it, and he was about to give him his support. He did not believe, that the present motion would do any harm to the cause of reform. It was totally impossible, that the present state of the representation could be satisfactory to the people, or that it could much longer continue. He knew, that the right hon. Baronet considered the Reform Bill an irrevocable and final settlement of the question of the representation, but they would feel no peace or contentment in the country till the question was resettled, and the base of the representation extended. He presented last Session a petition signed by 1,400,000 persons, for an extension of the suffrage, and such a manifestation was well worthy of deep consideration. He trusted, that there would be many more petitions of a similar nature. It was a matter of perfect indifference whether two, twenty, or 200 persons voted for the amendment, but he hoped it would be persevered in. He would give it his most cordial support.

Dr. *Bowring* said, he would support the motion of his hon. Friend, and he would try, in the midst of the dejection which would be caused in the country by that morning's division, to infuse into it one drop of sweetness by his own vote.

Mr. *W. Williams* was not surprised at interruption, when the people's grievances were under discussion, and that he had perfect patience to wait till the House would listen to him. He saw no magic influence in the Treasury Bench, that should prevent any hon. Gentleman from expressing his opinion, or should prevent the House laying its feelings at the foot of the Throne, if that Bench were unoccupied. He did not subscribe to the doctrine that the House ought not to express an opinion unless it was also the opinion of the Minister of the day. He thought, that when the House of Commons was called upon to vote an Address, it was to contain the opinion of the House of Commons, and not the opinion of any minister; but if the principle which had been laid down by hon. Members who had left the House were correct, the House had no right, and it would be contrary to the assumed practice of the House, to express any opinion contrary to that of the Minister for the time being. He would support the amendment of the hon. Member for Rochdale. What did the amendment propose? Her Majesty, in her Speech, stated, that there was distress among the people of this country, and proofs had been furnished during the course of the debate, that the distress existed to an extent unknown before. What did the hon. Member state by his amendment? Why, that the people were not represented in that House, and he concurred in that opinion, and that that was the cause of their distresses. That was the opinion of millions in this country. They complained from one end of the country to the other of their distresses, and the cause of it—that they were not represented in that House. The hon. Member for Rochdale wished to communicate the fact to her Majesty, and such being his object, was he to be told, that because they had no responsible Minister they were not to make such a representation? Since he had sat in that House he had not been a party man, and whatever support he had given to Ministers, was not to the men, but to their measures. He would tell the right hon. Baronet, that he would act towards him precisely as he had done with respect to the present Ministers. He would give his most cordial support to every measure, that should be brought forward by the right hon. Baronet, if he thought the proposals good, and that the measures were calculated to benefit the country. He would not detain the House further, but he must protest against the doctrine, that when an Address to the Crown of this kind was being considered, no opinions were to be expressed contrary to the Minister of the day, and no representations made to the Crown of the people's wishes, unless the Treasury benches were filled.

Mr. *Protheroe* had withdrawn from the House with the hon. Member for Sheffield, but in consequence of what had been stated by the hon. Member for Finsbury, with respect to the agreement between the course taken in a former year and this year he wished to make one observation. He had given his cordial support to the motion of the hon. Member, but there was this distinction between the time at which that was brought forward and the present. There was no Government at present in existence, and he thought it respectful, both to the past and future Ministers, not to enter upon such a discussion as this without some Advisers of the Crown being appointed. In the former year, there were Ministers in office, and such as they might consistently think they could influence. He only wished again to express his opinion, that there ought to be an improvement in the Reform Act, but he could not vote with the hon. Member for Rochdale, because he did not think such a course would be respectful to the Reform Bill itself; and, because, however much he might regret the advent to office of the right hon. Baronet, he could recognise in him only the representative of the opinion of the majority of that House. He should, therefore, take that opportunity of withdrawing.

Mr. *Turner*, although he thought the constituency ought to be enlarged, especially in the counties, still, under the circumstances of the present time, he could not consistently vote for the amendment of the hon. Member for Rochdale.

Colonel *Rawdon* could not agree with the hon. Member for Sheffield, that this was an improper time for considering the motion of the hon. Member. He thought the motion strictly in accordance with the principles of the constitution. They were on the eve of a change of Government. The first act of a new Government would be to ask for a vote of credit. Then, before granting money, they ought to discuss, at least they ought to make the grievances of the people known, and to require a redress. As he thought, that the franchise was not sufficiently extended, he could not refuse to vote for the amendment of the hon. Member for Rochdale. He was sorry, that there was any division on that side of the House, but he must carry out his own opinions honestly and fearlessly.

Several more hon. Members from the Ministerial side left the House, which divided on the question that the words moved by Mr. Crawford be added:—Ayes 39; Noes 283: Majority 244.

List of the AYES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Bell, J.
Blake, M.
Blake, M. J.
Blake, Sir V.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bowring, Dr.
Bridgeman, H.
Brotherton, J.
Butler, hon. Colonel
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.

Elphinstone, H.
Ewart, W.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Gibson, T. M.
Granger, T. C.
Hay, Sir A. L.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Johnson, General
Johnston, A.
Layard, Captain
Marsland, H.
Murphy, F. S.
Napier, Sir C.
O'Brien, C.
O'Brien, J.
Pechell, Captain
Powell, C.
Rawdon, Colonel
Rennie, G.
Rundle, J.
Seale, Sir J. H.
Wallace, R.
Wason, R.
Williams, W.
Wilson, M.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Crawford, S.
Duncombe, T.

List of the NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Captain
Ackers, J.
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Alexander, N.
Allix, J. P.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Archdall, M.
Ashley, Lord
Ashley, hon. H.
Bagge, W.
Bailey, J.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baillie, Colonel
Baillie, H. J.
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Balfour, J. M.
Bankes, G.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Barneby, J.
Barrington, Viscount
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bateson, Sir R.
Beckett, W.
Bell, M.
Benett, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Captain
Beresford, Major
Blackburne, J. I.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blakemore, R.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen Rose, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bradshaw, J.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Broadwood, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Bruce, Lord,
Buck, L. W.
Buckley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Bunbury, T.
Burdett, Sir F.
Campbell, Sir H.
Campbell, A.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Chapman, A.
Charteris, hon. F.
Chelsea, Viscount
Chetwode, Sir J.
Cholmondeley, hn. H.
Christmas, W.
Christopher, R. A.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clements, H. J.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Codrington, C. W.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Colville, C. R.
Connolly, Colonel
Copeland, Mr. Ald.
Corry, right hon. H.
Cresswell, B.
Cripps, W.
Crosse, T. B.
Damer, hon. Colonel
Darby, G.
Darlington, Earl of
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Dickinson, F. H.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. B.
Eaton, R. J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Lord F.
Eliot, Lord
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Farnham, E. B.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Feilden, W.
Ferrand, W. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzharris, Viscount
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forbes, W.
Forester, hn. G. C. W.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Godson, R.
Gordon, hn. Captain
Gore, M.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. O.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hn. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granby, Marquess of
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, H.
Hamilton, C. J. B.
Hamilton, J.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hawkes, T.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hillsborough, Earl of
Hinde, J. H.
Hodgson, F.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Holdsworth, J.
Houldsworth, T.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hughes, W. B.
Ingestre, Viscount
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Jackson, Mr. Serjeant
Johnson, W. G.
Johnstone, H.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Jones, J.
Kemble, H.
Ker, D. S.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Kirk, P.
Knight, H. G.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lennox, Lord A.
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Lopes, Sir R.
Lowther, J. H.
Lowther Viscount,
Lowther, hon. Col.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Maclean, D.
MacGeachy, F. A.
Mahon, Viscount
Mainwaring, T.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Martyn, C. C.
Marton, G.
Masterman, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Meynell, Colonel
Miles, P. W. S.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murray, C. R. S.
Neeld, J.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, J.
Norreys, Lord
Northland, Viscount
O'Brien, A. S.
Packe, C. W.
Pakington, J. S.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pemberton, T.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Perceval, Col.
Philips, M.
Planta, rt. hn. J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Pollington, Viscount
Powell, Colonel
Praed, W. T.
Price, R.
Pringle, A.
Rae, rt hn. Sir W.
Rashleigh, W.
Reade, W. M.
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hn. Sir G.
Round, J.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Russell, C.
Russell, J. D. W.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Scott, hon. F.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.

Sheppard, T.
Shirley, E. J.
Shirley, E. P.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smythe, hon. G.
Smollett, A.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, E.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sturt, H. C.
Sugden, rt. hn. Sir E. B.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, F.
Thornhill, G.
Tomline, G.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Vane, Lord H.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Vernon, G. H.
Vesey, hon. T.
Villiers, Viscount
Vivian, J. E.
Waddington, H. S.
Welby, G. E.
West, J. B.
Wigney, I. N.
Wigram, J.
Wilbraham, hn. R. B.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wodehouse, E.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel
Wyndham, W.
Yorke, hon. E. T.
Young, J.

TELLERS.
Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

Sir *R. Peel* observed, that upon occasions similar to the present it had been customary that another motion should be made. That motion was, that her Majesty's Speech should be taken into the consideration of the House. In order thet by no possibility any disrespect might be supposed to be offered to the Crown, he should take the liberty of moving, therefore, that the Queen's Speech be taken into consideration on Monday next, when the House could dispose of it as it should deem meet.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, August 30, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read first time:—Foreigners Consecration Act Amendment; Demise of Lands by Incumbents; Spiritual Corporations Leases; Attorneys and Solicitors Consolidation; and Earl of Scarborough's Indemnity.—Read second time:—Administration of Justice.—Read third time and passed:—Buildings Regulation; Boroughs Improvement.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.] Viscount *Melbourne:* My Lords, I consider it my duty to acquaint your Lordships, that in consequence of the vote which was come to by the other House of Parliament on Saturday morning last, which was precisely similar in terms to a vote come to by your Lordships at an earlier period of the week, I have, on the part of my colleagues and myself, tended to her Majesty the resignation of the offices we hold, which resignation her Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept, and we now continue to hold those offices only till our successors are appointed.

DRAINAGE OF TOWNS.] The Marquess of *Normanby*, in moving the third reading of the Buildings Regulations Bill, and the Borough Improvements Bill, said, he had no objection to accede to the amendments proposed by the hon. and learned Lord (Lyndhurst) in those measures. With regard to the third bill (the Drainage of Towns' Bill) which he had presented to their Lordships, subsequent inquiries had induced him to consider that it would be more desirable that the Bill should originate in another place. He would therefore withdraw it.

The Boundaries Regulation Bill and the Borough Improvements Bill were respecively read a third time and passed.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE BILL.] The *Lord Chancellor* said, that as the bill which he had presented to the House the other evening for the better Administration of Justice in England had already passed their Lordships' House, and was precisely in the same state in which it had been left by the House of Commons at the close of the last Session, he trusted their Lordships would see no objection to its being then read a second time, in order that it might be considered in committee on Monday next.

Lord *Brougham* saw no objection to the proposition of his noble and learned Friend, inasmuch as his objections to the bill would be more properly considered in committee. He had no objection to the principle of the bill, therefore he should not oppose the second reading.

Bill read a second time.

BILL OF INDEMNITY.] The *Lord Chancellor* considered it his duty to inform the House that a certain noble Lord (understood to be the Earl of Scarborough) after he had taken the oaths, had been guilty of a most curious omission. He had omitted to subscribe the roll of Parliament, and by so doing, having subsequently sat and voted, he had subjected himself to certain penalties. He proposed, therefore, to introduce a bill to indemnify the noble Lord from the consequences of the omission, and on Monday next he should move that the standing orders be suspended, in order to enable the bill to pass forthwith.

Bill read a first time.

House adjourned to the ensuing Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, August 30, 1841.

MINUTES.] Petitions presented. By Mr. Sharman Crawford, from Individuals at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and by Mr. T. Duncombe, from Individuals at Leeds, Nottingham, and Ouseburn, for Universal Suffrage.—By Mr. Villiers, from Montreal (Canada), for an Alteration in the Import Duties.

Elections. Petitions complaining of, for Wakefield, Sudbury, Bridport, and Ipswich.

OATH OF SUPREMACY—PETITIONS OF MEMBERS.] Sir *Valentine Blake* rose to present a petition upon the subject of the bill to abolish the oath of supremacy, for the introduction of which he intended to ask leave of the House that evening. The petition was from a Member of that House, and it prayed that all Members of Parliament be relieved from the necessity of taking the oath of supremacy, in the same way that Roman Catholics were relieved. The petition denied the correctness of that part of the oath which stated, that no foreign prince, potentate, or prelate, had any spiritual or religious jurisdiction, or authority, within these realms, when it was notorious that the Pope had jurisdiction over the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy and bishops, independent of which he possessed an authority to interfere with the constitution of this House, because he possessed the power of ordination; and by the 9th section of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, any hon. Member of this House, accepting that ordination, his seat became thereby vacant, precisely in the same way as if he had accepted office under the Crown; and then again, his Holiness possesses a power of ordination with the Protestant Church. It is a matter of public notoriety that persons ordained by him, and becoming conformists, are *ipso facto* ministers of the Established Church, without any ordination therein—a power greater than can be exercised by the head of the Established Church; so that any hon. Member, taking this oath, after his attention has been thus drawn to the real facts of the case, must be guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury.

The *Speaker.* The hon. Member cannot move the petition without notice; but the clerk informs me it is signed by the hon. Member himself, and by no other person.

Sir *V. Blake.* I stated that the petition was from a Member of this House, and it is not necessary to give the names of petitioners.

Mr. *Goulburn.* The petition being signed by the hon. Member himself gave the proceeding so unusual and anomalous a character, that perhaps the hon. Member would not object to withdraw it.

Sir *V. Blake.* If it be the sense of the House that the petition should be withdrawn, I shall willingly withdraw it; but I really cannot see anything irregular in it, as it is perfectly consistent with former precedents.

The *Speaker.* It is quite competent to any hon. Member to petition the House; but then his petition ought to be presented by another Member.

Petition withdrawn.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.] Lord *M. Hill* Controller of the Household, informed the House that her Majesty had been waited upon, pursuant to the resolution of that hon. House, and he was desired by her Majesty to read to the House the following most gracious answer to the Address of her faithful Commons:—

"It is a great satisfaction to me to find that the House of Commons are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations to which I directed their attention in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn; and that in deciding on the course which it may be desirable to pursue, it will be their earnest desire to consult the interests and promote the welfare of all classes of my subjects.

"Ever anxious to listen to the advice of my Parliament, I will take immediate measures for the formation of a new Administration."

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.] Lord *J. Russell* said, I have now, Sir, to state to the House, that after the division of Friday night, her Majesty's Ministers thought it their duty at once to advise the answer which has just been communicated to the House, and humbly to tender their resignations to her Majesty, in order to enable her Majesty to form a new Administration. Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept our resignations, and we, therefore, now only hold office until other Ministers shall be appointed to the offices which we respectively filled. Perhaps the House will allow me on this occasion, and before I make the motion with which I intend to conclude, to state the impressions, in doing which I shall as much as possible avoid matter of controversy and debate, to state the impressions I entertain with respect to late events. It was our duty, as we believed, to propose the measures which were proposed in the late Parliament in reference to the trade and commerce of the country, and which we thought essential to its interests. Upon being defeated with regard to one of these measures, we advised her Majesty as soon as the business of the Session would permit it, to resort to a dissolution of Parliament. That dissolution having taken place, and the new Parliament being assembled, on the earliest possible opportunity, we advised her Majesty to submit to them the consideration of measures of the same nature, and to ask for the opinion of Parliament in reference to these matters. It has pleased the House of Commons by a large majority, to address her Majesty, stating that her Ministers did not enjoy the confidence of Parliament and the country. This decision left us no other part to perform than that of resigning our offices. I will not use any arguments to show why we think we were justified in prolonging the struggle until the present hour; but I say, that it was our conviction, that our duty to the Sovereign whose confidence we enjoyed, that our persuasion of the necessity of the measures which we advised, and our belief that the people should be consulted on questions involving their dearest interests, rendered it incumbent on us to continue the struggle to the present moment. I have, on former occasions, justified the course which we pursued on particular occasions, and in future debates I shall be ready to justify them again. But I am now only stating the conviction which we entertain. Sir, it has been our fate now to hold power for a considerable number of years; I will not say that as long as we could use power, as we believed for the benefit of the country, it was with reluctance we continued in office; but this I will say, that I do not think the possession of power in this country can be accompanied by satisfaction, unless there are means of carrying into effect the measures which Ministers feel essential to the welfare of the country. I do not allude now to particular measures of less or minor importance, but to measures of great and transcendant moment. With regard to such measures, we began, in the commencement of Lord Grey's Administration, with the Reform Act—we ended by proposing measures for the freedom of commerce. With large and important measures we commenced—with large and important measures we conclude. In pursuance of great objects we triumphed—in pursuance of great objects we have fallen. Another remark I may make, which relates both to Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, as severally first Ministers of the Crown. Lord Grey, at the time of the Reform Act, and in the first year of that measure, enjoyed, together with his colleagues, great and almost unexampled popularity. Lord Melbourne, as being the first Minister of William 4th, became, at the accession of the present Queen, the adviser of a Princess, who came to the throne at the earliest period at which by law it was allowable to exercise the power of sovereignty; it was his duty to offer that advice and give that information which a Queen, without experience, could not be supposed to have, and which was received with the confidence and reliance that became the frank and generous nature of the Royal Person now on the throne. Now, I will venture to say, that neither of these powers, neither the great powers of popularity which were enjoyed by the Ministry of Earl Grey, nor the power and favour of the Sovereign enjoyed by Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, was ever abused by either of them. On the contrary, while fault has been found with both of them for not having proposed measures which, it was said at the time, would be more to the advantage of their party, and the secucurity of their power, no one can deny that both have shewn great forbearance, and a great desire to preserve untouched and unimpaired the constitution of the country, and the prerogatives of the Crown. Having said this much with regard to the Ministers under whom I had the honour to serve with pride and gratification, I may, perhaps, be allowed to add a few words with regard to the person who now addresses you. I will not pretend to say, that there will not be other persons holding different opinions, who will not bring to the administration of public affairs a larger capacity and more competent intelligence; all I venture to say, is, that while placed in the situation which I had the honour to hold, no considerations of a private nature, no wish for personal advantage diverted my attention from my public duties, and I have endeavoured to give every moment I could devote to their discharge. With respect to the merits of the measures which I have proposed, or of the measures which I carried into effect, I will not now enter into any dispute; all I wish to observe is, that I have endeavoured, to the best of my power and ability, to exercise such judgment as I possess for the promotion of the best interests of the country, and of the Sovereign whom I serve, and whom I had the honour to advise. Sir, this House having decided at the very commencement of the Session, that it will take measures for controlling the prerogative, and directing the executive authority of the Crown, I can only say, that although that decision may fall with undeserved severity as we think, upon us, I am sure that in all the future consultations of the House, I shall be ever ready to give that advice to the House which I think will tend to secure to it the affections of the people of the United Kingdom, and conduce to the welfare and prosperity of the great empire of which this House is the centre and support. I can assure the House that in whatever circumstances I am placed I shall express to it my conscientious convictions of the measures proposed, whether they be the acts of the Minister of the day, or of those who are opposed to them. I shall be always ready to give such an opinion as I think may tend to the permanent improvement of our institutions—never, as I observed on another occasion, never defending abuses as if they were institutions, and on the other hand never being ready to sacrifice institutions as if they were abuses. I have only further to say, with regard to the Members of this House with whom I have conducted public affairs for many years, that while I am grateful to those who have been my supporters, I wish personally to express a hope, with regard to our opponents, that in all our future relations there may be no feeling of personal bitterness between us; and if our resignation tends to the future welfare and prosperity of the country, I shall always look with satisfaction to the day on which that event occurred. I now, Sir, move that the House at its rising do adjourn to Monday next.

Lord *Stanley:* The announcement which has just been made by the noble Lord will, I am sure, convince every Member of the House, on whichever side he may sit, of the impropriety of entering now into any discussion of those bygone transactions which have led to differences between the two great parties in the State, and ultimately, as we have just heard, to the resignation of her Majesty's Ministers. But I should do injustice to the feelings, I am sure, of the House, not less than to the tone and manner in which the noble Lord who has just sat down has addressed us, if I did not express from this side of the House, what I am convinced is felt by all—a cordial participation in the sentiment of the noble Lord, that whatever may have been our political differences throughout those great contests, no sentiment of personal bitterness has been engendered in the minds of any of its Members. Sir, it was my good fortune, for some time, to have the honour of acting in political accordance with the noble Lord; it has been my misfortune for some years conscientiously to differ from the course which the noble Lord has seen it to be his duty to follow; but, as I claim for myself, and for every Gentleman who has felt it his duty to oppose him, the belief on the part of the House, that we have acted from conscientious motives, and from none other, so I fully give to the noble Lord the credit of having been influenced by no consideration but the sense of duty, which, with a man of his high honour, must be paramount to every other. Every one who has watched his conduct, must regard it with no sentiments but those of admiration of the great zeal, perseverance, ability, and talent, with which, not only in the duties of his own department, but in the management of the political business of this House, the noble Lord has uniformly conducted the very arduous and difficult task which was assigned to him. I will go back to make no observations on the statement which the noble Lord has made of the course pursued in Parliament, further than to point out what appeared to me to involve some degree of inaccuracy on the part of the noble Lord when he stated, somewhat unhappily, that in resigning office he was content, having triumphed in the assertion of great principles, to fall in the assertion of great principles also. Now, the noble Lord must permit me to say, that having in the course of the last Session of Parliament, received no very unequivocal demonstration that her Majesty's Government as a whole, did not possess the confidence of this House, which the noble

Lord justly says, is necessary to enable any Minister to carry on the business of the country, the noble Lord and his colleagues proposed certain measures, into a discussion of which I am not now about to enter; but the only one of those questions discussed by the House was negatived. It thus appeared manifest to the noble Lord and the House, that there were but two alternatives to be adopted by her Majesty's Ministers—the alternative of the resignation of their offices, or that of an appeal to the country with regard to their policy. No Gentleman, so far as I have heard, on this side of the House, denied that it was perfectly competent and constitutional for the noble Lord to resort to either of those alternatives. He advised her Majesty to appeal to the people, and the sense of the people, which has been echoed by the House of Commons on a late occasion, was pronounced unequivocally and disdistinctly against the measures of the Government. But, Sir, when the noble Lord says, that on the first day of the Session, he felt it to be his duty to submit great measures to the decision of the House, which had been rejected, I must take the liberty of saying to the House, and the noble Lord, that this does not convey an accurate statement of the matter as it really was; because, neither by any possible acquiescence could the House have assented to the individual measures which the noble Lord proposed to introduce, nor by refusing to assent to the Address did the House in any way pledge itself as to the principles which the noble Lord said were under discussion. If I were to require an illustration of this, I would only point out, that whereas one sentence of the Address contained expressions relative to a particular part of the budget, it was supported by Gentlemen who agreed with the measures of the noble Lord, and by others who did not agree with them, but desired the adoption of a principle carrying them much further. It was also supported by other Gentlemen, like the noble Lord, the Member for Lincolnshire (Lord Worsley), who were altogether opposed to those measures, and protested that they did not by any means, in assenting to the Address, assent to those measures; but what this House said, and what I think the House was justified in saying, was, that under the circumstances in which the country was placed, the matters to which the Crown had invited our attention were considerations of too great importance to be deliberated upon incidentally in the House of Commons, which, after all, could come to no decision upon them, from the form in which they were put, and in the absence of any Government possessing the confidence of the House and the country. Therefore it was thought right on the late occasion, not to refuse assent to any of the recommendations which it pleased her Majesty to make; but at once to assert that they had not that confidence in her Majesty's present advisers, which should justify them in proposing measures of great importance to the consideration of Parliament. And I must take this opportunity of expressing my regret that the Speech was so framed as to be liable to a misconstruction in the eyes of the country, to which I am certain the noble Lord, of all men, would desire it should not be subject. I cannot but feel, that the advice of the Government to Parliament to consider these great questions, coupled with the words in which the Speech was couched, would lead in the public mind to an impression perfectly erroneous, and perfectly unconstitutional of course—that those recommendations were the recommendations of the Crown, and not of the Ministers who constitutionally advise the Crown. I do not wish, as I said before, to revive any topics of discussion in the present state of the House. I am satisfied that the noble Lord having bowed, as his constitutional feeling would lead him to bow, to the expression of the feeling of this House and the country, and paid that homage to constitutional principles which I trust every Minister will always be ready to yield, by resigning office when he no longer has the power of carrying his measures with credit to himself and satisfaction to the country, from this moment all feeling of excitement between the noble Lord and Gentlemen on this side of the House will, if it ever existed, entirely cease. I am confident that towards the noble Lord personally, no feelings are entertained but those of respect for his person, and admiration for his talents; and I give to him and the noble Lord at the head of the Government, who has for some time had the delicate and important duty of advising, as the noble Lord says, an inexperienced and youthful Sovereign —I give them both full credit for having in the course of their Government adopted those measures, and those measures only, which they deemed to be for the welfare of the country. I give them the credit of believing, that ceasing to hold office, they will not attempt to disturb those who may be called upon to undertake the business of the country by a factious opposition; but that while they steadily maintain in Parliament the views which, on political matters, they conscientiously entertain and are bound boldly to express, the noble Lord and his colleagues, in whose hands soever power may be placed, will witness with great satisfaction the progress of measures which will redound to the welfare of the country and the happiness of the people.

Lord *J. Russell:* I am extremely sorry, that any misconstruction has prevailed in any quarter. I thought it was generally understood, that the Speech from the Throne was the speech of Ministers. I am quite ready to say, that I hope no such misconstruction will continue to exist. The speech was the result of the advice of Ministers, and Ministers alone are responsible for it.

The question that the House at its rising do adjourn till Monday agreed to.

On the question that the consideration of the Lords Commissioners speech be deferred till Monday,

Personal Explanation.] Mr. *J. S. Wortley* said, he should ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments, while he referred to something that was said by the noble Lord opposite in the late debate, and he hoped the circumstances of the case would be sufficient to justify him. The noble Lord, at the close of a debate of four nights, and at three o'clock in the morning, when the House was in expectation of the important division which immediately afterwards took place, had thrown upon him imputations under which he was unwilling to rest. His respect for the House had at that time prevented him from interposing in order to offer any explanation. On the next day the noble Lord, for good and sufficient reasons no doubt, did not make his appearance in that House. The present, therefore, was the first opportunity he had been able to take, and the only one he was likely to have, to perform the duty which he conceived was incumbent on him, to set himself right with the House on this point. The noble Lord, in the first place, had, as he considered, entirely misrepresented the opinions he had stated on the general question of the Poor-laws. He should not, however, now enter upon the subject, as he should find other opportunities of doing so. The noble Lord had also accused him of having gone down to Yorkshire in order to raise an Anti-Poor-law cry against Lord Morpeth. He wished to ask what right the noble Lord had to make any such charge? The noble Lord could know nothing personally of the facts of the case, except from the account of some strong partisan, or perhaps from the columns of that calumnious press of which he seemed so ready to complain when its attacks were directed against himself. The noble Lord could not know that in 1837, when he (Mr. J. S. Wortley) was engaged in a contest of the same description, proposals were made to him by parties feeling strongly with respect to the Poor-laws, that he should make them the subject of a party cry. Representations were made to him that it would lend force to the exertions of his friends, and he was also told by the parties connected with the noble Lord, that if he would consent to take up the question, and at once declare himself in favour of the repeal of the law, he might count on the accession of hundreds who would otherwise not vote for him. His answer was, that he cared not what the effect of the course they suggested might be, but he would refuse to take that course. He said he would state his opinions on the subject distinctly, that he would never undertake to vote for the total repeal of the law, because he considered that there were parts of it which deserved to be maintained. When it was remembered that he was only 400 behind on that occasion, it would be admitted, that had he given his consent to the course recommended, he might have then stood in the situation he now occupied. At the last election similar representations were made to him, and he returned the same answer; therefore the noble Lord had no right to accuse him of having raised the Anti-Poor-law cry, as he said, in order to turn out Lord Morpeth. The hon. Member for Sheffield had said, that by some of his (Mr. Wortley's) supporters cards were thrown among the crowd, with figures of the Bastile upon them. That was, no doubt, one of the jokes of the election; but he might as well accuse the noble Lord or the hon.

Gentleman of raising the cry of cheap bread, with figures of the big loaf and the little loaf.

Mr. *Roebuck* rose to order. There was no question before the House.

The *Speaker:* The question is that the Lords Commissioners speech be considered on Monday next.

Mr. *Wortley* was perfectly aware he was not speaking strictly to the question; but he had thrown himself on the indulgence of the House. He had said it was the only opportunity he should have—

Mr. *Roebuck* rose again to order. The hon. Gentleman was referring to a preceding debate, and that was contrary to one of the rules of the House.

The *Speaker* said, that rule applied in all cases, but where a Member had a personal complaint to make, it was usual to grant him the indulgence of making it.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, what he objected to was, that the hon. Member having defended himself made attacks upon others.

Mr. *Wortley* had not said anything which could be considered an attack upon the hon. and learned Member for Bath, or any of his Friends.

Mr. *Roebuck:* No, not against me.

Mr. *Wortley* had meant to show, that it was too much to make him responsible for matters of the kind alluded to by the hon. Member for Sheffield, for he might just as well say, the noble Lord opposite was responsible for a placard which covered the walls of every street in the Metropolis on the previous day, announcing that the Queen of England was to consider herself now no other than a State prisoner. If hon. Members were to consider each other responsible for such popular topics of clamour, there was no knowing where it would end. He considered that, the noble Lord might better have refrained from throwing out random imputations against him.

Lord *J. Russell* observed, that in what he had stated the other night, he had taken for his authority not mere random imputations or rumours, but accounts which he had seen of the speeches made by the hon. Member, and especially an address, signed "J. S. Wortley," issued with a view to the West Riding election. [The noble Lord read the first paragraph of the Address, which Mr. Wortley acknowledged.] He had not found fault with the hon. Member for holding opinions against the new Poor-law, or for opposing any of the former Members, but for stating those strong opinions against the new Poor-law at the time of the election; and when the House met, so far was the hon. Member from endeavouring to enforce his opinions, that he took the first opportunity to place persons in power who were the strongest supporters of that law. The hon. Member said in his address,

> "As to the character of the new Poor-law, my objections remain unchanged, as well as to the Administration of the Commissioners."

The hon. Member then went on to protest against relief being given only in the work-house, and concluded by saying,

> "It appears to me clear, that this law must undergo much alteration, and I shall always approach the subject, whether the law is to be altered or repealed, with a deep conviction, that the first principle I should be guided by is, tenderness to the poor."

He did not find fault with those opinions, but he said, that any hon. Member who thought a man should not be obliged to accept the workhouse as a condition of relief, who thought it a hardship for a man to be separated from his family, and who thought it was a question whether the law should not be totally repealed, ought not, when he came forward to bring the condition of the country before the House, to have omitted these important matters. The hon. Member said, that some persons had called for cheap bread, and had pointed out the difference between a little loaf and a big loaf. He (Lord J. Russell) hoped that those who had done so, did do so in the belief that an alteration of the Corn-laws would give the poor a large loaf, and they were consistent in their opinions when they proposed an alteration in the Corn-laws; but if the persons who had done this out of doors, were to enter the House and never make mention of the Corn-laws, then he should say that their belief in the advantage of an alteration of those laws was not very sincere. The hon. Gentleman had not convinced him, by his speech on the first night of the Session, that he attached any very great importance to an alteration of the new Poor-law. It would be seen by the subsequent speeches of the hon. Member whether, though he might think the subject one of small concern, he was disposed to vote for an extensive alteration or a total abolition of the present Poor-law.

The question agreed to.

OATH OF SUPREMACY.] Sir *V. Blake* spoke to the following effect:—Sir, I do not expect you will assent to my proposition to repeal the Oath of Supremacy without grave deliberation. That oath was the prop that was invented to sustain the Reformation in its infancy—and surely it cannot be considered as appropriate food to sustain the establishment, now that it has grown up to a position which will entitle it, if purely administered, to endure for ever. This oath, and the distinction between Whig and Tory, emanated from the same circumstance. The struggle between those two great parties of the State, which has lasted for a period of 200 years, may be said to be now suspended, if not terminated for ever. I speak those sentiments from a consideration of the manly and statesman-like pledge that was given within the last two nights, by the right hon. Member for Tamworth, and if he is enabled to carry out the views by him so eloquently expressed, that distinction to which I have alluded will cease. But if he fails in the performance, he will, thereby, keep alive the distinction just in the same way that the Whigs, by neglecting those opportunities which they had to attach the whole empire to them, kept alive their opponents, and now their successors in office. Sir, I have the fullest confidence in the sincerity and honour of the right hon. Baronet, but I confess that I am doubtful of his power to allay the troubled spirits of some of his followers. It may be, however, prudent for them to recollect, that if he proves his sincerity, as I am sure he will, he will not require the aid of intemperate men to sustain him in power, while on the other hand, they can never exist as a party, ruling the destinies of this great empire, except in unison with him, and in accordance with his recently avowed principles. Sir, I think that the proper opportunity is not yet arrived to obtain a calm consideration of the merits of my intended bill for the abolition of this Oath of Supremacy, and, therefore, with the permission of the House, I beg leave to withdraw my notice for the present, as the whole object of my presenting it has already been accomplished.

Motion withdrawn.

House adjourned to the ensuing Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, September 6, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Passed through all its stages:—Earl of Scarborough's Indemnity.—Read a second time:—Foreigners Consecration Act Amendment.

[On the meeting of the Parliament this day, the parties had changed places, the Conservatives occupying the Ministerial, the Whigs the opposition benches.]

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE (COURTS OF EQUITY) BILL] On the motion of Lord Cottenham their Lordships went into Committee on the Administration of Justice Bill. The several clauses were agreed to without amendment. On the report being brought up,

Lord *Brougham* said, that the present would be the most convenient time to state his objections to parts of this bill. He objected to the appointment of two permanent judges. The Bill contemplated two judges, one permanent and the other for the life of the individual appointed. Now, it appeared to him that neither ought to be permanent, and that one appointment for life would afford abundant means of removing the evil complained of. It was now fourteen months since a bill, having an object similar to the present, was sent down by their Lordships to the other House, where it was allowed to fall through, and did not pass. He would not then enter into any of the reasons why it did not; but if the occasion for its being sent down were so pressing—if the relief which it was intended to give were so necessary as was said, he should have thought that so long an interval would not have been suffered to intervene as between that and the present time. So impressed was he with that opinion that he brought in a bill of his own on the subject, in which a remedy for the evil of arrears in some of the equity courts was provided for. That bill, however, was not allowed to pass. Parts of the present Bill he fully approved of—but he repeated that he strongly objected to the appointment of two new equity judges. He should, therefore propose, that in the 19th clause, instead of the word "two" there should be inserted the words "an additional judge," and such other changes in the phraseology as this first would render necessary, and in the end of the clause, the words "such additional judge."

Lord *Cottenham* hoped their Lordships would not limit the relief proposed to be given by the Bill to the suitors in Chancery by agreeing to the amendment proposed by his noble and learned Friend, who had not said one word respecting the transference of the business now transacting in the equity side of the Exchequer, which must of necessity increase the business in the Court of Chancery. Neither had his noble and learned Friend in any way alluded to the Committee, which reported upon the existing abuses in the Court of Chancery. Before that Committee, barristers, solicitors, and agents, and, indeed, all persons concerned in the business of that Court, were examined, and the opinion of all, without exception, was, that one additional judge would not relieve them from the pressure. The evidence indeed led many to doubt whether two additional Judges would be sufficient, because it was fully expected when the business in the Court of Chancery was freed from delay, that it would naturally increase, for they said it was now the constant practice for the profession to dissuade persons from coming into the Court, unless the cause was of some magnitude in consequence of the extreme delay in obtaining justice. The evidence given before that Committee had led many to change their opinions. They went in with an opinion that one judge would be sufficient, and were convinced that two would scarcely answer. An experience of forty years in the Court of Chancery satisfied him that one additional judge would not be sufficient.

Amendment negatived.

Lord *Campbell* wished to propose an amendment, for the purpose of removing all doubts as to the power of the Crown to appoint Irish barristers of 15 years' standing to any of the judgeships created by this bill. According to the way in which the part of the bill to which he referred was worded, there were doubts whether the Crown had such power, and it would be better at once to remove them by such an amendment as he proposed.

The *Lord Chancellor* (Lord Lyndhurst) did not object to the proposed amendment, though he thought the bill did not require it, for to him it appeared that the words of the bill were quite clear, and that there could be no doubt of the power of the Crown to appoint Irish barristers of fifteen years standing to the judgeships named in it.

Lord *Brougham* doubted much whether the matter was so clear as his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack seemed to think.

Lord *Campbell* said, there could be no doubt whatever that it was not the intention of the framers of the bill to exclude Irish barristers from eligibility to those appointments; but as there were some doubts whether (as the clause was now worded) the Crown had the power of the appointment, he thought it the safest way to put an end to them.

Lord *Brougham* would suggest to his noble and learned Friend whether, if it were found necessary to name the two new vice-chancellorships as appointments which the Crown had the power under this bill to grant to Irish barristers of fifteen years' standing, it might not cast a doubt on the power of the Crown to appoint Irish barristers to the vice-chancellorship created by the act the 53d George III.

The Earl of *Wicklow* thought the suggestion of the noble and learned Lord very important, and he trusted their Lordships would not pass the bill without due consideration; for certainly if amended as now proposed, it might have the effect of excluding barristers of the Irish bar from eligibility to the judgeship under the 53d George III., which he was sure never was the intention of the Legislature.

Lord *Campbell* admitted the importance of the question, and would undertake to have a clause prepared on the third reading which would remove all doubts on the subject.

The *Lord Chancellor* suggested, that the consideration of this part of the bill and the amendment might be deferred to the third reading. The amendment in its present state might be productive of great inconvenience, as there were many other acts similarly worded, on which similar doubts might be raised.

Amendment postponed.

Lord *Cottenham* then moved the omission of the compensation clauses, which would be restored in another place.

Lord *Brougham* wished, on the subject of compensation, to read a note which he had received from his noble and learned Friend, the Lord Chief Justice (Denman). The noble and learned Lord read the note, which referred to the noble Lord's (Brougham's) doubt of the propriety of any increase of the judges in any of the courts; and said, that the writer concurred with him (Lord Brougham) in dissenting from the principle of compensation in all cases where the parties appointed to the office intended to be abolished or remodelled had due notice of such intention at the time of their appointment. On this principle, he objected to compensation being given for the loss of his appointment to the master of the Court of Exchequer, to whose talents and high character he cordially bore his full testimony. Neither did he think his noble and learned Friend, the Lord Chief Baron was entitled to compensation for the loss of any patronage which he had in that high office, as he must have been aware of the contemplated changes at the time of his appointment. He would admit that compensations for legal and other civil appointments had been allowed under the Municipal Corporation Act, but these were under peculiar circumstances, which did not exist in the cases to which he referred. The noble and learned Lord was understood, in conclusion, to express his concurrence in the principles laid down in his noble and learned Friend's note.

The amendment (for the omission of the money clauses) was agreed to.

Bill to be read a third time.

PUNISHMENT OF DEATH.] The Earl of *Wicklow* wished, before the rising of the House, to call the attention of their Lordships, particularly of his noble Friends, her Majesty's Ministers, to a subject which he considered of much importance. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that, some time last Session a bill had been passed for abolishing the Punishment of Death in certain cases, but the bill applied to Great Britain and did not extend to Ireland. Now, he considered it a very singular anomaly that there should be one law for the punishment of the same class of crimes in one part of the United Kingdom and another in another, and that what was punished with a milder sentence in one place should be visited with the penalty of death in another. He had felt it his duty to call the attention of the noble Marquess lately at the head of the Home Department to the circumstance, and pointed out to him that as a considerable period must elapse before the act came into operation, there would be time to remove the anomaly before them. The noble Marquess at the time gave him what he considered as a pledge that the Government would take up the matter, but as the noble Marquess having retired from office was not in a condition to fulfil that pledge, he begged to call the attention of his noble Friends the Members of the Government to the subject, and hoped that something would be done in it.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he would lose no time in calling the attention of his right hon. Friend the Secretary for the Home Department to the matter.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, September 6, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read first time:—Lagan Navigation.—Passed through all its stages:—Earl of Scarborough's Indemnity.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Hawes, from William Blaxland, for a Repeal of all Taxes on Food.

Elections. Petitions complaining of, for Cardigan, b., Cork co., Kerry, Nottingham, t., Wakefield, Dudley, Wigtown, Rochester, Athlone, Gloucester, cy., Dublin, cy., Blackburn, Louth, Tipperary, Lichfield, Southampton, t., Flint, Newry, Newport, Kinsale, Elgin Burghs, Sudbury, Bewdley, Reading, Penrhyn, and Falmouth.

THE EARL OF SCARBOROUH'S INDEMNITY.] A bill for the indemnification of the right hon. John Saville Lumley, Earl of Scarborough, from the penalties incurred by him, in having sat and voted in the House of Lords, without having first duly taken the oaths, and signed the Parliamentary roll, to which they asked the concurrence of the House, was brought down from the House of Lords, and read first time.

Sir *T. Fremantle* briefly stated the object of the bill, and said, that he had been requested to apply to the House that the standing orders might be suspended, and the bill passed through all its stages that evening. The hon. Gentleman cited the case of the Earl of Harborough, in 1820, as a precedent.

Viscount *Palmerston* was ready to give his assent to the proposed course of proceeding.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that he did not mean to oppose the bill, but rose to express a hope, that when, through ignorance, a poor man violated the law, the same course would be pursued in respect of his offence.

Bill passed through its several stages, and returned to the Lords.

THE SPEECH—SUPPLY.] On the Order of the Day for the consideration of the Speech of the Lords Commisioners being read,

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that in the absence of the responsible Ministers of the Crown, he should not think of making any motion on which any difference of opinion would be likely to rise, but it was necessary that the usual motion that a supply be granted to her Majesty should be made, before the public business could be proceeded with. He would, therefore, avail himself of the meeting of the House that day and tomorrow, to take steps which would facilitate the progress of business, when the responsible Ministers of the Crown should take their places. He would, therefore, move, that a supply be granted to her Majesty.

Motion agreed to; it was ordered that the committee on the Navy Pay Bill be taken on Wedneday, and the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, September 7, 1841.

Minutes.] Bills. Read a third time:—Foreigners Consecration; Administration of Justice.

Petitions presented. By the Bishop of Chichester, from the Clergy and Archdeaconry of Chichester, for an Alteration in the mode of Rating Tithes.

Delays of the Law.] Lord *Brougham* said, he had to present a petition from Isaac Winter, a poor man of Wilton, in the county of Somerset. This unfortunate man stated, that he was suitor in a case pending before their Lordships as an appeal, and his complaint was of the delay which had arisen in its consideration. In the course of the discussion on the appeal, some questions of law had arisen, on which it became necessary to have the opinions of the judges, and the questions had been referred to those learned persons some time in 1839, but they had not agreed upon the answers that should be given. The fact was, the questions involved points of law of great difficulty, and he believed that of the judges to whom the questions were referred, half were of one opinion, and half of another. However, it was of great consequence to this poor man, who was now seventy years old, that a decision should be given as early as possible, for the case was one of great hardship. He had mentioned the case, knowing that the mere mention of it would be enough to direct the attention of his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack to it.

Old Penal Statutes.] Lord *Brougham* wished to call the attention of their Lordships, and more particularly that of his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, to another, and in his opinion, very important subject—he meant the state of our penal statutes. It was a fact well known to very many of their Lordships, that there existed on our statute-book many penal statutes, which contained very high and severe penalties attaching to the commission of certain acts, or the omission of certain forms, and instead of these being allowed to remain a dead letter, or erased, they were sometimes made a handle for the infliction of great oppression. The case of the bill which their Lordships had passed yesterday, was an illustration of the kind of penal statute to which he had referred. There were on our statute-book certain high penalties to be inflicted on Members of either House of Parliament, for taking their seats and voting, without taking the oaths, and subscribing the Parliamentary roll, but those were so extremely severe—so far out of all proportion to the acts or omissions to which they were attached, that no one ever dreamed that they ought to be inflicted. If the penalty were a fine of 40*l.* or 50*l.*, or 100*l.*, it would be considered quite enough, and it would be at once paid, without for a moment rendering a bill of indemnity necessary; but what were the penalties as they now existed on the statute-book, applying to the case he had referred to? They amounted to a total and perpetual disqualification for holding any situation of trust or honour or profit; they incapacitated the unfortunate offender, however much his act might have been an error of which he was unconscious at the time, for ever having a seat in either House of Parliament; they incapacitated him from the power of suing, or of entering any plea in any court of law or equity, or from taking any legacy or any gift or profit by any legal document. In fact, this was total civil incapacitation, and almost equivalent to civil death, and the consequence was, that no one thought that the penalty ought to be enforced; and as it ought not to be enforced, it ought not to be allowed to remain on the statute-book. There were other penal statutes which, though not so severe in the penalties they enacted, were nevertheless extremely annoying and harassing, and might be made a means of gratifying private rancour or animosity. He alluded to those statutes intended to enforce attendance of persons at their parish churches on Sundays: by one statute the fine was 1*s.* for each omission to go to church on Sunday; but by another statute, the fine was raised to 20*l.*, if the party omitted to attend his parish church for four successive Sundays. These, he repeated, were in themselves most annoying, not so much from the amount of the fines they inflicted, though in the second case to which he had referred, the fine would be ruinous to many, but from the harassing and abuses to which they might give rise. It was not, he believed, more than a month back from the time he was speaking, when eleven persons were convicted in 1*s.* penalties for non-attendance at church on Sundays. The fines, it was true, were not much, but there were, besides, the costs where the parties refused to pay. In one case the costs were 14*s.*, and in another 23*s.*, and for non-payment one party was sentenced to be imprisoned sixty-three, and the other sixty-one days. Now, he supposed their Lordships would agree with him in thinking, that any person who was anxious to see the parish churches duly attended on Sundays, could not well hit upon a mode worse calculated to insure that object than those coercing fines. Indeed, it was about the best mode of insuring church non-attendance that could be devised; besides, as he had said, this power was liable to be perverted to most capricious purposes. He cast no blame on any body; but surely our statutes ought not to be left in a state in which to enforce them would be disgraceful. He had heard blame cast for having many of these fines received on account of the Sovereign, or of the State, but there was no option, when once the statute was enforced. He repeated, that he mentioned these circumstances for the purpose of having the attention of Government, and particularly of his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, directed to the subject. The law ought to be altered on these matters, or perhaps, what would be better, there ought not to be any law at all on many of them.

Subject at an end.

FOREIGNERS CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.] The Archbishop of *Canterbury* moved the third reading of the Foreigners Consecration of Bishop's Bill.

The Earl of *Radnor* did not exactly understand the grounds upon which this bill had been introduced, and looked upon it as being quite unnecessary and useless.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* said that the bill had been introduced with a view to the better regulation of the congregations of English persons, who may be settled in foreign countries, and more particularly on the shores of the Mediterranean and in the Turkish empire. The bill, it was to be observed, could be put into operation only upon the concurrence of her Majesty being expressed—and it had been introduced with the perfect support of her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Earl of *Radnor* said that his objection was that the bill was not called for by necessity. It was an enlargement of the act of George 3d, and it assumed that it was unlawful for any Archbishop to consecrate a Bishop without the license of the Crown. It did not appear to him, however, that this was the case. With respect to the consecration of Bishops in England, no doubt the license of the Crown was requisite, but that was required in reference, not to the spiritual affairs of the Bishops, but to their temporalities. This bill, however, related solely to the spiritual matters of the new Bishops proposed to be appointed, and he conceived that it was quite unnecessary.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, that several eminent learned persons had been consulted on the subject, and they were all of opinion that such an act as the present was necessary. The law was liable to great doubts and exposed him and others to a charge of acting illegally. To remove these doubts was the object of the Bill. It was brought forward by the advice and recommendation of the law officers of the Crown.

The Earl of *Radnor* thought it was somewhat of an anomaly that Archbishops and Bishops, who claimed the right of ordination by virtue of their spiritual succession from the apostles, and down from our Saviour himself, should still consider themselves not entitled to exercise that power without license from the Crown. He would not oppose the passing of the Bill, but he considered it wholly unnecessary.—Bill read a third time and passed.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.] Lord *Cottenham* moved the third reading of the Administration of Justice Bill.

Bill read a third time.

Lord *Campbell* had prepared a clause, in pursuance of the intention he had given on a previous evening, in order to remove doubts as to the eligibility of Irish barristers for the situation of Vice-Chancellor under the Bill then before their Lordships. It appeared to him that as the Bill at present stood such a clause was necessary. The Bill referred to the English Court of Chancery and the English Court of Exchequer, and when it stated barrister-at-law, it might very naturally be inferred that it merely applied to English barristers. With every deference to the opinion of his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, he continued to think that such an amendment as this was necessary. To obviate the objection of his noble and learned Friend, that the insertion of the declaration might render other acts doubtful, he had worded the clause so as to apply to the present and to all acts which had passed in which the word "barrister" might occur. The noble Lord moved his amendment, to the effect, "And be it further enacted and declared, that in the construction of this Act, and of every other Act relating to offices and appointments, the expression barrister, or barrister-at-law be taken to mean barristers practising in England or Ireland, unless where it may be otherwise expressly provided."

Lord *Brougham* thought it a very useful addition to be made to the bill, and if it satisfied a respectable, a learned, and able body of men, it ought to be introduced. He would remind his noble and learned Friend, however, that when the bill was sent down to the other House last year, when his noble and learned Friend was a Member of that House, he had not then thought of introducing such a clause. It appeared to him, that the bill would merely make them eligible, and it was very proper that they should be so; but let it not go for more than it was worth—let it be understood, that there was no intention of appointing an Irish barrister to such a situation.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, the amendment was most comprehensive, for it went to include all acts in which the word "barrister" occurred; but there were some appointments which were only by Irish, and some only by English barristers, such for instance as the barristers revising the registration.

Lord *Brougham*.—There the proviso came in, "unless otherwise provided;" but it was not so in the present bill.

The *Lord Chancellor* had no objection to the amendment, but he had always understood, that "barrister" meant a member of either bar. There were, he was aware, instances of exceptions—for instance, the revising barristers in Ireland must be altogether Irish, to the exclusion of the English bar; and there were some other instances where the members of the Irish bar were named, to the exclusion of English; but when this was done, and when the particular bar was named, the fair inference was, that when not so named the word "barrister" should be taken to mean a member of either.

Lord *Campbell* said, that his attention had been called to the clause by some eminent Irish barristers, and by some of the Irish judges.

Bill passed.

BISHOPS (IRELAND.)] Lord *Wharncliffe* brought up a report from a committee of their Lordships, naming the four Irish Bishops whose turn it was to sit in the House for the present Session, which was ordered to be printed. He then moved, that the Lord Bishop of Derry having taken the oaths and his seat by mistake, thinking that it was his turn to sit as one of the four Irish Bishops for the present Session, his name be struck off the roll.

Ordered.

DUBLIN CORPORATIONS.] The Earl of *Glengall* had to present to their Lordships a petition on a subject of considerable importance, to which he was anxious to call the attention of her Majesty's Government. It was from Dublin, and signed by about 1,000 inhabitants, merchants, bankers, and others, being householders and ratepayers in that city. The petitioners complained of several gross practices with respect to the burgess-roll, on the insertion of the names on which roll was founded the right to vote for members and officers of the corporation. The subject was one which very naturally excited very strong feelings. The petition detailed such scenes of fraud and corruption as never before, he believed, had come before their Lordships, even from Ireland itself. The object of those fraudulent practices was to influence votes in the election of municipal officers. The burgess-roll was filled up, or ought to be, only with the names of those who were under assessments to the Poor-rates to the amount of 10*l.* a-year. Now, the petitioners complained, that gross frauds were practised to create a fictitious constituency; for this purpose many alterations were made, and names were so entered, that it was impossible for the revising-barrister to know who had the right to vote, and who had not; names were entered to give facilities for personation. The net annual value was also altered. Some who had been assessed at 7*l.* had that changed to 10*l.* Others again had an addition of 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* made to the assessment, so as to bring it up to 10*l.* The fraudulent practices were, in a word, so various and so numerous, that it was almost impossible to get a correct list. How all those evils were to be remedied he did not know, but he supposed the subject should be investigated in some way. He believed, that by one clause of the Irish Municipal Corporation Act, the Lord-Lieutenant and Council had the power to grant time for the purpose of entering into inquiries, were such abuses were proved, in order to have the false entries corrected. He did not suppose their Lordships had any power to interfere, but nevertheless, he felt it his duty to bring the subject under their notice as one which had created immense excitement in Dublin. When the Irish Municipal Corporation Act was under discussion by their Lordships, he had in common with many other noble Lords, strongly objected to the city of Dublin in the bill, because he foresaw the gross practices which would be resorted to by one party to carry the elections of corporate officers their own way. The facts now stated in the petition before the House fully bore out all that he had anticipated. The struggle which he had foreseen had now commenced, and if the churchwardens and others in authority permitted such scenes, they would become partisans, and in a short time it would be seen, that the corporation of Dublin would be in the hands of Repealers and other agitators, that the Mansion-house would become the arena for those scenes which now usually took place at the Corn Exchange, and that in "the King's-room" questions would be discussed whether Ireland was to continue under the sway of a British Sovereign. The petitioners earnestly prayed their Lordships to take these matters into their consideration, and to do all in their power by inquiry to correct these gross abuses. If their Lordships had no power to interpose, why be it so; but he did hope that inquiry would be instituted in some quarter before the next month.

The Duke of *Wellington* was obliged to the noble Earl for having called his attention to these matters, but the noble Earl must see, that the question was one in which the House of Lords had no power to interfere. If it was a question on which the activity of the Poor-law Commissioners of Ireland, or of the guardians of tbe poor, could be of use in putting an end to the grievances, then they ought to be required to lend their aid in any way they could. Or, if his noble Friend, the noble Earl, had said the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland in council had power to interfere, then that was the quarter to which application should be made. If, however, the noble Earl would give him a copy of the petition, he would direct that inquiry should be made into its allegations, and the practices to which they referred.

Lord *Brougham* expressed his full concurrence in what had fallen from the noble Duke, that the House of Lords could not interfere in this matter. At the same time there could be no objection to the presentation of the petition, which properly enough prayed for inquiry.

The Duke of *Wellington* did not in any degree blame his noble Friend for presenting the petition, or for calling the attention of Government to it—quite the contrary. The petition was no doubt a very proper one. All that he said was, that it was a matter in which he did not think that their Lordships had any power to interfere.

Petition to lie on the Table.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, September 7, 1841.

MINUTES.] Petitions presented. By Mr. West, from Dublin, against making the Poor-rates the test of Rating for Municipal purposes.

Election Petitions. Against the Elections for Thetford, Belfast, Nottingham (Town), Wareham, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Carlow, Lyme Regis, Merthyr Tydvil, Shrewsbury, Downpatrick, Barnstaple, Harwich, Stafford (Boro'), St. Ives, Rutland, New Windsor (two,) Waterford, cy., and Carnarvon.

Qualification of Members.] Mr. *Greene* proposed the following resolutions, which were read by the Clerk at the Table:—

"1. That every person elected and returned a Member of the House of Commons for any county, riding, or division of a county, or for any city, borough, or Cinque Port of England, Wales, or Ireland, or for the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, whose qualification is expressly objected to in any election petition, shall within fifteen days after the petition read, give to the clerk of the House of Commons a paper, signed by himself, containing the following particulars, that is to say—

"If the qualification of such Member shall arise wholly or in part out of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, then a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereby he makes out such his qualification.

"If the qualification of such Member shall arise wholly or in part out of personal estate, then the particulars of such personal estate, and of the income arising therefrom, and upon what security and in whose names such personal estate is vested, and by whom the income thereof is payable: and that any person concerned may have a copy of such paper.

"2. That of such lands, tenements, hereditaments, and personal estate, whereof the party hath not been in possession or receipt of the rents or income for three years before the election, he shall also insert in the same paper from what person, and by what conveyance, assignment, or act in law he claims and derives the same; and also the consideration, if any, paid for the same, and the names and places of abode of the witnesses to such conveyance, assignment, or act in law and payment.

"3. That if any Member whose qualification is so objected to shall decline to defend his election or return, and if any other person shall be admitted to defend the same, such other person shall, within eight days after he shall be so admitted to defend the same, leave with the clerk of the House of Commons the like account, in writing, of the qualification of such Member as is required from a sitting Member.

"4. That if any sitting Member whose election or return shall be petitioned against, or any party admitted to defend the election or return of such Member, shall think fit to question the qualification of any petitioner, claiming to have had a right to be elected or returned in the place of such Member, such sitting Member shall, within eight days after the petition read, and such other party within eight days after being admitted to defend the election or return, leave notice thereof in writing with the petitioner or his agent; and the petitioner shall in such case, within eight days after such notice, leave with the clerk of the House of Commons the like account, in writing, of his qualification, as is required for a sitting Member."

Mr. *C. Buller* was of opinion, looking at the thin state of the House, that the question, which was undoubtedly important, could not then be satisfactorily discussed.

Mr. *Hawes* thought more time was required to consider what would be the effect of the resolution; and he begged leave to suggest that the subject be postponed.

Debate adjourned.—House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, September 8, 1841.

Minutes.] Bills. Received the Royal Assent:—The Earl of Scarborough's Indemnity.

Adjourned to the 20th of September.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, September 8, 1841.

Minutes.] Members of the General Committee of Elections for the present Session, appointed by the Speaker.

New Writs. For Tamworth, in the room of the right hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., First Lord of the Treasury.

For Cambridge University, in the room of the right hon. Henry Goulburn, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

For the Northern Division of Lancashire, in the room of Lord Stanley, Secretary of State.

For Dorchester, in the room of Sir James Graham, Secretary of State.

For the Eastern Division of Kent, in the room of Sir Edward Knatchbull, Paymaster-General.

For Launceston, in the room of Sir Henry Hardinge, Secretary at War.

For the Southern Division of Nottinghamshire, in the room of Lord Lincoln, Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

For the County of Monmouth, in the room of Lord Granville Somerset, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

For the County of Westmoreland, in the room of Lord Lowther, called to the House of Peers by the title of Baron Lowther, of Whitehaven.

For Cardiff, in the room of John Iltid Nicholl, Esq., Judge Advocate General.

For East Cornwall, in the room of Lord Eliot, Principa Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

For Bury St. Edmund's, in the room of Earl Jermyn, Treasurer of her Majesty's Household.

For Marlborough, in the room of Lord Ernest Bruce, Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household.

For Newark, in the room of Mr. Gladstone, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint.

For Huntingdon, in the room of Sir Frederick Pollock, Attorney-General.

For the City of Exeter, in the room of Sir William Follett, Solicitor-General.

For the Shire of Bute, in the room of Sir William Rae, Lord-Advocate of Scotland.

For Wenlock, in the room of Mr. James Milnes Gaskell, a Lord of the Treasury.

For Marlborough, in the room of Mr. H. Bingham Baring, a Lord of the Treasury.

For the County of Sligo, in the room of Colonel Alexander Perceval, a Lord of the Treasury.*

For the Shire of Selkirk, in the room of Mr. Alexander Pringle, a Lord of the Treasury.

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* The hon. Member's first Appointment was not completed, and he was made Serjeant-at-Arms.

For the Shire of Aberdeen, in the room of the hon. William Gordon, a Lord of the Admiralty.
For the County of Tyrone, in the room of the right hon. Henry Thomas Lowry Corry, a Lord of the Admiralty.
For the Borough of Huntingdon, in the room of Colonel Jonathan Peel, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.
For the Borough of Chippenham, in the room of Captain Henry George Boldero, Clerk of the Ordnance.
For the Borough of Lisburn, in the room of Captain Henry Meynell, one of her Majesty's Grooms in Waiting.
For the Borough of Bridport, in the room of Mr. H. Warburton, Steward of her Majesty's Chiltern Hundreds.
For the North Riding of Yorkshire, in the room of the hon. W. Duncombe, now Lord Feversham.
For Bradford, in the room of Mr. E. C. Lister, deceased.
For Sunderland, in the room of Mr. W. Thompson, Steward of her Majesty's Chiltern Hundreds.
For the City of Lichfield, in the room of Sir G. Anson, Steward of the Manor of Poyning.

Cork County and Meath Elections.] Mr. *Speaker* informed the House, that he had received the following letter from Daniel O'Connell, esq., returned for the counties of Cork and Meath, making his election for the county of Cork:—

"*Merrion Square, Dublin,* 4*th Sept.* 1841.

"Sir—Having been returned to serve in the present Parliament for the county of Meath as well as the county of Cork, I beg leave to state to you, for the information of the House of Commons, that it is my intention to elect, and I do elect, to sit for the county of Cork.

"Should any other act be necessary, on my part, to carry this intention into effect, so that a new writ may issue at the earliest possible period for the county of Meath, I am ready to do that act so soon as I am apprised of the nature of it.

"I have the honour respectfully to request, that you will be pleased to communicate my election to serve for the county of Cork in the present Parliament, so soon as the rules of the House will permit that communication to be made, in order to allow a new writ to issue for the County of Meath.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient, humble Servant,
"Daniel O'Connell.

"*To the Speaker, &c., &c. &c.*"

Whereupon, Mr. *Speaker* stated, that since the date of Mr. O'Connell's letter, a petition complaining of his election and return for the county of Cork, had been presented to the House, and that the hon. Member was consequently prevented from making his election.

Order [24th August] read, as followeth:—

"Ordered—That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom, do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week from and after the expiration of the fourteen days before limited for presenting petitions, provided there be no question upon the return for that place; and if anything shall come in question touching the return or election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate: and that all Members returned upon double returns do withdraw, till their returns are determined."

Subject at an end.

Breach of Privilege—The Times.] Mr. *Roebuck* rose to call the attention of the House to an article which had appeared in *The Times* newspaper of that day, which he held in his hand, reflecting on his character, and which he deemed to be a Breach of the Privileges of that House. He cared not for it personally. He agreed in the opinion expressed by Dr. Johnson, that no man could be written down but by himself, but he considered the statement which he held in his hand so gross a breach of privilege, that though he did not mean to call upon the House to exercise its power, yet it was as necessary to the interests of morality as to the advancement of the business of public life, that it should not be passed over unnoticed, and he desired to be understood as being individually responsible in bringing it before the House. He had that confidence in his own character, that he doubted not it would stand the test of any investigation, and it behoved him to face any such attempt upon his character as that which had been made in the newspaper which he held in his hand. He had thought it his duty on last Monday, as the representative of a very large constituency who had returned him almost unsolicited on his part, and, what perhaps might be thought more remarkable in that House, unbought—representing such a constituency, he had thought it right to give a notice respecting the Poor-law, the result of which had been a paragraph in *The Times* newspaper, an article to which he solicited the attention of the Members of that House, as an attempt to frighten, ay, to bully a Member out of the execution of his duty upon that question. He had thought it right to give notice of a motion to the effect, that the powers exercised by the Poor-law Commissioners should be transferred to the Secretary of State, and for having done so, he was visited with virulent abuse—described as a person only honourable by being a Member of that House. He had been long before the world in public life, and he would defy any man to point to a single act of his life that could have deprived him of that appellation. Honourable! Sir—why not honourable? It stated, that he was sprung from the humbler orders of society. Suppose it were so, was that to be any interruption to his efficiently discharging his public duty? He had appeared before a large constituency of his countrymen, and he now represented that constituency in Parliament. Suppose he were not descended, as he was, from ancestors distinguished for science and literature, would that afford a reason for his being made the mark for insinuations—that he was unfit to make such a proposition? It said, wholly unfit. Of that he would ask the 60,000 inhabitants of Bath, rather than the anonymous scribbler of *The Times*. He would remind the House, that, according to its rules, he might, at the end of his speech move to bring the responsible party on his knees to the Bar of that House. He claimed it as a right due to himself and to the constituencies of the empire, that he should answer such flagrant abuse of the liberty of the press as it ought to be answered. There was upon a newspaper establishment a person as necessary to it as its editor, who was called its responsible proprietor, and who was registered, and whose name was Lawson. He took it, however, that the chances were, that as the cards stood, that person was not then in the enjoyment of his personal liberty. Ay, that he was in prison; for so libellous was *The Times*, that the presumption was, that he who represented it must be in prison. That man bore the responsibility of *The Times*, first as to any fines to which it might be subject; next, as to any imprisonment to which the proprietor of the paper might be sentenced; and, thirdly, as to the cudgelling which it might deserve. But why? He bore all the responsibility; the writers of *The Times* were totally irresponsible, as much so as if they lived in South Australia, and penned their articles there. Did any hon. Member think that the writer of the article of which he complained would send him his name to-night on his return home? No; he chose to pen the article in which it was stated that he (Mr. Roebuck) was wholly unworthy of the name of an honourable man, and he dared not give his name. Let the House consider the morality of that. He was not speaking for himself, he was speaking for society at large, and as a Member of that House. He said it was a breach of the privileges of that House that any Member, no matter how humble his position might be, should be so traduced, and that an attempt should be made to bully him—for he knew no word he could more fitly use on that occasion—in order to prevent his execution of his duty, and that for such purpose such an article as he held in his hand should be put into the press. He asked the House whether that was a right mode of proceeding? [*Interruption.*] He complained of the interruption, and the more that he at all times experienced a difficulty in making himself understood from the delicate state of his health. Looking at the privileges of that House, he would ask them if they did not pay dearly for the advantages derived from the liberty of the press, by allowing such anonymous slanders to be scattered abroad, against all parties who, no matter for what motives, might deem it their duty to take part in public life. He would ask any hon. Gentleman who had read that article, and who had known him since he had first entered into public life, if there was anything in his conduct, public or private, that could justify any man in thus attempting to depreciate him in the estimation of the world by such an attack? Was it for the benefit of the world at large that such proceedings should be permitted? He would ask the House to consider that point. One of two things must be the consequence—either the public, for the sake of their own security, would demand that every man should put his name to the articles which he published, or a bill must be brought in, requiring that every article published in a newspaper should have a name affixed to it of some person who would bear the responsibility. He wished to know whether or not it was to be suffered that Members of that House should be attempted to be frightened from executing their duty? He should continue his course of duty unrestrained by such attacks of the press, and such a press; but he chose to take these means of expressing his opinion, and of calling for the opinion of the constituencies of hon. Members, to whom he put it, to mark their approbation or their disapprobation of the course of proceeding which such a newspaper had chosen to adopt. Before he finished, he would suggest, if there were any more sensitive than himself,—for he was not to be deterred by these attacks, but to those who might be more sensitive than himself, he would suggest an infallible remedy for these evils. Violent diseases required violent remedies. The parties making the attack were irresponsible, and beyond reach. They could not be got at either by law or by opinion. He wanted to know whether they could not be got at otherwise, and if any hon. Members were attacked by *The Times*, and did not wish for a repetition of the attack, he would suggest to them at once to horsewhip the proprietor, Mr. Walter, and they might depend upon it that the attack would not be repeated. [*Cries of "Order."*]

Sir *R. Inglis:* Does the hon. Member intend to conclude with any motion?

Mr. *Roebuck:* I shall not make any motion.

Sir *R. Inglis* said, that the hon. Member had, then, occupied the time of the House very needlessly and unnecessarily. The hon. Member had given the House a dissertation respecting his ancestors, who, he said were distinguished in art, science, and literature; but he had not condescended to state who they were.

Mr. *Roebuck* would ask the Speaker whether the course he had adopted was not a usual one?

The *Speaker* said, it was irregular for any hon. Member to complain of a newspaper article unless he intended to follow it up with a motion. The more regular course was, for the hon. Member to move that it be read by the Clerk, and that it was a breach of privilege, and then to move that the printer be called to the Bar. The motion might be persevered in or not, as the hon. Member thought fit.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, that when he rose he stated, that he was aware he had the power of moving, that the printer be brought to the Bar of the House. He thought to save the time of the House by the course which he had pursued. If the hon. Member for Oxford insisted upon it, he would make the motion.

Sir *R. Inglis:* I insist upon nothing.

Mr. *Roebuck:* It is easy to get out of the matter so; but the hon. Baronet has insinuated a sarcasm, which he would have been reluctant to utter.

The *Speaker:* The course at present pursued is decidedly irregular.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, he would then move that the printer of *The Times* newspaper be called to the Bar. The hon. Member gave in *The Times* newspaper of this day.

The Clerk was proceeding to read the article, when

Mr. *Roebuck* interrupted him by saying, that he was not reading the paragraph complained of, and told him to begin at another place which he described.

The Clerk again proceeded to read from the article, but was in a few seconds again interrupted by

Mr. *Roebuck*, said—Surely you are not reading the right passage. Begin—"Amidst the pauses which sometimes occur in the melodious voices of Messrs. Hawes and Ward." [The hon. Member advanced to the Table and read it himself.] It was in these words:—

"Amidst the pauses which sometimes occur in the melodious voices of Messrs. Hawes and Ward, and Dr. Bowring, the House is threatened with an interlude by their gallery Friend Mr. Roebuck, on the subject of the Poor-law Commission. Nothing could be further from our habitual civility, or more at variance with our known respect for the humbler orders of our countrymen than to represent Mr. Roebuck as a nuisance. Having been made an hon. Gentleman by dint of getting into Parliament, that elevated person has an undoubted right to exercise the privileges of his sphere—we admit it. That those privileges entitle him to fling orange peel at the principal performers, or to have a sally at the dress boxes now and then, might not, if his class license were moderately used, be reasonably complained of. Chartists, such as he, are chartered men; and their occasional impertinences are both expected and endured. But Mr. Roebuck and his associates must not be permitted entirely to forget their station. That he should be allowed to injure everything at his mere pleasure is wholly out of the question. If he does not know his just limits and latitude, the lesson must be seasonably taught him. The evil of seeing important interests made utter havoc of by a precipitate and pert interference is not to be endured. In point of personal and political influence he is just as fit to take a lead in modifying the New Poor-law as the one-shilling gentry of Drury-lane."

The hon. and learned Gentleman having finished reading the extract, said—"Sir, I move that the printer of that be brought to the bar."

The *Speaker:* Who seconds the motion?

No hon. Member having risen to second the motion, after a pause,

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that before that motion was put, he believed there was a preliminary motion, that the words complained of were a breach of privilege.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, that perhaps he might be allowed to state, that he had always understood, when any hon. Member found anything in the public prints offensive to his personal feelings, he was allowed an opportunity of bringing the matter before the House, of explaining, and stating the injury which had been done to his feelings. He had seen this done so many times, that he really thought, from the kind feelings—he said the kind feelings, and he wished to say no more of any man than he deserved—of the hon. Member for Oxford University (Sir R. Inglis), he would have been the last man to interfere to prevent him (Mr. Roebuck) from availing himself of a practice which was common among hon. Members.

Sir *R. Inglis* believed there was no question before the House.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, that if it was the pleasure of the House that he should so move, he would move, "That the words just read constitute a breach of the privileges of this House."

The *Speaker*: who seconds the motion?

No one answering, the matter dropped.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.] Sir *G. Clerk* moved, that the House, at its rising, do adjourn until Thursday, the 16th instant.

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that it probably would be convenient to the House to know whether her Majesty's Government intended, after the recess, to proceed immediately to such business as they meant to propose to the House without further adjournment?

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that the first Lord of the Treasury would, he hoped, be in his place on Thursday, the 16th, when he would be able to answer the noble Viscount.

Motion agreed to.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.] Sir *T. Fremantle* moved the first reading of the Administration of Justice Bill.

Lord *Palmerston*, in seconding the motion, said he might be allowed to avail himself of that opportunity, as the bill had been introduced in the other House by his noble and learned Friend, Lord Cottenham, to say that, in his belief, there was but one opinion in the profession of the law as to the great merits of Lord Cottenham in his judicial capacity, and that testimony, arising, as it did, from an oblivion of party distinctions, was alike honourable to the bar and to the noble and learned Lord who was the object of it. He believed, that he was only saying what would be supported by the judgment of every one who was conversant with such matters, that Lord Cottenham, by the indefatigable attention which he applied to business, by the impartiality and soundness of his decisions, and by the large scope of mind which he brought to the discharge of the functions which he had to administer, would hold rank among the most eminent of those who had ever held the office of Lord Chancellor.

Mr. *Wakley* wished to ask, whether anything could be more offensive to common sense, than that a judge, who had committed no fault, should be dismissed, in consequence of a political change? That such a thing should be, was such a violation of common sense and justice, that he trusted some leading Members of the House would put an end to it, by the insertion of clauses in this bill.

Mr. *C. Buller* agreed, that while both sides of the House were eulogizing the conduct of the late Lord Chancellor, they ought not to forget to apply a remedy to a state of things which deprived the suitors of the country of the services of a judge in the prime of his faculties, merely in consequence of a political change. But the separation of the judicial and political functions of the head of the Chancery Courts could not be effected in this bill, as it would require various enactments in great detail. Lord Cottenham, among his other merits, had formerly introduced a measure for this very purpose into the other House. But such a bill ought to emanate from the Government, and he hoped they would soon take steps towards this change, which he thought would confer a greater benefit on the country than any which had yet been made in the administration of justice.

Bill read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on the 17th.

House adjourned to the 16th.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, September 16, 1841

MINUTES.] Several Members of the New Administration took their Seats on their Re-election.

New Writs were issued for Port Arlington, in the room of the right hon. George Lionel Dawson Damer, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household; and for Cavan, in the room of John Young, Esq., Commissioner of the Treasury.

Bills. Read second time:—Foreign Bishops.—Read first time:—Royal Gardens.

Election Petitions. Dublin cy. abandoned.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.] Sir *R. Peel:* I rise, Sir, to move for a paper to which it is, perhaps, desirable that I should at once call the attention of the House, and which is connected with the execution of those works which are now in progress for building the two new Houses of Parliament, and with the adoption of measures for warming and ventilating the present Houses. In making this motion, it will, perhaps, be for the general convenience of the House, that I should avail myself of the opportunity of stating the course which it is my intention, on the part of her Majesty's Government, to pursue with respect to the public business of the country. Notice has been already given for to-morrow, of taking into consideration those estimates for which complete provision has not been made in the late Session of Parliament. That vote will refer to the miscellaneous services of the year. One half of the sum which will be required for the provision for those services has been already provided by her Majesty's late Government in the last Session of Parliament; and what I propose to do is, to adopt those estimates, without exception, as they were framed by her Majesty's late Ministers, and to submit them to the House exactly in the form in which they were proposed by them to the last Parliament. The course pursued on former occasions has been to take, by one vote, the remaining sum which might be required to provide for those services; but, in the present instance, these estimates themselves have not been submitted to the detailed consideration of the House. A sum was taken on account in the last Session; and I apprehend that it would be more desirable, and more satisfactory to the House, that the estimates should be taken into consideration in detail now, rather than one sum should be taken in gross to provide for the public service. I propose, therefore, to submit each sum to the House in detail, and to take a separate vote with respect to each of them. I know not, Sir, that it is necessary to make any proposition to the House, with respect to estimates for any other services than those which were included in the estimates presented to the House by the late Government, during the last Session of Parliament; but there is one item of expenditure, at the same time, to which it will be my duty to direct its attention. It is connected with that particular item of expenditure to which I have already referred, namely, the additional sum which will be required with reference to the construction of the two new Houses of Parliament now in process of erection. The works connected with those buildings are now advanced to such a period, that if the two Houses of Parliament shall determine that it is desirable that mode of warming and ventilating the new Houses, similar to that which has been provided for this House, should be adopted, it will be necessary that provision should at once be made for that purpose. The state of those buildings is such, that the flues and other works necessary to the carrying out of that design must be immediately provided. If these works are to be undertaken, they must, the House will perceive, be commenced without further delay. I cannot but think, however, that it is not fit that anything in connection with a work of such magnitude as the building of the new Houses of Parliament should be carried out by money from the Treasury without that money being first voted under the sanction of the House of Commons. On a former occasion, upon a question of a similar nature, a committee was appointed by each House to consider the subject, and, in my opinion, it would be convenient and proper that a similar course should be pursued in the present instance. I think it is advisable, that a sum of money, amounting, if the works are to be carried out in accordance with the propositions of Dr. Reid and Mr. Barry, to between 80,000*l.* and 90,000*l.*, should not be expended without having received the previous sanction and approbation of Parliament. If, therefore, any committee shall be appointed upon this subject, I can only express my hope and trust, that it will confine itself to the consideration of the object for which it will be nominated—that it will limit its inquiries entirely to the consideration of the proposed mode of heating and ventilating the new Houses—and that it will not extend it to anything which may cause inconvenience or interference in the progress of those works. Sir, it will be my intention to propose a bill to continue in operation those laws which would expire within a limited period without the intervention of Parliament. There are some laws which would expire within a period definitely fixed, and others that would expire at the end of the first Session of Parliament. With respect to these laws, I would submit to the House the propriety of extending them to a definite period. Of these the most important is unquestionably the Poor-law Act. That part of that Act which constitutes the Poor-law commission will expire on the 31st of December next unless it shall previously have been renewed. I shall, propose, therefore, to continue that bill as it stands to the 31st of July, 1842, in order to enable her Majesty's Government to consider, in the mean time, the nature of those provisions which they may think it their duty to bring forward in connection with the Poor-law. There are, also, other laws, some of them of greater, and some of lesser importance, which will expire at an early day, or at the end of the present Session of Parliament, and with regard to these laws I shall propose bills to secure their further operation to a definite period. The Poor-law Act, however, involves a most important principle, and it will be for the House to decide, whether or not it will be the most convenient course that that Act shall be extended for the present by means of a continuance bill. If a strong opinion should be expressed on the part of the House, that the continuance of the Poor-law should be provided for by means of a further and separate law upon the subject, rather than by the manner to which I have referred, I shall be ready, although I have an objection to load the statute-book unnecessarily, to listen to any suggestions on the part of the House upon the subject. With regard to election petitions, Sir, it appears to me, that it will be for the general interest and convenience of the House to adopt no precedent respecting them at present. I believe, that under the present law relating to such petitions, no Act of the House is necessary in order to suspend proceedings connected with them, but that it rests with the general committee on election petitions to appoint and determine the days on which they shall be heard, and I trust that the House will feel, that it would be highly inexpedient to proceed with the consideration of any election petition at the present time. With respect to the financial arrangements of the country, my right hon. Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will, on the earliest day on which a committee of ways and means can be fixed, state to the House what is the extent of the deficiency to be provided for, viz., the difference between the revenue and the estimated expenditure of the present year. I apprehend, that that deficiency will be found not to fall short of the estimate given by the right hon. Gentleman, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that it is probable, that a sum of 2,500,000*l.* will have to be provided for the service of the present year. My right hon. Friend will inform the House with respect to the details of the particular classes of deficiency on the occasion to which I have referred, and will avail himself of that opportunity of stating the nature of the measures it will be his intention to propose, with a view to make temporary provision for the removal of the deficiency in question. With reference to measures, however, of a more permanent character which it may be necessary to adopt with regard to the equalisation of the revenue with the expenditure of the country, it is not my intention, during the present Session of Parliament, to submit any propositions to the consideration of the House. I have, as the House is aware, already stated my opinion, that it is absolutely necessary that some means should be provided to equalise the revenue with the expenditure, and it is our intention to avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity, after, and consistent with, the maturest consideration of all the circumstances of the country, of submitting to Parliament measures for the remedy of the existing evil. Whether that remedy can be best effected by a diminution of the expenditure or an increase of the revenue of the country, or whether it can be best secured by a combination of these two means; namely, by a diminution of expenditure and an increase of revenue, is a question which I must postpone for future consideration. It is sufficient for me to state a strong opinion that it is impossible that the country, consistently with a due regard to the public service, can continue to proceed in the course which, perhaps unavoidably, has been pursued for the last few years; viz., that of creating a large deficiency in time of peace, and incurring a considerable debt. But as to the mode in which that great evil can be remedied, I must ask for that degree of confidence from the House which will enable her Majesty's Government to give the subject their most serious consideration. With respect to other measures of permanent operation and important character, I must make the same appeal to the confidence of the House. It is quite true that, for some days past, I and my colleagues have been in possession of the Government of the country, but I dare say the House will readily believe that the arrangements which it has been my duty to make for the constitution of the Government, and other arrangements connected with it, have not placed me in a much better situation to pronounce a positive opinion on measures of such immense and paramount importance, than I was before. I do assure the House that it is not from any neglect of public duty that I forbear from immediate legislation on matters of such importance. I can assure the House that I forbear, not on account of the advanced period of the year, not on account of the probably deficient attendance of Members, not on account of the temptations of other avocations to withdraw attention from Parliamentary duties—for I am of opinion that all such considerations ought to be sacrificed to the principle of public duty, and ought not to interfere in the slightest degree with the consideration of measures affecting the public interests; the grounds on which I forbear from calling the attention of Parliament to measures of that important character rest in the peculiar circumstances connected with the formation of the Government. I thought I might infer from the general expression of opinion, and, as it appears, the just and liberal expression of opinion which took place before the late elections, that there was a general desire on the part of those who would probably be the warmest opponents of her Majesty's Government to give them a fair opportunity of considering the measures which it might be their duty to submit to the Legislature. I firmly believe it is for the public good that that opportunity should be given, and that on the earliest possible occasion after the time that Parliament ordinarily meets, the opinions of her Majesty's Government on those important subjects should be stated to Parliament; but in the mean time I trust there will not be any misconstruction of what appears the general feeling, that on the whole it is advisable upon the constitution of the new Government that time should be afforded them to weigh maturely the measures they may think it their duty to submit, connected with the permanent, financial and commercial arrangements of the country. I beg leave to move, Sir, for a copy of a letter from the First Commissioners of Woods, &c. to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject of warming, ventilating and securing from fire the new Houses of Parliament.

The motion having been seconded,

Lord *John Russell* said Sir, with respect to the immediate purposes for which the right hon. Gentleman has moved for these papers, I am certainly not likely to differ from any measures which may be proposed in accordance with them. I have entire confidence in the course which I conceive the right hon. Baronet may think fit to adopt on that score, and I think we have all of us experienced the benefit of the plans which these papers suggest and recommend. With respect to any expense that may be required for the purpose of carrying out the end aimed at, I have no doubt that the Treasury and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will use every requisite expedition in attending to it. With respect to the estimates, to the framing of which I was myself, well as the other Members of the late Government, a party, I can, of course, only say that I shall offer no opposition to their being granted, and I shall consider it my duty to give my support to any of them, the necessity for which shall be questioned. But with regard to the other questions to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred, I shall take an opportunity, before the House goes into a committee of supply to-morrow, of stating the course which I think ought to be pursued with reference to the present state of public affairs. I do not think it would be convenient that I should enter now into these considerations. I am of opinion that the course I propose to adopt—that of making the observations I wish to address to the House before going into supply to-morrow—more consistent with the practice of the House. I can only say, on the present occasion, that I heard with great concern the intention of the right hon. Gentleman not to propose any measures of importance in the present Session of Parliament. I will not say, that during the last few days in which the right hon. Gentleman has been occupied, agreeably with the instructions given him by her Majesty, in the formation and construction of the Government, he can have given any very great share of his attention to the measures which he may wish to introduce; but, considering the great length of time which has elapsed since the proposal of important measures by the late Administration, and considering the present state of the country, I must say that, in my opinion, the Government, as now constituted, ought at once, or in the course of the present autumn to lay before Parliament the measures it intends to propose. I inferred from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that it is his intention, having obtained the necessary supplies—having made temporary provision for the public credit, and having renewed the Poor-law and some other expiring acts for a few months—not to call the House of Commons together again until the ordinary period of assembling—at the commencment of the next year. Now, Sir, I do not consider that course to be advisable in the present state of the country, and particularly as the right hon. Gentleman has himself said, that the House of Commons ought not to attend to questions of personal convenience when matters of great political importance require our attention. I will not now, however, enter further into these matters than to say that I will take the opportunity to which I have referred of stating my opinion upon them to-morrow; and I may be permitted to add that in so doing I am not actuated by any desire to offer any embarrassing opposition to any course which the right hon. Gentleman may think proper to adopt, but merely wish to state that, which, in my own opinion, is the course, which, under the existing circumstances of the country, ought to be pursued.

Motion agreed to.

Foreign Tariffs.] Dr. *Bowring* said, that he had given notice of his intention to move for certain returns relative to the commercial regulations of other countries with respect to our own; but, as he understood that some progress had been made in preparing those returns, if the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gladstone) would inform him that they should be presented to the House, he should be glad to leave the matter in his hands. At the same time he would suggest a regulation which would be of great advantage, namely, that, from time to time, or periodically, the changes made in the commercial relations between this and other countries should be reported to the House.

Mr. *Gladstone* said, that, in June last, the late President of the Board of Trade informed the House that one of the secretaries of that board had taken great pains in obtaining information upon the subject of the commercial tariffs of foreign countries, and had stated, that when his report should be prepared in the proper form, he would lay it upon the Table of the House. The noble Lord (Lord Ripon) at the head of the Board of Trade, entirely approved of that intention of his predecessor, and Mr. M'Gregor had received instructions to proceed with the preparation of that information. The House must be aware that this was a work of very considerable difficulty, and one requiring great accuracy, but as soon as it could be prepared it should be laid on the Table of the House. He also agreed that provision should be made with British agents abroad, to supply the Government at home with regular information of changes made by foreign countries in their commercial regulations.

Commencement of Business.] Lord *J. Russell* inquired at what hour to-morrow it was the intention of the right hon. Baronet to commence the public business of the House?

Sir *R. Peel* said, that he thought it would be convenient to the House if it was generally understood that in future public business should commence at an earlier hour. He would propose, therefore, that petitions should continue to be presented till five o'clock, but that if there were no petitions they should commence public business at half-past four.

Royal Demesnes — Kensington Gardens.] Sir *T. Fremantle* rose to propose a bill for annexing the mansion-house, gardens, and grounds at Frogmore (part of the land revenue of the Crown) to Windsor Castle; and also to move for leave to bring in a bill to authorise the leasing the Royal kitchen gardens at Kensington, for building purposes, and to enable her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods, &c., to expend the value thereof in the formation and improvement of the

Royal gardens, and to enable the said Commissioners, on behalf of her Majesty, to purchase lands of copyhold or customary tenure. The hon. Gentleman said that these measures had received the sanction of the late government, and were approved by the present Government; in fact, he was only carrying out measures which he had found in a state of great forwardness. The reason he had brought them forward this Session was, that he found delay would be a great inconvenience, and that it was desirable that no time should be lost in the formation of a kitchen garden. The first measure was to annex Frogmore to the Crown so as to make it a part of the demesne of Windsor Castle. At present it belonged to their Royal Highnesses the Princess Sophia and the Duchess of Gloucester, though their life interests had been purchased by the Crown, and had reverted to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. The use of those gardens was connected with the establishment at Windsor, and it would be a matter of great inconvenience to her Majesty if that property were let to mere casual tenants. It had been considered, therefore, that it would be advisable that those gardens should be made part of the demesne of the Crown at Windsor, and therefore it was, that the present act was introduced. With regard to the other part of the property, that would remain in the hands of the commissioners. With respect to the other bill, much inconvenience had been felt for some years in consequence of the insufficient supply of fruits and vegetables for her Majesty and the Royal household from the various kitchen gardens, of which there were six, all cultivated at great expense, and yet not yielding an adequate supply. By the present bill it was proposed to remedy this defect. By the arrangement proposed to be adopted by the present bill, no additional charge would be imposed upon the public. He believed with respect to the first of those measures it would be necessary previous to its introduction to go into a committee of the whole House. With respect to the second bill, he should propose its introduction at once; and as to the other, he should propose that the House should go into committee on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman moved for leave to bring in a bill to authorize the Commissioners of Woods to grant building leases of the Royal kitchen gardens at Kensington, &c.

Mr. *Protheroe* said, he must protest at once against this bill, and would give it all the opposition in his power. That opposition had nothing of a party character, because the Government of the right hon. Baronet was not responsible for the measure, which had originated with their predecessors; and he would have opposed it as earnestly if it had been introduced by the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) below him as by the right hon. Baronet. He hoped that his hon. Friend would reconsider the course which he proposed to adopt. At the moment when measures were in progress in the formation of additional Royal parks and public walks, and places of recreation for the people, it was manifestly absurd to give away a large portion of Kensington Gardens for such a purpose as was proposed. He wished his hon. Friend had taken a walk with him that morning into Kensington Gardens, and had seen the ground in question, for he was sure he would agree with him as to the convenience of adding it to the Park to which it was immediately contiguous. He thought, whether they regarded the convenience of the Sovereign, or of the inhabitants of Kensington, or of the public generally, nothing could be more injudicious than to build on that spot. Villas were not wanted, and speculations on the part of the Government were not always well managed or profitable. Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens constituted no longer the commencement of the country in that direction, but they were surrounded by a dense town population, and would soon be as much in the interior of the metropolis as Lincoln's Inn-fields. He trusted Government would use the opportunity of throwing open this place to the public, and apply to the House for the sum of money necessary for the convenience of the Crown in consolidating the kitchen gardens. At a further stage he would offer to the measure every opposition in his power.

Mr. *Williams* begged to ask if any estimate had been made of the expense of consolidating the kitchen gardens? He approved of the proposed disposal of this piece of ground, but he did not approve of the purpose to which the proceeds were to be applied. He thought that when the working classes were suffering so much distress, and when so much money was expended on palaces, and parks, the proceeds of this piece of ground ought to be applied to the repairs of the palaces, and relieve the public from so much of the expense.

Sir *T. Fremantle* said, that the estimated cost of consolidating the kitchen gardens would be reduced, by the conversion of this property, which at a low estimate would let for about 1,000*l.* per annum.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that it appeared that, for the paltry sum of one thousand pounds a year the only open space which existed beteen the Palace towards the east and the church in Kensington towards the west was to be entirely lost to the public. The hon. Gentleman stated, that the measure was one which would have been brought forward by the late Administration. It was, indeed, one of the great measures upon which the two Administrations concurred in opinion. It was a bad beginning. He hoped the hon. Gentleman himself would go down to Kensington and see this place; and as he remembered a good deal of what the right hon. Baronet had said of late years with respect to the working classes, their recreations and amusements, he entreated the right hon. Gentleman to visit the ground which it was proposed to sacrifice. The people in the neighbourhood complained loudly on the subject. They looked upon it as a deplorable evil that they should be deprived of such an open space of ground, at a time when the Government were spending thousands for the comfort of the inhabitants of other parts of the metropolis. The ground in question was excluded, in a great measure, from public view, but it lay adjacent to a densely-peopled neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which would be greatly benefited by having the space thrown open. It was an advantage which they would greatly prize. He was astonished to find that the late Administration, which professed to be so friendly to the people, should have entertained for a moment the project of building upon the space alluded to; and he would again entreat the Members of the new Government to visit the spot before they came to a definitive resolution on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman himself had commenced their proceedings that night with a motion relating to the health of hon. Members. Now, let them think of the health of the poor as well as of their own. The noble Lord had spoken in the highest terms of Dr. Reid's Administration. Now, he approved of that Administration also in a sanatory sense, and he would entreat the present Government to re-consider the subject under discussion. He might next be permitted to allude, for one moment, to the statement, of the right hon. Baronet with reference to the Poor-law. He thought the time which the right hon. Baronet asked for considering that subject was not unreasonable. The right hon. Baronet asked that the Poor-law should be continued in its present form until the month of July next year. He was bold to say, that the time was not too long. The subject was one of enormous magnitude—it was one which should be approached with so much judgment and consideration that he felt it would not be unreasonable to allow the existing law to be prolonged for six months from the present time. He did trust that in the mean time the most sober judgment would be applied to the question, for it was one of such importance and involving so many great interests that it was impossible for that House or the other House of Parliament to obtain the slightest respect or confidence from the public, unless it was treated with the consideration it deserved. He thought the time asked was not too long, for he had not heard any individual whatever say what he considered in the present state of things, ought to be done with regard to that law—and therefore no one could consider that the time asked by the right hon. Baronet was too protracted. He hoped that the interval would be employed in a calm consideration of the subject, so as to bring about such an arrangement of this most important question as might be satisfactory to the community at large.

Sir *R. Peel:* I rise to say a few words with reference to what fell from the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Protheroe), who has stated that he hopes for some success in the opposition he intends to offer to this bill, because the measure was not originally brought forward on the responsibility of the present Government. Now, Sir, I consider that, by now bringing forward this bill, the present Government is assuming to itself the responsibility of the measure, because it is one which we might have abstained from bring forward if we had thought proper. The noble Lord (John Russell) opposite, has confined his confidence to the Administration of Dr. Reid, and has appeared unwilling to extend it to those who have succeeded him in the

Government of the country. I, Sir, am disposed to admit that there was one of the colleagues of the noble Lord whose share of the Administration has entitled him to great confidence, and I must say, that by his exertions in connection with the office of woods, guarding myself, of course, against any expression of approbation as to any more extended measures, Lord Duncannon has rendered himself worthy of great praise. When I heard, therefore, that the present Bill had received the approbation of Lord Duncannon, I must confess that it brought with it an additional recommendation, coming as it did with the sanction of an authority whose improvements in the Parks, and other places, it is impossible to see without approving of his taste and judgment. I think, moreover, that where there are six kitchen gardens there cannot be a question as to the propriety of consolidating them. Such a course is surely desirable in the light of a mere question of economy. To defray the expense of consolidation, a portion of ground is to be let for building. This is ground, it is to be observed to which the public now have not access. It is not subject to the Administration of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. It is ground that has been in private occupation of the Crown—devoted to horticultural purposes, and from which the public has hitherto been excluded. I admit that it is a different thing retaining the grounds as gardens, and applying them to building purposes; but then the public never have had access to them, and the applying the ground to building, is for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the consolidation. It is on the whole, an arrangement that is desirable, and will prevent the necessity of applying to the public to defray the expense necessary, in consequence of the projected change.

Mr. *Ewart* understood that the persons in the neighbourhood were exceedingly anxious that the ground should be opened to the public, instead of being devoted to building [*hear, hear*]. He was glad to hear that the opening of the Regent's-park was consummated. He wished to take advantage of the opportunity to call attention to the fact that there was a large park at Kew that was only open two days in the week; and as to Richmond-park, he asked why persons in gigs and carriages should not have the right of driving through it. It would be most desirable to the middle classes of society if this were done. He also wished to call attention to Bushey-park, where there was a handsome fountain, that he thought it would be well to have restored to the former purpose for which it was intended.

Sir *T. Fremantle* said, he would give his attention to the subject referred to by the hon. Member.

Leave given, bill brought in and read a first time.

Frogmore House and Gardens.] Upon the motion of Sir Thomas *Fremantle*, the House resolved itself into a committee, Sir George Clerk in the Chair, to consider of annexing the main House, Garden, and grounds, at Frogmore, now a part of the land revenue of the Crown, to Windsor Castle. In the committee a resolution was proposed, to the effect that it was expedient Frogmore-house and Gardens should be annexed to Windsor Castle. Resolution agreed to. The House resumed, report to be received on the next day.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, September 17, 1841.

Minutes.] New Member:—A. Cochrane, Esq., Bridport.
Bills. Read first time:—Lunatics; Frogmore Lodge.
Petitions presented. By Mr. Brotherton, from Manchester, and other places, by Mr. Villiers, from New Mills, and by Mr. Cobden, from Birmingham, and other places, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. G. W. Hope, from Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada, for Continuance of Protection to their Trade.—By Sir E. Wilmot, from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to Amend the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824.

Policy of the Administration.] Sir R. Peel having moved the Order of the Day, that the House go into a Committee of Supply,

Lord *J. Russell* said:—I shall now, with permission of the House, proceed to make the observations which I yesterday said, I should feel it my duty to make, on the course which the right hon. Baronet proposes to pursue, and on the general aspect of affairs. The motion which the right hon. Baronet has now made, for the House going into a committee of supply, for the purpose of placing some of the public money at the disposal of the present Ministers of the Crown, being the earliest occasion on which the right hon. Gentleman has asked the opinion of the House on the subject, I look upon as the most fitting opportunity on which to state the views which I entertain, both of the present condition of the country, and of the course which the right hon. Baronet stated yesterday it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to pursue. Before I go into these topics, on which I differ greatly from the decision to which it appears that the Government have come, I wish to advert to one or two topics which I consider likely to be of great and permanent importance. With reference to foreign affairs, it appears to be quite unnecessary, that Parliament should continue assembled. The state of Europe, happily for all parties, affords every probability of a continuance of peace. The Speech which her Majesty directed to be delivered at the opening of the Session, gave Parliament the information, that the temporary separation which had existed between this country and France, had ceased, and that the most amicable relations existed. I fervently hope, that these amicable relations may continue to prevail; and I trust, that the life of that Prince who now reigns over the destinies of France so greatly for the benefit of that country, may long be spared to that people, and escape from the attempts of infatuated assassins. The affairs of Europe, then, are in a satisfactory condition; but there is, certainly, a question in relation to the United States of America, which, in some of its aspects, bears a very unsatisfactory appearance. When my noble Friend, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated to the House the opinion given by the Secretary of State of the United States, it appeared very clear, that the Executive of both countries, that the Governments, both of her Britannic Majesty and of the United States, were perfectly agreed as to the character that should be attributed to the attack upon, and capture of the Caroline—that it was a question to be debated between nation and nation, and not to be treated as a case of private wrong. It appears, however, that one of the tribunals, that of the state of New York, has taken a different view of this question; but it appears to me, that such a view of the subject, as that of this tribunal, if carried out to its utmost consequences, would be destructive of all amicable relations between nation and nation. If two Governments, between whom a question arises, are not to decide whether that question is or is not an international one—if they are not to decide whether a person called to account, did or did not act under the authority of his Government—but if a local court, it may be of the smallest jurisdiction, is to assume to itself an authority over the case—this, I say, would place in peril all amicable relations between those two powers. The judge who decided the case seemed to admit, that the two executive authorities had agreed that the case was one to be decided between themselves; but he stated, that it was his opinion, that it was not a case which could well be considered as a case of war, and that, therefore, it properly came before his own tribunal. It appears to me that this is a doctrine to which no Government can agree. For, according to this doctrine, if Sir Graham Moore or any other officer employed in the capture of the Spanish frigates, at the beginning of the Spanish war, had been taken before a Spanish tribunal, it would be equally competent to the judge of that tribunal to say there was no declaration of war at the time these captures were made, and that, therefore, the captures were piratical, and the officers engaged in them liable to be tried for murder. But, on the whole, it appears, that although such may be the construction of the law adopted by the state of New York, yet, considering what has been stated on one side by my noble Friend, and on the other by Mr. Webster, with regard to circumstances attending the capture of the Caroline, it is perfectly clear, that there is an agreement of opinion on that subject between the two countries; and I believe, that the authorities of the United States, the President, and the Congress, will see, that it is necessary to prevent any occurrence taking place which will expose any subject of her Majesty to danger for executing the commands of his Sovereign. I am sure, that there prevails in this country, and I trust, that there prevails in America also, the strongest desire, that peace may be preserved between these two great countries. Having thus alluded to the only matter which appears to me to require any remark as regards our foreign affairs, I will now make one remark on the recent appointments which the right hon. Gentleman has thought it right to make as respects the Government of Ireland. I have seen those appointments with great satisfaction, for they seem to me an evidence, that the right hon. Gentleman is determined to carry into effect those conciliatory opinions which he has so often expressed with regard to that country. I entertain the highest respect for the character of the new Lord-lieutenant; and with regard to the noble Lord who has been appointed Secretary for Ireland, I think that that noble Lord has shown on various occasions a desire to place the people of Ireland in that condition with which alone as I think, they can, and with which alone they ought to be satisfied—a condition of entire equality with the people of this country. I may add, likewise, that I trust that the noble Lord (the chief Secretary for Ireland) will not re-introduce a measure, which in the hands of another noble Lord, has been discussed more than once in this House; but a measure, which I certainly consider a breach of the tacit engagement which was entered into with the people of Ireland in 1829, and which I think could not be acted upon without affecting, in a very short time, the popular character of the representation in that country. I have, I say, very great confidence that Lord Eliot, who is now chief Secretary for Ireland, will not introduce any bill of that kind into this House. I trust that what has been done of late years towards consolidating the peace, and improving the condition of that country, will receive further development at the hands of the present Government; and I can assure the noble Lord, though I certainly cannot expect that every step which the right hon. Baronet will take will meet with my concurrence, I will endeavour, as nearly as possible, to meet the views which I expect will be entertained by the noble Lord, acting under the direction of the right hon. Baronet, the First Lord of the Treasury. I now come to that part of the subject on which I mean to treat, on which I have the misfortune to differ very widely from her Majesty's Government. We are now met in pursuance of an intimation, first given by the right hon. Gentleman, but in which the Members of Lord Melbourne's Government perfectly concurred, that as soon after the dissolution as possible, it would be desirable that Parliament should be re-assembled, in order to take into consideration the important affairs of the nation. Her Majesty was advised by her late Government thus to intimate her desire to this House, that the laws respecting corn should be taken into consideration:—

"Her Majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, whether they do not embarrass trade, derange currency, and by their operation, diminish the comfort, and increase the privations of the great body of the community."

Now of the importance of these considerations there can be no doubt. Laws which embarrass trade, derange the currency, and increase the privations of the great body of the community, supposing that such is the effect of them, ought at once to be altered. Why there cannot be a more solemn duty for Parliament than to make such alterations, if the pernicious effects of these laws be such as are here pointed out. In answer to that speech we addressed the Crown and we stated—

"We assure your majesty that we are deeply sensible of the importance of those consideraations to which your Majesty has been pleased to direct our attention with reference to the commerce and revenues of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn."

Upon this point the House was unanimous, for herein the amendment did not differ from the Address proposed by the then Ministers. But the amendment went on to say:—

"In deciding on the course which it may be desirable to pursue with reference to matters of such importance, it will be our earnest desire to consult the interests and promote the welfare of all classes of her Majesty's subjects; that we feel it to be our duty, however, humbly to submit to her Majesty, that it is essential to the satisfactory result of our deliberations on these and other matters of public concern, that her Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country, and respectfully to represent to her Majesty, that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of her Majesty."

The dismissal of the then Government was as it were the previous condition to considering these questions. The advice of this House was promptly acceded to by her Majesty, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite has constructed the Administration which is now formed, and which is distinguished by an unalterable attachment to the Constitution in Church and State, and to the sliding scale. But this condition having been complied with by the Crown, it certainly would seem that the time was come when these important laws ought to be taken into consideration. Far be it from me, and I hope from any one on this side of the House, to say that you should attend exclusively to measures and not to men. I always have thought you ought to attend to both; but having the men in whom the majority of the House are pleased to bestow their confidence, I do not consider that the mere nomination of these men is to be accepted as a substitute for measures; but having the men whom you have confidence in, we ought at least to be enabled to judge of what measures they propose as grounds for the confidence of the country. How stands the case? The right hon. Gentleman states—and I am not disposed to quarrel with that statement—that his time has been lately occupied in the formation of the new Administration, and that he could not consider these important points; but although that may be a good reason as for the last fortnight, it does not seem to be any reason for postponing for five months the consideration of these important subjects. Let us consider the previous deliberations which the right hon. Gentleman and those who act with him have held on these points. It was upon the last day of April that the measures relating to the budget were announced, and that I gave notice of moving for a committee of the whole House on the laws relating to the trade in corn. Now when I gave notice that I would introduce the subject in a month from that time, strong expressions of surprise were uttered, and it was immediately urged, that though it might be right to consider the laws relating to corn; and though it was right that the Government of the country should originate such a measure, yet that the delay of a month, the uncertainty for a month, was an intolerable evil, for which the Government of that day was justly censurable. It was thought proper shortly after to bring forward a motion declaring that the then Ministers ought not to retain office, and the decision upon that motion prevented my proceeding with the question relating to corn. But from that time to the meeting of the new Parliament and the formation of the new Ministry, the right hon. Gentleman has had four months to consider what course he might think it desirable to pursue, and he proposes now to add to those four months five additional months of delay, before he will communicate to the House of Commons the measures which the Government think proper on this subject. He does not say, as he might, "We stand upon the present Corn-law, we think no alteration necessary;" on the contrary, he said he would not accept office on the condition of being bound not to make any alteration in the Corn-law. It cannot be inferred from this expression that he thinks an alteration unnecessary, and yet the right hon. Gentleman, who certainly went far, with others, in the expression of indignation at what he called a delay, and who said, I ought to be obliged, in some manner, to bring forward the question in less than a month, adds eight months to that period, and says he is justified in asking for this long delay. Sir, there are symptoms, likewise, in the construction of the Government itself, which induce me to entertain very great doubts whether any important alteration in the Corn-law is in contemplation. I am not alluding to the construction of the Administration with a view to any personal remarks, but merely for the purpose of deducing an opinion on this matter; and I may, therefore, say at once, that the nomination of the Duke of Buckingham to a place in her Majesty's Councils, and to a seat in the Cabinet, is to me a symptom that no considerable alteration in the Corn-laws is intended by the present Government. I do not doubt the conscientious opinion of the Duke of Buckingham. I do not doubt that he thinks that a protection such as the present law gives, or one at least equivalent to it, if not a greater protection, necessary to the agriculture of the country. I do not doubt that he has held that opinion with a view to the general interests of the country, and I do not doubt, likewise, that he will continue to hold that opinion. I have been told that when a sort of threat was uttered that the late Ministry should no longer hold office, because they had proposed an 8*s*. fixed duty on corn, and that any other Ministry which took a similar course would meet with a similar fate—I have been told that there were none who more demonstrated their approbation and acquiescence in that sentiment than the Duke of Buckingham. Why will not the right hon. Gentleman give a very decided pledge on this subject? As to a sliding scale, it may be such as to amount almost to a prohibition—and a sliding scale, too, may be so constructed as to give even less protection than the fixed duty which I propose. There is this uncertainty, and yet the right hon. Gentleman and some others who are united with him in the Government leave their opinions unknown, and they will not give even any indication of the measures that they mean to propose. And then, too, while I could not help observing that the noble Duke to whom I have before adverted is a Member of the Cabinet, there are other Members of the same party who are intrusted with high office, and yet who are not included in the Cabinet. For instance, there is Sir George Murray, who was Secretary for the Colonies, in a former Administration with the right hon. Gentleman, and was then a Member of the Cabinet. Now, Sir George Murray has given an opinion in favour of a fixed duty of 8*s.*, or for a less duty than that, and Sir George Murray is not a Member of the present Cabinet. There is then a selection amongst those who have given a decided opinion, and who are Members of the party to which the right hon. Baronet belongs; there is a selection in favour of prohibition, and there is an exclusion of those who are supporters of the opinion that there ought to be a more free trade in corn. Is it possible then, that with all this, the country can wait in expectation for five months to know whether or not you will deem it expedient that a large and full measure will be brought forward by you, and whether a free trade in corn will be permitted by you. I do not think that this is an expectation, on your part, that can be fairly entertained. If no such intention be entertained by you, why then, I say—why twit me with the delay of a month, when it tells with tenfold force against yourselves? It would be much better to proclaim—for the sake of trade, that it may not encourage false expectations—it would be much better for the sake of agriculture, in order that it may not be depressed with unfounded fears; it would be much better to proclaim it, if such be your intention—that you mean to adhere substantially to the present law, and that you will not make any alteration in it. Of course you may attempt to correct the mode of taking the averages, and in so doing you may make the law more stringent, or perhaps you may lower the pivot some 4*s.* or 5*s.*, and make the law less stringent; but in doing these things you will only leave the matter exposed to doubt and uncertainty as it is at present. That may be your opinion, but if it is, why not propose some such measure in the month of October? Why should you not do something by which the impatience and the expectation of the country may be set at rest, and this long delay not be interposed. The corn trade is a most important one, and, if you have no alteration to propose but one of the pivot, and nothing better to offer than a different number of shillings, and in a scale more graduated than it is at present, I cannot see why so long a period should elapse before the Cabinet should consult together to make up their minds as to the measures they were about to propose. I have stated what I consider to be the effect likely to be produced by the character of the Administration as well as the promise which the right hon. Gentleman held out. He is himself not "*Medicin, malgré lui*" on this question. His patient is now suffering, and it is not to be supposed, now that he is called in, that he should say that the best thing is a little rest and quiet, and nothing further is to be done. I do not in the least share the imputations that have been thrown out against the gentlemen who own the land, that they must be actuated by peculiarly selfish objects of their own, with regard to the Corn-law. I must say that on this, as on all other questions of the kind, interest will most likely bias the view which men will take of a question in dispute by which they may be themselves affected. It has occurred before—it will occur again. When a free trade in silk was proposed, all the silk manufacturers, found that free trade was an excellent thing—the principle of free-trade being declared to be undeniably good; but then, with regard to the particular article of silk, the interests of the country required that it should have a special protection. Thus, too, it was with the shipowners. The principle of free trade was admitted by them to be proper, but then they thought that the interests of the country required that there should be a special protection for that portion of the trade in which they were especially interested. I do not see how it can be otherwise with Gentlemen engaged in land—they are not special exemptions to general laws. They do not entertain their views from mere interested motives, but they consider that, with their peculiar protection, the interests of the country are identified. Their feeling as to their own particular occupation of property is the same as that of any other class in the community. I ask, then, of the House of Commons to keep this in mind—what is it you propose by the delay? It would be a convenience to the Administration, and while I admit that, and while it is quite obvious that it would be a convenience to Gentlemen who have other pursuits, and who do not like to be in London during the autumn, and while it is clear that it would be for the advantage of those who think that rents would be affected by a change in the Corn-laws—while all these things are obvious, and you decide on taking such a course, then you cannot escape imputations of this kind. It will not fail to be imputed to you that the views which have influenced your decision have been not altogether for the public interest. At least, it requires a case to be made out something better than that which the right hon. Gentleman offered yesterday to the House, when he proposed that very long procrastination which he then suggested. But let us now look farther to the state of the country—I allude particularly to the state of the manufacturing districts. I do not wish to say anything which might be construed into a declaration of my belief that any law you can establish can prevent those periodical and occasionally severe distresses amongst a manufacturing community. I do not think any laws you can pass will prevent those fluctuations which may arise either from the state of our foreign relations, or from a long course of over trading, or from accidents that may occur from time to time. But I think Parliament should be able to say, that we at least have no part in causing or continuing this distress; and for this purpose it is necessary that you should be able to show that your taxes and restrictions are for some necessary object in the state; that they are necessary for the purposes of revenue, or for the purpose of placing a certain part of the community, which is overtaxed, upon a condition of equality in that respect with other classes; or that they are necessary in order to make the transition more gradual, and not to bring a sudden state of embarrassment on any interest or class of subjects who have been unduly protected. But do the present Corn-laws come under the head of measures which can be thus defended? Are they necessary for the sake of revenue? On the contrary, it is quite clear that your present law defeats all purposes of revenue, and that if the measure which I had the honour to announce, and which was never discussed, of laying on a fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter, had been adopted, the Exchequer would be now four or five hundred thousand pounds richer. There would be, in all probability, one million or twelve hundred thousand quarters more wheat admitted into this country. Is your present law necessary for protecting the agricultural interest? I think certainly that a fixed duty is far better in that respect, and that you have no cause to make out a prohibition on that ground. I never heard a cause made out certainly for a prohibitory duty on that ground. Lastly, you cannot say that this duty is necessary, in order to make a transition, because it has been adopted as a permanent system. If that is the state of the laws, I say that those who are distressed have a right to come to you, and ask you to consider their case—ask you to change any law which affects them—to change any law which impedes trade, and embarrasses industry, and as far as legislation can do it, to place them in a better condition. You may not be able to say—above all, you should not promise that by such a law you would place them in a state of entire prosperity, and that you would avert from them all fluctuations of distress; but would be able to say, whatever those distresses, we feel the deepest compassion for them, and for the restrictions which aggravate those distresses we are not responsible—Parliament has no share in producing or continuing them. Now, that is what you cannot justly say at present; and if such distress does exist, no personal inconvenience—no inconvenience, consequent upon our being obliged to remain for another six weeks to come to a decision—ought to prevent us from taking into consideration the laws which now regulate the trade in corn. There has been an address agreed to at Manchester, at a meeting called in compliance with a requisition, bearing a thousand and eighteen signatures, of the merchants, manufacturers, and respectable inhabitants of all classes. They approach the Throne to state—

> "That it has long been the opinion of a large and enlightened portion of your Majesty's subjects, that the embarrassment and distress are to be attributed to the effect of those laws which restrict the supply of food, which prohibit a free exchange of the industry of the people of this country with that of others, and which impose indirect taxes, pressing severely on the community, for the purpose of protecting particular interests, without reference to the public revenue.
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> "That it was in vain, that your Majesty's people approached the late House of Commons by petitions signed by upwards of one million and a half of your Majesty's people—a number unprecedented on any other occasion—earnestly praying for an inquiry into the effects and operations of those laws, with a view to their alteration or repeal.
>
> "That your Majesty's people have been severely disappointed at the determined refusal of the late House of Commons to attend to the prayer of these petitions; but they have derived great consolation from the marked anxiety of your Majesty for their interests at the opening of the present Parliament, when your Majesty was graciously pleased to claim its attention to 'the laws

which regulate the trade in corn; to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuation of supply, whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, diminish the comforts, and increase the privations of the great body of the community.'

"That in reply to the gracious mediation of your Majesty in behalf of suffering industry, your Majesty's memorialists feel some satisfaction that the Parliament has at length acknowledged, ' that they are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct their attention, in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn.'

"That all parties have therefore at length acknowledged the importance of considering these laws and their effects upon the great interests of the community.

"That the intense sufferings of the people will be greatly aggravated by a continued uncertainty of the settlement of these great questions, and by the natural inclemency of the approaching season; that it is therefore of the utmost consequence that your Majesty's gracious recommendation to Parliament should receive its serious attention without any delay, not only in order the sooner to apply legislative measures to alleviate the distress, but that your Majesty's suffering people may derive consolation and hope amidst their severe deprivations, from the knowledge that their wants are engaging the serious attention of the legislature, for the purpose of their alleviation.

"Your Majesty's memorialists therefore most earnestly and respectfully pray that your Majesty will take measures to continue the deliberation of Parliament without intermission, until these laws shall be so settled as to secure to your people the most plentiful supply of food at the cheapest rate, and thus to conduce to the general interests of the whole community."

Now, Sir, this is not the opinion of the people of Manchester only, but the sentiments expressed by those in other towns suffering likewise under severe distress. If you separate without adopting any measures to meet the exigencies of the country, the only remedy which then can be applied is the one already hinted; namely, by the interposition of relief given out of the rates raised for the support of the poor. Sir, for occasional privations and occasional distress, that might be a reasonable proposition; but if the distress be not temporary; if it be connected generally with the state of free trade—I beg leave to say, that such a remedy will be quite inefficacious. Supposing the case were similar to that which occurred in some agricultural parishes before the introduction of the new Poor-law, when the produce and profit of the land were entirely consumed by the Poor's-rate, you will then destroy the source of manufacturing prosperity. But you must recollect, that it is in the power of those engaged in manufactures, when they find themselves subject to continual losses during a period of four years, one year after another — it is in their power to withdraw their capital from those manufacturing establishments to preserve that capital, and leave the persons depending on them without any relief; but to draw their entire subsistence from the land. I have heard of instances in which this has taken place—in which persons funding one half of their capital have, to save the other half, put a stop to the working of their manufactories. In the course of the debate two years ago, when discussing the Corn-laws, the right hon. Gentleman argued against the notion then entertained that we were arrived at a state of great manufacturing distress, and I remember my observing then, that I did not think, that the case of manufacturing distress, such as it was stated had been made out, but that it was advisable, that the House should effect an alteration in the Corn-laws, because, if that manufacturing distress should really reach to a great pitch hereafter, your interposition would then be too late. My argument was, that so long as you had any possibility of retaining your markets, manufactures would continue to be sent abroad—so long as manufactures had the least chance of obtaining a profit on their goods, they would consign their goods to foreign markets; but when they had lost those markets—when you arrived at that period when your manufactures could not be sold abroad, you will then have lost those markets, it will then be too late for you to interpose, and the alteration of your laws will not bring a remedy to the evils which the laws have inflicted. I am afraid, that with respect to one branch of our manufactures—I mean our cotton trade—if it be not relieved by some alteration in our laws, and by a greater freedom of trade, it will be outdone by foreign competition; that our manufacturing establishments will be broken up, and that a large portion of the population, which cannot be relieved from the Poor-rate, will then be left without any resource. If there is any justice in these apprehensions, it is at least a matter for the consideration of Parliament. You may say, that these fears are unfounded; and in considering those matters which were laid before you in the Queen's Speech, you may say, that "we have come to the opinion that the manufacturing prosperity of the country is based upon a rock—that it is unshaken—that the Corn-laws do not affect it but tend to the welfare of the country—that such is the result of our solemn deliberation." Why, if that be the result of your solemn deliberation, so state it, and that will at least give the country the satisfaction of knowing that you have fully and fairly considered the subject. But what is now proposed is merely this, that you should grant certain sums of money, that you should propose the continuance of laws which expire at the end of the present year, and then, without any sort of inquiry, without any further consideration, and until five months hence you will not resume the consideration of these great questions. I consider, under this view, that the subject of trade is of more importance than that which relates to finance. As relates to finance, I think it would be far better, if in the course of the present year, you were to take some measures by which it might be hoped to produce an increase of the revenue. As far as regards the finances, it would be far better to adopt a plan by which you might hope to increase the revenue from establishing a greater freedom of trade; and even if there were not an immediate increase of the revenue, yet there would be, most probably, such an increase of trade and commerce, as finally to make the revenue equal to the expenditure. But nothing of the kind is to be attempted; and, it seems, now, that the only proposal is to obtain a vote of credit, which will enable the Government to continue the present state of things to the beginning of next year. I deeply regret the course that is about to be pursued. I am afraid it will not satisfy the country at large. I am afraid it will not give satisfaction to that part of the manufacturing community which is suffering distress. I am thoroughly persuaded, I never was more thoroughly persuaded than I am at this moment, that if instead of pursuing the course you have followed, you had adopted those measures that were proposed to you on the 30th of April, you would have produced a revival of trade—you would have caused an increase of the revenue—and you would have secured a far more important object, an increase of the comforts and happiness of the people. But you would have done more than this, by declaring to the whole world that you meant to conduct your trade with them by an interchange of your productions with theirs on the fairest and most liberal principles—and you would, in doing this, have greatly contributed to the future peace of the world. Convinced I am that there is no security for peace equal to the feeling, that nations derive benefits from each other—that their intercourse will continue to shed additional blessings upon each other every additional year it is so continued; and that if interrupted far greater calamities must arise than in an ordinary war between two hostile nations. Therefore it is because the measures we proposed would have relieved the revenue, improved trade, and contributed not only to the welfare of the country, but the peace of the world, that I deeply regret their rejection. But, even now that they are rejected, I still think that the right hon. Gentleman, and the Government now in possession of office, ought not to decide at once that they would not enter into the consideration of those questions. I do not doubt that if they have made up their minds to pursue that course, that they will be supported by a majority that has already expressed its confidence in them. But I do expect, when the whole course of this year is reviewed, that it will be found on reflection by the people of this country, that great advantage would have been derived from a fair consideration, instead of the abrupt rejection of the measures we proposed. In adjourning their consideration until next year, you postpone the benefit you might have derived from them. In adjourning the consideration of such measures, you allow the distress to continue which it is now in your power to mitigate. I conclude now, by stating, that it is certainly not my intention upon this question to propose any motion, or to ask for any division, as to the course which the right hon. Gentleman is about to adopt; but as a Member of this House, I beg to say, that I am not responsible in any way for it.

Sir *Robert Peel* spoke to the following effect:—Mr. Speaker, the course which I took yesterday, in announcing to the House of Commons the proceedings which I proposed to adopt with respect to the public business of the country, is a sufficient indication that I had no wish, at the commencement of the harassing and arduous task committed to me, to commence it by any controversy of a party nature. At the same time I am perfectly ready to admit that my course of proceeding constitutes no rule for the noble Lord—that our respective positions are different, and that he is entirely at liberty to invite me to the discussion which he has opened; and although I had no wish to originate the discussion, yet I can assure the noble Lord that I am little disposed to avoid it; on the contrary, I am thankful rather than otherwise for the opportunity which the noble Lord has afforded me of commenting on the observations he has made. I refer, in the first instance, to those points on which there can be no material disagreement between us. I concur with the noble Lord in the earnest desire that our amicable relations may be maintained between this country and France, and, if possible, I shall more cordially concur with him in the prayer he expressed, that it may please Almighty God to continue his protection from the hand of assassins to that great man to whom the destinies of France have been entrusted. Sir, it is impossible to hear of those repeated attacks, of those infamous and senseless attempts, without feeling pain for the character of humanity and civilization. It appears as if Providence had provided some compensation for them,for the only results of these attempts is to provoke one general feeling of disgust towards their abettors, and of sympathy for the intended victims. It would appear as if some special protection was vouchsafed to that illustrious family; and my firm belief is, that so long as they continue to reign, they constitute a sufficient guarantee for the preservation of peace. I agree in the sentiments the noble Lord has expressed on this subject. I join in that which I believe is the feeling of every hon. mind, when I express the wish that not only may the assassins be defeated, but the assassin signally punished. I cannot anticipate that the change in the Government is likely to interrupt our amicable relations with France. I do not think that they are less likely to be amicable on that account. I have seen no indication on the part of France of an indisposition towards the present Government, nor any apprehension that our amicable relations were likely to be suspended. I should be surprised if it could be so; for I recollect, on the occurrence of these events, which shook to its foundation the throne of the elder branch of the Bourbons, I was one of those who, in conjunction with my illustrious Friend, the Duke of Wellington, and many of those who are now joined with me in the Government, seeing that it appeared the will of the authorities and the people of France that their government should be committed to other hands, we did, notwithstanding the reluctance of the other Powers with whom we were in most cordial relation—we did at once advise the Crown to recognise that Sovereign on whom the choice of the people of France appeared to have fallen. With respect to the character of that man, of whom, in future ages, France will be justly proud—I mean that statesman who now presides over the government of France—I cannot but regard it as an assurance that every thing just will be done to preserve peace with this country. Relying upon that character, and animated with my own convictions on the subject, I am sure, therefore, that, consistently with the maintenance of British honour, intimate relations of amity can be preserved with France. I think these intimate relations of amity very necessary. I think it would be exceedingly deplorable if anything occurred to interrupt them, for I think relations of amity between England and France are most essential to the general tranquillity. It must conduce to the advancement of social improvement and civilization. I do not now for the first time use this language to court the opinion or the favour of the French government—it is not language adopted for the occasion, nor to facilitate the purpose that I have in view. For the last ten years, in and out of office, my language has been invariably the same. I have taken every opportunity to do justice to the character of the King of the French — on all occasions I have expressed my earnest wish for the continuance of peace—on all occasions I have declared my desire that past hostile collisions between England and France may be forgotten; that each may repose beneath the laurels which it has gained, and that the two countries, each so distinguished for its military character and achievements, may be able to maintain the feelings of amity, without the slightest reflection upon either; I have always said, that there ought to be that feeling, and that it was essential to the maintenance of peace and order. These were my feelings when I was in opposition, and it is not likely, that on my accession to office, I should shrink from repeating them. With respect to our relations with the United States, I view them as the noble Lord does, certainly with great apprehension and anxiety; yet, as it is manifestly the interest of those two great countries, united together by so many ties, and by community of language, to maintain peace—so little, too, can be gained by war, that the wound which is inflicted by the one upon the other, must be reflected back upon the hand that caused it, that I cannot help hoping, that the prevailing good sense of the community upon the Government of each, if the Government should want that adventitious aid, will result in the maintenance of peace. I say no more, but that it is my sincere desire, that peace be maintained; but at the same time I shall feel obliged to make no concession affecting the independence or honour of this country, for the purpose of purchasing a temporary tranquillity. I approach, now, the consideration of the question respecting which a controversy has arisen between the noble Lord and myself. The part of the speech of the noble Lord, which I most regretted to hear, was that in which he said it was not his intention to require the vote of the House of Commons as to the course which I have proposed to pursue. I do wish that he had taken the sense of a House of Commons elected in accordance to his advice and under his own auspices. I wish the noble Lord had taken the sense of the House of Commons as to the reasonableness and justice of that confidence which I ask from it, and that he had enabled me to judge whether the House of Commons approved or disapproved of the course that I mean to pursue. I should have thought it so reasonable, after a lapse of ten years (with the exception of three or four months) during which I had held the situation of a private individual, that on returning to power, after a lapse of ten years, that there would be a universal impression, that it must be but reasonable that I should not be called upon in a month to propose an alteration in the law respecting the trade in corn. I should have thought, that it would have been felt to have been most advantageous to have access to official information; that it would be most desirable that I might have the opportunity of examining that body of information, and considering those views, for the collection and propounding of which, gentlemen have received large emoluments—that I might see the information that had been collected, and the opinions that had been formed. I consider, that it is only reasonable to permit me and my colleagues to have time to consider the propositions we must submit to Parliament. But if I am responsible for not proposing measures with respect to the Corn-laws, within one month of my accession to office, what must be thought of that Government—what must be thought of that Government which has held office for five years, and which never until the month of May, 1841, intimated on the part of the Government an united opinion on the subject? What, if you are so convinced of the tremendous evils inflicted upon the country by the operation of the Corn-laws—if you think that commercial distress is justly to be attributed to them—if you think really, that those laws lie at the root of the sufferings and privations to which the labouring classes in some districts are exposed, and yet never felt it to be your duty to come forward, but permitted five years to elapse, without, as a united Government, suggesting any proposition to remedy these evils, what is to be said of you? Why did you allow this to be an open question? You may say, that you had no hope to carry it. Well, then, I do not mean to follow your example. Having considered it, I do not mean to adopt the conveniency of an open question—proposing a thing here in order that it may be defeated there. You expect that I should state to the House of Commons the course I mean to pursue on the part of a concurring united government, and stake the existence of that government upon the issue. What upon this question with respect to which you feel now so deeply convinced? But, how was it you permitted Lord Melbourne to retain office, holding the opinions he did upon this subject, and saying "No" to the proposition for inquiry? I have made appointments to which you object. But whom did you select for the particular office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade? The man who refused all inquiry into the question of the Corn-law. I say this—if you were so deeply and so intimately convinced of the necessity for a change, it was your duty, as Ministers of the Crown, to propose that change in the House of Commons. It is in vain to say you could not form a government without making it an open question—it is in vain to say you could not carry it. The greatest mischief you can do to great principles is to leave them in abeyance as open questions. Five years elapsed, and without any action on the part of the Government in respect of the Corn-law; five years up to April 1841. If this feeling were entertained with respect to those laws, why did you not call the attention of Parliament to them in the Queen's Speech of 1840? Why reserve these general denunciations against the Corn-laws until a period when you had appealed to the people, and been left in a minority of 80? You brought forward the question of the Corn-laws in May 1841, and with your opinions in respect of them you brought them forward in the way most calculated to prejudice the country against giving those laws a fair consideration; because, it is clear, that if the view you take of those laws be a calm, philosophical, and comprehensive view of their operation upon the industry of the country, no matter whether you raised five millions or one shilling of duty on corn, it was your duty to call the attention of Parliament to a system that was drying up the sources of national prosperity. Why did you not in the beginning of the year 1841—it was not until then your doubts were dispelled—but what reason could there be that you did not then, at the commencement of the Session, insert in the Queen's Speech from the Throne, a recommendation analogous to that which you gave at a moment when it was utterly impossible to carry it? Your proposal for the alteration of the Corn-laws was to be a means of raising revenue, and the proposal in the Queen's Speech of the month of August, 1841, must be construed, not as a vague general recommendation to take the Corn-laws into consideration, but as a recommendation, and it can be considered in no other sense than to adopt a tax of 8*s*. a quarter upon foreign corn. That was the proposal then deliberately made by the Government. Do you adhere to it now, or do you not? When in August, 1841, you recommended the Corn-law to be taken into consideration, had your recommendation reference merely to some vague, general, and indefinite inquiry into the subject, or had it reference to the specific proposal made by you in the month of May preceding, on the authority of the Government, for the adoption of a fixed duty of 8*s*. per quarter upon the importation of foreign wheat? If you say you are not bound to adopt the fixed duty of 8*s*. a quarter, with what modesty can you call upon me to declare what measures I am prepared to adopt, if you are already beginning to see reason to doubt the policy of imposing a fixed and invariable duty of 8*s*. a quarter on the importation of foreign corn? If you say that the subject is one still open to consideration—that a new Parliament may entertain new views on the subject—if that be your opinion, it perfectly justifies me in maintaining my present reserve until I shall be enabled to give practical and permanent effect to whatever measures I may propose. But if, on the other hand, you answer as you must answer, that what you meant then and what you mean now is to impose a fixed duty of 8*s*. a quarter on foreign wheat to be levied invariably, and without reference to the price of the commodity, then, permit me to say that you owe to me and to others who acted with me, some acknowledgment for not having allowed such a proposition to pass. This much I will venture to say, that if that had occurred, which might very naturally have taken place at one time—namely, that instead of there being a happy change in the weather, it had continued unfavourble to the harvest, and corn had consequently risen in price to 90s. a quarter, we should, in all probability, have been assembled here now under your auspices, for the purpose of seeking parliamentary authority to abate that 8*s*. duty. The scheme of the 8*s*. duty would have had its effect, and there must be some who, contrasting the present operation of a law, which has admitted, or will admit, a great quantity of corn for the consumption of the people, at a duty of 1*s*., with the invariable imposition of an 8*s*. duty, will be of opinion with me, that circumstances might have arisen, that might have rendered the levy of 8*s*. exceedingly inconvenient and calamitous. I now approach the subject of finance. The noble Lord has lamented I have not brought forward some proposal for the purpose of rescuing the country from the deficit by the imposition of taxation. And here again I say, I regret that the noble Lord has not taken the sense of the House of Commons upon this point likewise. I could earnestly wish an appeal to have been made to the deliberate judgment of men of all parties. I have been in the possession of power three weeks. During that time I have had the charge of forming a Government, and of making those constitutional arrangements which became necessary upon the formation of a new Administration. I have, also, of course, been obliged to devote some part of my time to the consideration of our foreign relations. I could well have wished, therefore, to appeal to the House, whether it be a just, whether it be a fair proposal, that

I should be called upon to bring forward a measure involving permanent taxation. And from whom does this charge come? What is the position I inherit? For five years right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite have held the reins of power. In the year 1838—or rather in the year 1837—there was a deficiency, as between the revenue and expenditure of this country, of 1,428,000*l.* In 1838, there was a deficiency of 430,000*l.* In 1840, there was a deficiency of 1,457,000*l.* In 1841, there is a deficiency of 1,851,000*l.*, making together a gradual accumulating deficit, on the 5th of April 1841, of 5,166,000*l.* In the year ending the 5th of April 1842, it is estimated, and estimated with lamentable truth, that the deficit for this single year will amount to 2,500,000*l.*, making a total deficit—an accumulation of deficiency, if I may use the phrase—of 7,666,000*l.* This is the state of things, we have come into the administration of finance, we have been in office one month, and we are asked at once to produce our financial scheme. Is this even tolerably fair—tolerably reasonable? What lights, I ask, have I to guide me? If I adopted your budget, should I repair the deficiency. So far from it, I will now proceed to show, since the noble Lord has provoked me to this discussion, that if your budget had realized all your expectation, you must have proposed a vote of credit, in order to repair your deficiency. If your most sanguine calculations had been verified, you must still have asked for a vote of credit, partaking of the character of that which my right hon. Friend will hereafter propose, to the amount at least of 800,000*l.* Foreseeing that there was to be a deficiency of 2,400,000*l.*, you proposed your financial measure to repair it. You proposed to diminish the duty on Baltic timber, increasing, at the same time, the duty on Canadian timber. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer took credit for 600,000*l.*, to be derived in the present year from this change in taxation. Now, I will prove to the satisfaction of the House, that not one shilling of that sum of 600,000*l.* would have been thus immediately applicable and available. Mr. Poulett Thomson, now Lord Sydenham, has expressly declared, that although concurring in the general principle of the policy of an alteration in the timber duties, care must be taken to diminish as much as possible the pressure upon individuals, and that it was his opinion, that the recommendation of the committee of 1835 should be adhered to. Remember I am not now discussing the commercial policy of an alteration of the timber duties; I am only considering a much more limited question—namely, its financial bearing upon the revenue of the country in reference to the proposal in the budget. I am only considering whether if I adopted your budget I should be released from the necessity in which I now find myself involved. On the 24th of April, 1841, Lord Sydenham says:—

> "Great alarm is naturally felt by those engaged in the timber trade in Canada, at the prospect of any alteration in the duties levied on wood in the United Kingdom. He says the question must be resolved by Parliament, according to the view it takes of the general interest."

Here follows a paragraph which it is unnecessary to read at length. His Lordship proceeded to say:—

> "If any change should be determined on, disturbing the proportion of duty paid on colonial and foreign timber, care should be taken to diminish the loss to individuals by making it gradual, which is most just and politic; but above all, I must express my hope, that whatever alteration is adopted, the recommendation of the committee of 1831, of which I was chairman, will be adhered to, namely, that the change should not affect the importations of the year, which would be an act of extreme hardship to the colony."

Thus it will be seen Lord Sydenham advises an adherence to the recommendation of the committee of 1835. I turn, then, to the report of that committee, which is dated August, 1835, of which Lord Sydenham was chairman, and I find these are the recommendations alluded to:—

> "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that such reduction be made, so far as may be consistent with the interests of the revenue, without any augmentation of the duty on colonial timber. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that in any alterations made, such alterations should not affect the shipments made in the year 1836."

Now, this report is dated August, 1835, and states, that it is the opinion of the committee, that if any alteration were to be made, that alteration should not affect the shipments made in 1836. That is to say, Lord Sydenham advises, that the alteration of the duty be postponed till 1837. Lord Sydenham, the Governor of Canada, who is responsible for the peace of that important colony, advised you to adhere to the recommendation of the committee of 1835.

If you had done so—as I know you would—is it not clear, that not one shilling would have been had to meet the deficiency of 1840? Consequently, that item of 600,000*l.* must be entirely and absolutely struck out of the calculation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I now come to the consideration of the sugar duties. Seven hundred thousand pounds—that was the sum to be raised by the importation into this country of foreign sugar, upon which a duty of 37*s.* was to be levied, being a differential duty in favour of British sugar of 12*s.* From this increased duty 700,000*l.* was to be raised. Now, such has been the reduction of the price of British sugar, without the introduction of foreign sugar, that there is good reason to doubt whether the estimates of the noble Lord, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, be correct as to the quantity of the foreign commodity to be introduced. I have here a return of the prices of sugar from the 4th of May to the 7th of September, in each of the years 1840 and 1841, and I believe it will be found, that in the first of these periods the average price of British sugar was not less than upwards of 50*s.* The following is the table referred to by the right hon. Baronet:—

WEEKS.	1840.		1841.	
	per cwt. *s.*	*d.*	per cwt. *s.*	*d.*
May 4 . .	42	9	36	1¾
May 11 . .	44	10½	35	10
May 18 . .	44	9	38	2½
May 25 . .	46	2½	39	11¾
June 1 . .	45	5¼	38	2½
June 8 . . .	45	4¼	37	11½
June 15 . .	44	6	37	8
June 22 . .	45	10¼	36	7½
June 29 . .	50	11	36	2½
July 6 . . .	55	11½	35	2¼
July 13 . .	57	3	35	9½
July 20 . .	57	2¾	36	0½
July 27 . .	57	0¾	36	10¾
August 3 . .	57	4¼	37	7½
August 10 . .	56	9	36	3
August 17 . .	57	1¼	36	3
August 24 . .	58	1	36	4½
August 31 . .	58	3¾	36	3
September 7 .	58	9	34	8¾

I have not the exact calculation of the averages, but I believe, that will be found a correct estimate. In each following week, from the 3rd of August to the 7th of September, the prices of British sugar per cwt. were as follow; 57*s.* 4¼*d.*, 56*s.* 9*d.*, 57*s.* 1¼*d.*, 58*s.* 1*d.*, 58*s.* 3¾*d.*, 58*s.* 9*d.* Such were the prices in 1840. Let us compare them with the prices in 1841. During the same period of the latter year, namely from the 3d of August to the 7th of September, the weekly prices were 37*s.* 7½*d.*, 36*s.* 3*d*¾., 36*s.* 3*d.* 36*s.* 4½*d.*, 36*s.* 3*d.*, and in the last week, ending the 7th of September, the price of sugar was down at 34*s.* 8¾*d.* Thus in the week ending 7th September, 1840, the price of sugar per cwt. was 58*s.* 9*d.*, and in the same week in the year 1841 it was 34*s.* 9*d.*, being a reduction in price of 24*s.* The average price of sugar, then, in the present year, if you take all the weeks, does not exceed 36*s.* 8*d.*, being subject to a duty of 25*s.* The noble Lord says the average price of foreign sugar in bond is 22*s.*, the duty of 37*s.* makes it 59*s.*; to this must be added 2*s.* for the costs of admission into internal consumption, making thus a total of 61*s.* as the price at which foreign sugar can be profitably used, and without causing any ground for alarm to the British grower. But the British grower has contrived to supply the country with sugar at 36*s.*, and, therefore, if the noble Lord's calculation be correct, there would have been little or no importation of foreign sugar. If that be the case, making some deduction for some that may have been brought in, what becomes of the 700,000*l.* which you expected? But I will take 500,000*l.*, and having already got 1,400,000*l.* not in hand, but exactly the reverse, that being the amount of the deficit I have already shown to exist, and adding to that the 500,000*l.*, the total amount of deficit amounts to 1,900,000*l.*, for which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer must have made provision, either by taxation, or by a vote of credit. I now come, Sir, to the duty on corn, on which we were to raise 400,000*l.* But in order to justify the calculation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the duty raised upon corn must have amounted to 1,500,000*l.* [Lord *John Russell* dissented]. I beg the noble Lord's pardon, I may be mistaken, but if I remember rightly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he estimated the produce of the Customs in 1841 to be equivalent to the produce of the Customs in 1840. Now part of the Customs duty of 1840 was 1,100,000*l.* raised from corn, and consequently that 1,100,000*l.* must be added to the 400,000*l.* for which the right hon. Gentleman took credit in his budget because if there was any deficiency in the 1,100,000*l.* in 1840, it would probably give a corresponding one in the Customs duties of 1841; consequently, unless you could raise 1,500,000*l.* from corn in 1841, the deficit in 1841—amounting, as I have already clearly shown, to 1,900,000*l.*—would have been increased in proportion. Sir, whatever approbation the noble Lord may receive from those who sit behind him—whatever cry may be raised about the injustice of the "bread tax" and a duty upon the subsistence of the people, there are some among them, I apprehend, who will not hear with very cordial satisfaction that a part of the budget was to levy 1,500,000*l.* upon corn. I know, indeed, that they will say that advantage to trade and regularity of commercial transactions would be promoted by a fixed duty upon corn, yet I think if those Gentlemen could divest themselves of their political character and associations, they would, consistently with their own views, rejoice that the project of a fixed duty was not carried into effect. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer took credit for a deficiency of 2,500,000*l.*, and short as has been my opportunity of considering the subject, I have yet devoted some time to it, and it appears questionable whether that deficit of 2,500,000*l.*, is, in point of fact, all that we have to calculate upon; for I am bound to say, I think the promises of future years are anything but satisfactory. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a provision of 400,000*l.* for the expense of the expedition to China, and said he should not be called upon to provide any similar sum in a future year. But, Sir, are those anticipations likely to be realized. I say nothing whatever of the policy of the operations, but I simply ask, is it not probable that the demand to be made upon us in a future year for the public services of the present year on account of the expedition to China, will far exceed 400,000*l.*? The estimated expense required for the year 1841, by the last return presented to the House so far as it can at present be ascertained was, 625,299*l.* That paper is dated 28th of May, 1840, and the periods to which it refers were long antecedent. I will venture to say that this expense of 625,000*l.* had been incurred in October, 1840, and of the expenses incurred since October 1840, what means have we of judging. This is all the information we have. A *nota bene* states, "No accounts have been received from which an accurate estimate can be made." But I do read in the newspapers accounts from persons likely to be well informed, which lead me to believe that the subsequent expense will be very great. Captain H. L. Fleming Senhouse, for instance, of her Majesty's ship the Blenheim, writing about Mrs. Noble, on the 10th of March, 1841, says—

> "Sir—Under feelings of the deepest indignation at the barbarous and savage conduct of the Chinese in the immediate vicinity of the Emperor's High Commissioner, Elepoo, at Ningpoo, in the treatment of a poor unfortunate widowed shipwrecked female, by confining her in a cage of the cube of three feet by three feet two inches, and retaining her in prison until the very moment almost in which she was about to bring into the world an orphan child of her departed husband, drowned in the wreck; at a time also when we had been exercising for eight months the most extreme and unparalleled forbearance and kindness to the Chinese; thereby incurring an expense of probably the full amount of the remuneration we are seeking; and at a time when we were actually liberating the prisoners without ransom or restriction, giving up their property to a large amount."

Of course on this subject I wish to give no positive opinion there is no doubt that great additional expense must have been incurred. I speak now of finance, and finance only, but I say that no clear sighted or prudent Chancellor of the Exchequer, when calculating the expenditure of the country, can omit from his consideration, the probable future demands for the expense of the Chinese operations. I must own, indeed, that it appears to me the noble Lord has made a speech not calculated to create a favourable impression in the country, and of not a little tendency to add to the difficulties that encompass those who have taken office. I do not hesitate to avow that I look with alarm at the growing tendency to expense in our colonial possessions. In a paper just presented there is an estimate for the civil expenses of Hong Kong, at 9,000*l.* for the present year, including the cutting of a main road; and in the same paper the necessity of adopting enlarged and comprehensive views for the civil Government of that island, was pressed upon the Government at home. This is the position in which I find affairs. This is the position in which I am called upon to estimate the probable expenditure and to make provision to meet it. I will now come to New South Wales. I find by a dispatch from Sir George Gipps to Lord John Russell, dated, 31st of January, 1841, that Sir George has issued a great number of bounty warrants for emigrants. I may observe that the total number of emigrants is stated in the despatch at 71,315, and the amount of bounties payable upon them is also stated at 979,562*l.* payable within two years. The noble Lord certainly contemplated with just alarm this enormous demand, and very properly rebuked the Governor for the course he had taken. The noble Lord said—

> "The same mail which has brought to me this report of the commercial embarrassments of New South Wales, and of the overtrading and ill-advised system of credit to which you ascribe them, has also brought me your despatch, of the 31st of January, 1841, (No. 29), on the subject of bounties on emigration. From that despatch I learn that you have given orders for bounty, payable within two years, for no less a sum than 979,562*l.* This is a fact which has arrested my most serious attention, and which I cannot regard without deep anxiety. It will form the subject of a separate communication, which I shall address to you as soon as I am in possession of the results of certain inquiries which I have thought it right to institute. For the present I can only express my earnest hope that the commercial embarrassments which you have depicted will have suggested to you the absolute necessity of abstaining from the multiplication of such orders. On the part of her Majesty's Government, I must disclaim any responsibility for this proceeding, and any obligation to ratify your engagements to the enormous extent to which you have entered into them. On the other hand, as to the colony, it appears that at the moment of the commercial embarrassment to which you have referred, there were afloat in the market bounty-orders amounting to nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling, the whole of which, it is but too probable, the colonial treasury may be called upon to redeem. It is difficult to measure the effect which such an operation must have had in stimulating that reckless spirit of commercial enterprise to which you ascribe the disasters of the colony; but it is clear that the effect must have been very considerable. It is impossible to regard a financial operation of this kind as one in which the British Treasury is not deeply interested. If proof of this were wanting it would be abundantly supplied by the experience of the present year, in the case of South Australia."

The governor said, that the colony was involved in commercial distress, but he argued, I presume, that the case was no worse than that of the British Treasury, and that he, therefore, might as well imitate the conduct of the British Treasury, in saying, the greater our distress the more liberal be our expenditure. The noble Lord took immediate steps to reduce the expenditure; he recalled the bounties; but do whatever he might, there will not be left a sum less than 500,000*l.* to be provided for in the same way in other colonies. Demands will be thus made upon the colonial exchequers, which they will be unable to meet, and at what door they will knock for the payment of these liabilities needs no specific indication. Such items as these I must consider, and I ask and demand from the justice of this House, time and opportunity for proper deliberation upon them. I have taken you from Hong Kong to New South Wales, and I now come to South Australia. Such was the desperate state of that colony, that last year we provided 155,000*l.* to meet the exigency. Since then, a further expense of 14,000*l.* has been incurred, for which no provision has been made. Bills, to that amount, have been presented, which have been protested by the Treasury. It is quite clear that other bills are upon their road, and all I apprehend is, that we shall ultimately have to bear the expense both of the bills and the protests. Thus we have 155,000*l.* for South Australia. Then, with regard to New Zealand, bills to the amount of 33,000*l.* have been drawn upon the bankrupt treasury of New South Wales; that treasury which is already without the means of paying its own liabilities. But do not flatter yourselves that that is all, for there are indications that bills to the amount of 54,000*l.* more are on their way. Thus a sum of between 80,000*l.* and 90,000*l.* is required to meet that exigency. The estimate taken with respect to Canada was, I believe, 600,000*l.*, but since the budget, a distinct intimation has been given, that the credit of this country is to be guaranteed to Canada for a loan of upwards of a million. I am not now questioning the policy of that, I say nothing of the propriety of adhering to engagements entered into under the circumstances in which Canada is now placed. I say again, here is a new obligation contracted on the part of this country. But you will say, that affording credit to a country is a very different thing from an advance in money. That is true, but you guaranteed to the extent of 100,000*l.* for fortifications, for which no provision has been made. [Lord *John Russell:* Yes;] I thought that this was since the despatch of Lord Sydenham had been received; but if I am in error, I am sorry for it. Still I give credit to the noble Lord for the vigilance he exerted to stop this course when it became known to him, and for the very proper rebuke he administered to the governor. But considering these things, am I not justified in reprehending that tendency to expense in our colonial establishments, which threatens ultimately to fall upon this country? And I also appeal to every man whether I have not preferred an almost conclusive claim to the justice of permitting the Government to have time and opportunity to review these things. The noble Lord says, that Parliament ought not to separate without some financial measure being brought forward. I appeal again to all, whether it would not be desirable to see exactly the state of our relation towards the United States before we proceed further? Would it not be well to have the opportunity to settle that question? That is another reason why before we propose a general financial scheme, we should be allowed the opportunity for a few weeks to consider the exact position in which we stand. There is a commercial treaty negotiating between Naples, one with Texas and one with Brazils. Above all, there is one with France. I say nothing of the policy of that treaty, but it was under serious consideration, which was, I believe, postponed in consequence of the quadruple treaty of July, and the temporary alienation of France. That treaty proposes to allow of the importation of French wine and brandy at a greatly reduced duty. Is it not clear that such a proposition as that must materially affect the consideration of the amount of the tax levied on British spirits, on colonial rum, and on wines imported from other countries besides France? It has not been possible for me hitherto, even to read the correspondence upon this subject; and other more pressing matters will for weeks intervene, and prevent me from reading. Is not this in itself a conclusive reason why the House, whatever distrust the noble Lord may entertain respecting the constitution of some parts of the Government, should accede to the demand I make for time to allow me to consider what course I shall take? That demand is not, I beg the House to understand, founded upon considerations of personal convenience, but upon those of what is due to the public interests. If it be right that these things should be undertaken and brought to a close at the time they are undertaken, is it not right also that they should not be proposed on the responsibility of a Government without further time than has already been afforded to me and my colleagues for the consideration of comprehensive questions of this nature? The noble Lord did me justice, in a frank and handsome manner, with respect to the course I have pursued and the advice I have tendered to the Crown regarding the constitution of the Government of Ireland. But if I have already attracted some degree of confidence on that ground, let me remind the noble Lord what were the confident predictions made a short time back, with respect to the course I must take, relative to Ireland. Was I not told, night after night, that I would not dare to form a Government for that country, that I could not form one which would attract general confidence? Was I not told that I must be the instrument—the reluctant and degraded instrument—of men who were ready to offer coarse insults to their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. Was I not told that they would hoist the standard of ascendancy and demand from me a complete and servile acquiescence in their views? That, it was said, would be the inevitable consequence of my accession to power; and yet not a month has elapsed, and the noble Lord admits that over that difficulty, at least, I have triumphed, and have constituted the government for Ireland in such a manner as gives assurance that the universal people of that country shall be treated with impartiality and justice. I have made no concessions for the purpose of purchasing support. I intend to administer the law with firmness, and, I hope, with dignity. I will not permit the administration of Irish affairs to be influenced by the hope of conciliating support in the House of Commons, but I declare that the engagement into which I have entered to administer impartial justice in that country, shall, as far as depends upon me, be strictly fulfilled. The appointment of Lord de Grey, who was with difficulty induced to undertake the important functions which remove him from occupations and enjoyments most refined and honourable to a man in his station, as also the appointment of Lord Eliot, and lastly, the appointment of Sir Edward Sugden as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, afford, I think, grounds as strong as any public appointments can give, for believing that it is my determination to adhere to the declarations I made as to the mode in which I should feel it my duty to administer the affairs of Ireland. My right hon. Friend, Sir E. Sugden felt himself under an obligation to accept the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland because he was in receipt of a pension, honourably acquired by him in consequence of the sacrifice of professional emoluments, but acquired after only a short discharge of public judicial duties. My right hon. Friend, therefore, acting upon the principles which have always actuated him, felt it his duty to resume the office he before held. He felt that the public had a claim upon him, but I do not hesitate to say, that if any circumstance had occurred to prevent the resumption of office by my right hon. Friend, I would have selected from the Irish bar, an Irish Chancellor: I would have paid that compliment to a bar which stands as high as any in the profession. The noble Lord, however, after having been, I will not say reluctantly compelled to admit, but after having at once admitted that I have triumphed over the difficulty that threatened my course with regard to Ireland, declared that, on account of the constitution of my Government in this country, and of certain menaces which he said had been held out in the House of Lords, that it is impossible for me to discharge my public duty upon other points relating to the domestic policy of the country. I can assure the noble Lord that it is my intention to act upon a sense of public duty, and to propose those measures which my own conviction of what is requisite for the public interests shall make me think it desirable to propose. It is right that there should be a distinct understanding as to the terms on which a public man holds office. The force of circumstances, and a sense of public duty have compelled me to take upon myself the harassing and laborious office in which I am placed. What can be my inducement to take office, and to make the sacrifices which the acceptance of it enjoins? What can be my inducement but the hope of rendering service to my country, and of acquiring honourable fame. Is it likely that I would go through the labour which is daily imposed upon me if I could not claim for myself the liberty of proposing to Parliament those measures which I believe to be conducive to the public weal? I will claim that liberty—I will propose those measures, and I do assure this House that no considerations of mere political support should induce me to hold such an office as that which I fill by a servile tenure, which would compel me to be the instrument of carrying other men's opinions into effect. I do not estimate lightly the distinction which office gives. It is not valuable on account of the patronage which it enables its possessor to dispense, nor from the personal distinction it confers upon him; it is only valuable to any man fit to hold it for an hour, on account of the opportunity it gives him of serving his country, and the moment I shall be convinced that the power of doing that according to my conscientious sense of public duty, is denied to me, then I tell every man in the country that he has conferred no personal obligation on me by having placed me in this office; but, free as the wind, I reserve to myself the power of retiring from the discharge of onerous and harassing duties which under such circumstances, could no longer be discharged with satisfaction to myself or advantage to my country.

Viscount *Palmerston*: Whether the reasons which the right hon. Baronet has assigned for abstaining from making an exposition of his views before Parliament is prorogued, are satisfactory to himself and the hon. Members who sit behind him, he best can tell; but I take leave to say, that, having listened with great attention to all that has fallen from him, I do not think they will be considered satisfactory by the country at large. The right hon. Baronet has challenged my noble Friend to take the sense of the House upon this question. We know well enough from the result of the last election what the decision of the House upon that question would be, but, however the right hon. Baronet may plume himself upon his majority, I tell him to refrain from reposing too great and unlimited confidence on that support, for he should remember that there is a country as well as a House of Commons. I warn him not to rely too confidently that the opinion of the majority of this House—though, technically, he is entitled to represent it as that of the country—will be borne out by the opinion of the people at large. The right hon. Baronet stated, that he agreed, in general, with the observations made by my noble Friend on the present position of our foreign relations. It was not upon that ground certainly that my noble Friend thought any prolonged sitting of Parliament necessary. It is undoubtedly true, that as far as regards the foreign relations of the country, the right hon. Baronet might prorogue Parliament to-morrow, and no public inconvenience would result therefrom. This, at least, I may say, that we have handed over to the hon. Gentlemen opposite the foreign relations of the country in a state as satisfactory as secure, and as much calculated to inspire just confidence as they were ever in at any former period of the history of this country. It is not, therefore, on account of the state of our foreign relations that it is necessary to keep Parliament sitting, or to call it together again at an early period. The first point to which my noble Friend alluded, as one with respect to which it was necessary for the right hon. Baronet to state what were the intentions of the Government, was the Corn laws, and I must say I think the reply given by the right hon. Baronet upon that point was anything but satisfactory. The right hon. Baronet says that he has been out of office for ten years, and therefore is unable as yet to form any opinion on this matter; but he has not been out of the country. He has not been out of public life, he has not been out of Parliament. He knows as well as any other man what is passing in the country. He has given his attention to the state of public affairs, and if any man is capable of forming an opinion upon matters connected with the great interests of the country, and more especially upon this particular question, it is the right hon. Baronet from his habits, attainments, and pursuits. The right hon. Baronet asked whether it were fair to reproach him with not being prepared with a measure on the subject of the Corn-laws, considering that the late Government were five years in office, before they brought forward their measure on the subject. I was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman use an argument of that nature, which is, in fact, applicable to every measure which was ever proposed, because whenever any measure is proposed any man might exclaim, "You are to blame for not having proposed this ten years sooner." Every measure has its period. Circumstances lead to the proposal of great measures at particular times, and it is no fair reproach to those who propose them, that they had not done so at an earlier period. It might be said that when we proposed our measure respecting the Corn-laws, public attention had not been sufficiently directed to the subject, and that parties interested in the question had not been called upon to consider it with reference to their interests. But that objection can no longer apply. The question was proposed and discussed in the last Parliament, and therefore the right hon. Baronet does not stand now in the same situation as that in which the late Government stood with reference to this subject. I think that the right hon. Baronet might have abstained on this occasion from again lending his authority to the frequently contradicted misrepresentation of what fell from Lord Melbourne on the subject of the Corn-law. The right hon. Baronet has again given his sanction to a studiously circulated misrepresentation of Lord Melbourne's observations. [Sir *Robert Peel*: No, I have not] I refer to what fell from Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords. The right hon. Baronet expressed his surprise that the Colleagues of Lord Melbourne should have remained in office with that noble Lord who had expressly disapproved of the measures which they wished to pass. What Lord Melbourne said can be seen, if any one will refer to the volumes which are so often in the hands of hon. Gentlemen opposite. If reference be made, it will be seen that what Lord Melbourne said was, that he repudiated any measure which tended to deprive agriculture of all protection; but that he was by no means prepared to say, that circumstances might not occur which would lead him to agree to a change in the existing Corn-laws. The misrepresentation of which I complain, but in which I now understand the right hon. Baronet to say he does not concur, is the assertion that Lord Melbourne declared himself opposed to all change in the Corn-laws, whilst, in fact, he limited his objection to a change which would leave agriculture destitute of all protection. The right hon. Baronet gives us to understand that he is prepared to propose a change in the Corn-laws, but that he will not propose it until he can do so as the head of a united Government. Now, looking to the constitution of his Government—seeing who are the members of his Cabinet — adverting to opinions expressed by some of those persons, and to opposite opinions expressed by persons holding high office in the Government, though not in the Cabinet, I venture to predict that if the right hon. Baronet is to wait to propose his measure until he can do so as the head of a united Government, he will require not only the five months during which he wishes Parliament to be prorogued, but somewhat nearer the five years which he reproached us for having allowed to pass before we introduced our measure on the subject. I do not think that the want of leisure which the right hon. Baronet has pleaded is a sufficient reason for his not stating to Parliament and the country what his intentions are. My noble Friend did not urge him to do so this week, or the next, but my noble Friend stated, and I think justly, that, the question having been broached last spring, and those who now compose the Government having had ample time to turn it over in their minds, Parliament should not be prorogued till the beginning of February next, leaving the whole country in a state of uncertainty, not only as to what alteration the Government mean to propose, but even as to whether they mean to propose any change at all. So far as individual feelings go, I may say that to us who have been for a long time performing most laborious duties, nothing could be more agreeable than the prolonged relaxation which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to afford us; but on a question of such immense importance, affecting the dearest interests of the country, and the existence almost of a large portion of the population, I think the right hon. Baronet is not justified in pursuing the course which he has chalked out for himself. The right hon. Baronet asks whether we would now stand by the measure which we proposed respecting the Corn-laws? Undoubtedly we would. The right hon. Baronet seems to have a very odd notion of the effect of the duty proposed by us. He said, "Suppose that, in consequence of a bad harvest in this country, the price of wheat had risen to 90*s*., would you then have proposed a duty of 8*s*.?" What has the price in this country to do with the question? If the right hon. Baronet had assumed that the prices had risen very high in the countries from which corn was to be imported, then, indeed, he might argue that any duty at all added to the cost price, and to the expense of bringing it to this country, would prevent its importation; but the higher the price rises here, provided that it be not accompanied with a corresponding rise of price abroad, the more inconsiderable becomes the duty imposed on importation. The prospect of a bad harvest in this country, so far from being a reason why the 8*s*. duty should be abandoned, might furnish a reason why those who thought that duty too high before should be of opinion that, under the circumstances, it was not too high. That was his answer to those who objected to a fixed duty, upon the ground that, if corn were to rise to a high price, such duty could not be exacted. That was a false argument, founded on an inversion of true reasoning. But if there be any sense in the argument we have employed—if there be any truth in our general reasoning—corn could never attain a high price in this country under a fixed duty, because it would be always flowing in a constant stream, and thus would prevent those fluctuations which are the cause of great suffering amongst the people, and are detrimental to the general interests of the country. I say, then that we stand by our measure, and I wish to know what is the measure by which hon. Members opposite mean to stand. The right hon. Baronet assigned as a reason for not being able to attend to these important matters, that he had to undergo great labour in forming his Administration. I can easily believe that the right hon. Baronet has had no little trouble in that respect, and I am by no means disposed to underrate it, but we do not ask him to state what his intentions are to-night or to-morrow. We will willingly allow him weeks for consideration; but we contend, that it is not fitting that Parliament should be sent to the right-about from this time to the beginning of February, leaving the country all the while in total ignorance as to whether the Government means to stand by the Corn-law as it now exists—whether they mean to propose a modified sliding scale, or whether they intend to become converts to our scheme of a fixed duty, and propose it themselves to Parliament. I think that all parties—whether it be the agricultural interest which wishes to retain protection, or the manufacturing and commercial interests, which desire a greater freedom and extension of trade—will be of opinion that the new Government having had time to consider the question, ought not to let Parliament separate for so long a period, without stating what their intentions are respecting it. The right hon. Baronet says, that events have proved how lightly my right hon. Friend, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer considered the details of his budget. First, with respect to the timber duties, the right hon. Baronet stated, that my right hon. Friend would not have obtained the amount which he calculated upon by the change of those duties. Why not, I should like to know? What proof did the right hon. Baronet offer upon that point? Anything to be found in the statement of my right hon. Friend? No, but merely a wish expressed by the Governor-general of Canada, and a report of a Committee of the House of Commons. The simple answer to that is, that the recommendation of the Governor-general, and the report of the committee did not constitute the measure proposed by us to Parliament, however great the weight which is justly due to that recommendation, and to that report, the measure which they pointed to, was not the measure which we proposed, and, therefore, all the elaborate argument of the right hon. Baronet, tending to show that the change my right hon. Friend proposed in the duties on timber, would not have produced the amount he calculated upon, was thrown away. Then the right hon. Baronet said, that the quantity of British sugar imported had greatly exceeded the amount calculated by my right hon. Friend, that the price of such sugar had fallen considerably, and that, therefore, foreign sugar, at the higher duty, would not have been consumed to the extent necessary to produce the amount of revenue which my right hon. Friend calculated upon. There, again, the right hon. Baronet has fallen into a mistake. My right hon. Friend made his calculation either way. He argued thus:—"If the supply of British sugar continues to be small, and the price high, I will get the sum I want by the higher duty of 41*s.* on the foreign sugar which will then come in; if, on the contrary, there should be an unexpected increase in the supply of British sugar, I shall then obtain the revenue I want from the duty of 24*s*, payable on that article, and any duty which may be paid on foreign sugar will be in addition to what I want." My right hon. Friend reckoned, that if the consumption of British sugar in 1841, should be equal to what it was in 1831, he should get his revenue from British sugar alone. The right hon. Baronet says, "that on looking over the departments of the Government, he finds the expenses of the country exceed those on which we had reckoned; that fresh demands are springing up from various quarters; and that nothing can be more unreasonable than to call upon him to state his financial views, until he is accurately informed respecting all these additional expenses." My noble Friend did not ask the right hon. Baronet to make any detailed financial statement; he distinctly stated that he did not; all he wished was, that the right hon. Baronet should state his views upon those great questions which affect the manufacturing and commercial interests of this country. What the right hon. Baronet has alleged respecting the new demands which are coming upon the Government, in my opinion, forms no sufficient excuse for the course he proposes to pursue. When the right hon. Baronet told us, that with regard to China the expense for the year 1841 would much exceed the 400,000*l.* which were taken in the estimate, he also admitted that that excess would not require to be provided for by Parliament until 1842, and therefore would not add to the deficiency of the present year. The right hon. Baronet said, "I see in a return, that it is stated that no accounts have yet been received from China on which a detailed estimate can be formed;" but he must know that the reason of that is, that the expense of that expedition is to be defrayed in the first instance, by the East-India Company, and that it is only when the East-India Company have made up their own accounts, that they will be able to state their demand to the Government. It is, therefore, a kind of double operation, and is not so simple a one as if the bills were drawn on the Treasury in the first instance, by which means accounts would be more readily obtained. "But though," said the right hon. Baronet, "you have no official accounts, I have an account that enables me to form an opinion," and then he reads a letter cut out of a newspaper, aud written by the captain of a man of war to a Mrs. Noble, who had unfortunately been taken prisoner by the Chinese, and who had suffered a great deal of barbarous usage, having been confined and carried about in an iron cage of very small dimensions. This letter written in the usual style of a private letter; is, it seems, to be quoted to the country and to the House of Commons as the ground on which financial calculations are to be made, and we are told that Capt. Senhouse (the writer of the letter) says "they are going on spending at such a rate, that they will soon spend all the Chinese have to pay." Why surely such private letters as these, are not to be gravely offered as grounds for parliamentary proceedings. But then came, "something tangible," and which was to make the House shudder at the expense. "The Superintendent in China proposes to make a main road through the whole extent of Hong Kong." I cannot undertake to say whether the island is five or seven miles in length, but if the right hon. Baronet has no other deficiency to provide for except the expense incurred by gravelling the road in Hong Kong, he will not have much difficulty in extricating himself from the embarrassments which at present seem to alarm him so much. Then we come to South Australia, and it certainly appears by the papers that were laid before the House yesterday, that an enormous expenditure was contemplated by the governor of that colony. But what has my noble Friend done on that subject? The moment he heard of the intended expenditure he stopped it. [*No, no.*] It is true he could not stop the whole expenditure, and the right hon. Baronet said that the sum of 500,000*l.* on that account remains to be provided for by this country. I believe, however, that I speak on good grounds when I say that 300,000*l.* of that sum, if not the whole of it, will be provided for by the colony. The right hon. Baronet then said that bills from New Zealand to the amount of 100,000*l.* were to be provided for, whilst an estimate on that account was only 6,000*l.* The right hon. Baronet must know that it is impossible for a Government to estimate accurately the expenses of distant colonial possessions. Excess of expenditure within certain limits is liable to happen in such colonies at any time, and if the right hon. Baronet postpones the statement of his views on finance until the colonies are brought into such order that the colonial expenditure is in perfect harmony with the estimates, I am afraid the House of Commons must wait for a longer period than next February before it can obtain the development of his policy. My noble Friend did not call upon the right hon. Baronet to state now his financial project for the ensuing year, but he stated that he considered it incumbent upon a Government consisting of a party who have turned us out of office on certain great questions of trade and commerce, and who are now in power backed by a majority which enables them to carry their principles into practice, to tell the House whether they intend to pursue in office the course they pursued when out of office, namely, to refuse all relaxation of our commercial system, and to stand upon the principles of restriction and monopoly. It will not do for the right hon. Baronet to pretend he has not yet had the information necessary to enable him to make up his mind on the corn question. Every information necessary to enable him to do so has been long before the public, and a man who is not content with that may ransack the archives of the Foreign-office and Board of Trade, and read himself blind without arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. The right hon. Baronet has alluded to the commercial negotiations, now pending between this and foreign countries, as an additional reason for delay. It is true, that during the last two or three years, the British Government has been negotiating with that of France upon matters connected with commerce. There is a commercial treaty pending between England and Portugal—there has been a commercial treaty proposed to Naples; it is possible that commercial negotiations may be opened with the United States of America, and also with the Brazils—all these things are true, but they tend to make good our argument, and not that of the right hon. Baronet. The greater the number of countries with which we have unsettled negotiations relating to commercial intercourse, the more expedient is it that we should proceed, without the loss of a day, to knock off those fetters which hitherto have crippled and embarrassed the commerce of this country. For the matters which we are now discussing are not matters for foreign negotiation. Shall we negociate with foreign countries as to whether we shall relieve our own people from the vexatious restraints to which the present law renders them liable? Are the manufacturing and commercial classes of this country to be told that they are not to be relieved from the shackles which cripple them, unless her Majesty's Government can persuade Portugal, Brazil, Naples, and France, to agree to some certain things upon which negotiations are now pending. I say that, whether these countries agree to the propositions that are made to them or not, the course of policy that we suggest is wise and useful in itself, and it ought to be adopted without any reference whatever to the proceedings of foreign states. But would you not, indeed, be in a much better position to negociate with foreign countries, if you had done the things which we propose before you entered upon your negotiations? Will any one tell me that the negotiation with Brazil, whenever it is commenced, would not be carried on in a much better spirit, and with a much greater prospect of advantage to this country, if Parliament had adopted the measure which we proposed in the last Session? Will any man tell me that if we were able to say to other countries "We not only preach freedom of commerce, but practise it,"—if we could say—"when we tell you that restrictions on commerce and manufactures are injurious to yourselves, and therefore wish you to get rid of them, we are only telling you the truth, and asking you to do what we ourselves have done?" Will any man tell me that if we were able to address foreign nations in such language, our negotiations would not have ten times the effect that they will now have when the Government will be reproached by France, by Portugal, and the other countries with which we have negotiations pending, in some such terms as these: "You wish us to revise our tariffs, but we look to what you yourselves do—you act on the principle that high protecting duties are essential to the prosperity of your domestic interests—we only say the same thing in regard to our own case—do not expect us to do what you yourselves refuse to do." It is true, that there has been a negotiation going on with France for a reduction of the tariff on both sides? and, undoubtedly, had that negotiation come to a conclusion, if the English Government had agreed to any considerable reduction in the duties on brandy, it would have been necessary for my right hon. Friend (the late Chancellor of the Exchequer) to have made some provision for the temporary diminution of revenue which might have been expected to result therefrom. But so far from that being considered by the late Government, as a reason for postponing till next year, the development of their financial and commercial views, it was on that very account that the French government were told, that as they had not concluded the negotiation in the early part of this year, it could not be concluded until the beginning of the next; because it would be inconvenient to make any reciprocal agreement for the reduction of the duties between the two countries at a period when a considerable interval of time must necessarily intervene before the sanction of Parliament could be procured for the alteration. Therefore, I say, that the country will not consider satisfactory the reasons assigned by the Government for not being now, or within a short period from this time, prepared to state fully and fairly their views and intentions with respect to those great questions which have agitated the mind of the public during the last few months. And I again say, that I shall be greatly mistaken if the hon. Gentlemen opposite do not find, that however backed they may be in their present course by the votes of a majority of this House, they will not be backed by the opinions of any great class or interest of this country. The right hon. Baronet prides himself, and with some reason, on the choice which he has made of a Lord-lieutenant and Chief Secretary for Ireland. My noble Friend (Lord John Russell), with the frankness and candour which distinguish him, was the first to bear testimony to the propriety of this selection; but my noble Friend did not say that those appointments were a guarantee to Ireland that its affairs would be administered in that spirit which the wishes and feelings of the country require. The right hon. Baronet, however, said that these appointments are such a guarantee. I hope they may prove to be so. As far as the appointments themselves go, they certainly are an indication of a right feeling towards Ireland. I will make no prognostications—I only hope that the assurances of the right hon. Baronet may turn out to be true, and that these appointments may not only be a source of hope, but a guarantee to Ireland. I am sure the right hon. Baronet must feel that that which he stated two years ago is not less true now, namely, that Ireland is the great difficulty of any person taking office and governing the country, through the party of which the right hon. Baronet is the head. The right hon. Baronet has stated, that which, no doubt, is his real sentiment and intention, that he will not hold office longer than he is able to act upon his own opinions and convictions. Every public man must be desirous of power if he deems that he has ability and strength to wield it. For a man who has formed strong and decided opinions upon public affairs, there cannot be any object of ambition more honourable, than the attainment of a position which enables him to carry into effect principles and views which he thinks will tend to the honour and advantage of his country, to the promotion and extension of civilisation, and to the happiness and well-being of mankind. I have no doubt that the right hon. Baronet entertains those sentiments, and everything in his past life tends to confirm the declaration he has made this evening; but I should be sorry to consider the determination expressed on his part as any guarantee to the country, that his opinions will practically be carried into effect. For when I contemplate the motley mass of opinions and sentiments prevailing amongst the great party by which he is supported—and when we know how widely the opinions of many of those upon whose support he depends, differ from those which he himself entertains—I must say, that however satisfactory that declaration of his may be, with regard to his own personal opinions and intentions, I fear it cannot be considered by the country as any guarantee that he will be able to carry those opinions and intentions into practical effect. That, however, time alone can show. I can only repeat, that I think the right hon. Baronet has not given any sufficient or satisfactory reasons for abstaining now from stating the nature and character of the opinions which he may have formed, opinions which a man of his knowledge, his capacity and attention to public affairs, must long since have fixed and settled in his own mind. The only inference that the country can draw from the silence of the Government, and from the prolonged delay which is to be interposed to the progress of public business, is, that the Cabinet, of which the right hon. Baronet is the head, is not at present an united Cabinet—that as yet the opinions of those who compose it, and support it, are not in unison with those of the right hon. Baronet, and therefore, that he feels the delay that he mentions necessary, to enable him, as he says he will do, either to come before the House, as the representative of an united Government, or to state to the country in the other alternative, that he is unable to go on with the administration of public affairs. If that be frankly stated to the country—if the country be fairly given to understand that that is the reason for the delay, namely, that the Government are not as yet agreed as to the measures to be proposed, that upon the question of corn and free trade there are divisions in the Cabinet which the right hon. Baronet has not yet had time to heal—which he has not yet had the means of reconciling—then, certainly the good sense and good feeling of the country would induce it to wait. Only I would submit, that in that case, the result might be ascertained earlier than in February next; and that in October, as proposed by my noble Friend. The Cabinet ought to have settled what it means to do—what its own opinions are—what it intends to propose, and what it is determined to resist; and there is, I think, no sufficient reason for a delay till February?

Mr. *Villiers* said, that having had such frequent occasion lately to hear of the distresses of the people, and knowing how closely they connected their present condition with the Corn-laws, he had attended the House that evening to learn from the right hon. Baronet what measures of relief, or what amendments of those laws of which such high expectations had been formed would be announced by him; he could not, therefore, suffer this opportunity to pass without expressing his deep disappointment which he was convinced he should share with millions of his countrymen as to the course now understood to be determined upon by the Government, and he could not help considering, that the prorogation of Parliament to the distant day, intended no less than the reasons assigned for it were about as great a mark of contempt for the sufferings, feelings, and interests of the people as he had ever known manifested. Why, really, as an independant observer of what had been passing during this year, he had thought that the whole year had been spent in waiting for the present moment, for from the beginning of the year till this time, every obstruction has been offered to public business, every measure has been suspended, attention has been refused to all but party objects because it was alleged the late Government was not competent to carry on the business, and had not the confidence of the country. It was said that those who now occupied their places were the fit men to originate measures of relief, were the only men now capable of devising remedies for the evils that existed, and that the country would continue depressed as long as the last Ministry continued in power. That was said by Gentlemen opposite, and as the late Ministers had lost favour in the country, it was credited where it was uttered. What, then, must be the feeling of the country when every condition as far as the change of the Ministry went had been fulfilled, and when the right hon. Baronet, after giving out that he would express his opinion what was required for the health of the State, and what was necessary to meet its disorders, when he was placed in a responsible situation, when he held the reigns of power, and when he was called upon to act, instead of hearing of anything to soothe the patient and allay the grief and sorrow which distress was occasioning throughout the country to find that having wasted six months in placing him in that situation they must waste six months more in giving him time to express an opinion, before, indeed, he could admit that there was distress, or be able to assign any cause for it, and this, too, when we are at the end of the fourth year since large masses of the people have been praying in the most respectful manner, in annually increasing numbers, that you will inquire into the operation of these laws, which they believe, and have the highest authority for believing, are the cause of their distress, by embarrassing the commerce, diminishing employment, and raising the cost of food, and after they have applied to this House in every form, soliciting it by every means to inquire into and to hear their evidence—to hear it publicly at the Bar of this House, or more privately in a committee, by commission, or in any way that you may think it right to satisfy you of the truth and justice of their statements and the extent of their privations, and all of which has been steadily and sternly refused; and when at length the people had persuaded the last Government that the grievance was enormous, that it was generally felt, and that it could not be wisely, justly, or honestly left unheeded, and that they proposed, with the sanction of a united Cabinet, a measure which, though falling short of complete justice, as any measure must that left a tax on the food of the people, in order to swell the incomes of the rich; he said when a measure of that kind was proposed which met many of the great evils of the present law, and very generally, as a compromise, was satisfactory to the commercial class. Was there any obstruction, any opposition that could be offered to it, that was withheld from the Government in consequence of that proposition. The right hon. Baronet prevented its discussion, and he, in fact, upon that measure, acting upon a previous unpopularity of the late Government, actually effected their removal from office; but they were suffered to do so on the assumption, which they favoured, that they were ready and more able to undertake the Government of the country, allowing their organs and their followers to encourage a belief among the people, that they would relieve their distress. With what grace, then, he asked, did they come forward, when every man was expecting to hear something announced, and eager to listen to any measure, knowing they had power to carry it, and plead for further time to enable them to bring forward measures, the nature of which they had not given the most distant hint of. Had any thing fallen from the right hon. Baronet that evening to justify this course? What had the roads in Hong kong, or the expenditure in New South Wales to do with the matter? He could have fancied that many of the reasons assigned by the right hon. Baronet might have been reasons for his not being in such haste to seize the Government, and that he might have said that, with a due regard to the public business, or out of consideration for the distresses of the people, we will not take any step that should prevent what is essential to carry on the Government, or preclude full inquiry into, and ample discussion respecting the sufferings of the people, or the cause which had produced them. The present avowed incapacity, or want of information, under which the right hon. Baronet was labouring, might as well have occurred to him last May, when he prevented tha discussion of the Corn-laws; or last June, when he insisted upon the Parliament meeting in August. But, with what grace could he now postpone the consideration of all the measures that vitally affected the people upon the ground that he was not prepared, or that he required more time to inform himself upon them. What ground had the people to hope for any thing? What evidence had they of any good intention for the future on the part of the Government? What had fallen from the right hon. Baronet to lead them to expect that he would remedy their ills? True it was, that equivocal language had been used—and that language had been used with some ingenuity, calculated to give hope to both parties; but had any Member of the Government said anything which could be fixed upon as declaring a determination, upon due deliberation, to act upon enlightened and intelligent principles, and with the view to justice, in the framing of any new measure? What more was now known of the opinions of the right hon. Baronet upon the vital question of the Corn-laws, though he had reached that position in which he had promised that he would be prepared to declare his opinions? What pretext, he asked, had he for believing on the right hon. Baronet for saying, that the people might depend upon his proposing better digested measures for their relief, when all that they would know before next February was, that the right hon. Baronet had called to his councils the men who had always been most prominent in upholding monopoly who had been the constant enemies of free trade, and whom they had no reason to suppose would abandon their opinions. Where, then, were the people to gather hope from? They might look to the speeches of men who had lately been re-elected, after being nominated to their new places, and what would they find? Anything connected with distress? Any ingredient of the long-promised specific alluded to, or any definite cause assigned for that which was engrossing the attention of such multitudes of people in the country? No, they would find nothing but vows of vehement attachment to the Constitution, of love for the State Church, ample acknowledgment of the favours they had just received from the First Lord of the Treasury; but of what would give the people hope or comfort, not a syllable. Why the people were never so disaffected to the Constitution as the upper classes when they were out of power, and that has been shown during the time that the other side had been in opposition, for everything has been done to lower or degrade the Sovereign in the eyes of the people. [*No, no.*] Why it is notorious—he hoped it would cease now, but he referred to it to show, that even the example of their disaffection had no effect upon the people, for it had signally failed, and he verily believed that from an opinion very prevalent, that the Sovereign did really sympathise with the sufferings of the people, that she was more popular now than any Sovereign had been for many years past. Oh no! the people of this country do not want to destroy the constitution, but they want you not to pervert it for purposes to serve your own interests, and deprive them of the benefits by it intended for them. The institutions of this country, that are of any value, will never be in danger from the people if those above them do not set the example of disaffection, if they show proper respect for themselves, and do justice to the people. The people know as well as those who use these topics, that it is only done to divert attention from the real questions before the country, and which affect them, and what they complain of is, that all this talk about preserving institutions is all foreign to the question which they are now urgently asking, namely, whether you intend to mitigate or abolish the monopolies by which they are so aggrieved for the purpose of swelling the rent rolls of the landowners. This is the question that they ask, this is the question that has not been answered, but this is the question that must be satisfied if peace and contentment are to be restored in this country. And what prospect is offered of that by the course that is now about to be pursued, when every inquiry is refused, and every consideration of public grievance is postponed. Why the people have nothing left but to agitate and agitate, till they make you so uneasy that you must give them some attention, and they must resort to means which really defeats the object of representative Governments, for it causes measures to be carried out of this House before they are carried in it, and this I expect will be the case with this great question of the Corn-law, and that it will share the fate of so many other great questions which have been extorted from the upper classes, through fear, and not from reason or justice. This is the lesson the conduct of the upper classes has always taught the people, and surely it is worth considering whether, in the present state of the country, it is wise or right to drive the people into this course, for driving them it is, and no complaint can be made with justice of their large and irregular assemblies, where they can tell you that you have refused to discuss or listen to what affects their interests in this House, and that they are not represented. They know well enough that if they do not agitate, you will say they do not care for the subject, though they will probably hear in February that you will do nothing for them because you cannot yield to clamour. This, however, will all tend to diminish that number, now small and becoming less in this country, who expect that this House will ever earn the love or respect of the people, and will add to that much larger party who affirm that no justice will be done to the people, or attention given to the general interests, till the representation is placed upon some wider basis than it is at present. It was difficult, indeed, to imagine any thing more likely to confirm numbers in that view than the contemptuous utter disregard of their interests contemplated by this prorogation. I do, then, regret this course, and I must, on behalf of those whom I have represented in bringing the Corn-laws so frequently before the House, condemn it in the strongest manner. I consider that no valid reason has been assigned for it; and that a postponement of public duty to the personal convenience of Members is an insult to a population, many of whom are starving, many in the lowest state of distress, and all desiring that they may at least have the consolation of having their case deliberately considered, believing themselves, and being able to refer to the greatest authorities for believing, that there is a close connection between their suffering and the operation of the Corn-laws. He felt, indeed, so strongly the impropriety of this prorogation in the present state of the country, that as no opportunity was to be afforded for a vote, he thought he should have neglected his duty to his constituents had he not expressed his opinion thus strongly upon it.

Mr. *Brotherton*, as the representative of a constituency deeply interested in this question, could not abstain from offering a few words expressive of his feeling upon the subject. It must be admitted, that great distress had existed for the last four years, and he was enabled to state that distress, so far from diminishing, was daily increasing. This led him to feel, that great responsibility attached somewhere, and that something ought at once to be done to afford relief. Yesterday there had been a very large meeting in the town of Manchester, to address her Majesty, and praying her Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until there should be some discussion upon those questions, that related to the trade of the country, and more especially to the provision laws. He believed, that

that meeting, which was quite unanimous, was as large a one as ever was held in the town-hall of Manchester. It was composed of merchants, manufacturers, and operatives all of whom were agreed, that something must be done to relieve the trade of this country. He believed, that the people were beginning to understand the causes of their distress; at any rate, they were strongly impressed with the belief, that a great cause of the manufacturing distress arose from the Corn-laws; and he (Mr. Brotherton) trusted, that something would soon be done by the House to alter those laws. It was now seen, that the distress was not merely confined to the working classes. It was making great inroads amongst the middle and higher classes. Merchants and manufacturers were daily becoming insolvent. Hundreds and thousands of persons were out of employment. In the borough he had the honour of representing, eleven out of every 100 cottages were untenanted, many of the mills were stopped, or working short time. This, too, was but the common case of the manufacturing districts. In 1836, all these houses were occupied, now there were 1,500 untenanted. In every direction crime and disease, the natural consequences of extreme want, were rapidly increasing. In 1836, the number of prisoners tried at the New Bailey, was 1031, but in 1840, 1664. From the reports of the dispensaries, it appeared, that disease had increased to an immense extent. He had letters from physicians and others, which declared, that much of the disease amongst the labouring classes arose from the want of sufficient food. This being the present state of the population in the manufacturing districts, he (Mr. Brotherton) would call upon the Government to consider what an awful responsibility would attach to them if they allowed the present sitting of Parliament to pass over without some intimation of the course they intended to pursue. He agreed, that time should be given for the due consideration of many of the measures which the right hon. Baronet might have to propose—those measures, for instance which related to finance; but with regard to the Corn-laws, not a moment should be lost in declaring what the intentions of the Government might be. It was nothing to him (Mr. Brotherton) what particular party might be in power. He expected nothing from any party. His principle and declaration would always be, "perish party, but give the people bread." All that he wanted was good measures, and he would support any men who would give them to the country. He believed the present Corn-laws to be unjust, inhuman, and impolitic, and that they could not be supported by any man who acted upon the principles of justice. He was well aware that no argument in that House was so strong as the argument of a majority of votes, and that nothing he could say would have much weight when the opinions of a known majority were against it. Still for that he did not care. He stated what he believed to be the truth, leaving the responsibility upon those to whom it belonged. He deeply regretted, that the right hon. Baronet had not thought fit to give any intimation of his intention as to the Corn-laws; and this he would tell the right hon. Baronet, that no system of policy would long endure, founded upon those laws. He confessed he saw not any reason or right whatever for any tax at all upon bread; and he denied the title of the landlords to any such impost. It was not generally considered, as it ought to be, that whether a tax went into the Exchequer or not, it mattered little to the people if they had to pay it. Corn could not be admitted into this country till it reached a famine price here; but if corn were let in at a reasonable rate constantly, it would never rise at home to this famine price, all the world being open for importation. Why should not Parliament permit the people of this country to exchange their commodities freely for those of other nations? Then the Legislature would not be chargeable, as at present, with the injurious fluctuations that constantly arose in prices. His belief was, that there was already in the country a firm resolution for a change in the Corn-laws; and it was in the highest degree unwise in the Government to withhold their opinion of what that change should be.

Mr. *Ward* had no wish to lengthen a discussion which seemed to be confined entirely to one side of the House, but he had no hesitation in saying, that after the communication which had been made on that and the previous evening, he thought the sooner the proceedings of the House were brought to a close the better. Upon a former occasion, he had told the right hon. Baronet, that he was one of those who considered, that having won his way to power fairly, he was entitled on the part of so humble an individual as he was, to a very respectful consideration of any measure he might bring forward. He thought, that he had stronger ground on that account to express the deep regret he felt that the right hon. Baronet did not afford him an opportunity of giving that respectful attention to any measures whatever. At the late general election, the constituencies were told, that the battle against the Whig Government was fought on well defined principles by the Conservative party, and that on the meeting of the new Parliament the country would be told what those principles were. He, therefore, had been looking to this period, not, indeed, for an explanation in detail of the financial measures which the new Government might deem it proper to propose, but at least, for some explanation as to the course to be pursued in reference to a question to which the attention of the labouring classes in the great manufacturing districts was solely turned, and upon which, in fact, any future system of finance that may be adopted must necessarily hinge. As it was, however, the country had only one act of the right hon. Baronet to consider for the next five months, and that was not the question of how the people were to be supplied with food, but who the Gentlemen were whom the right hon. Baronet had been pleased to associate with himself in the Government of the country. And this certainly was not calculated to inspire any confidence of coming to a satisfactory arrangement upon the question of the Corn-laws at any future time. The right hon. Baronet told the House in the most honourable spirit, that he would not condescend to be the instrument of working out the ideas of other people on this question, but that he hoped next year to come forward as the organ of a united Cabinet, and to propose an alteration of the Corn-laws in which all his Colleagues should be agreed. Judging from the persons in the Cabinet opposed to any alteration of the Corn-laws—when they saw the Duke of Buckingham and the hon. Member for Kent (Sir E. Knatchbull), who was opposed even to allowing foreign corn to be ground in bond—when they saw these individuals in the Cabinet, he could not conceive how any one could expect great concessions on the subject of the Corn-laws; nor could he draw any inference favourable to an alteration of the present system from a speech which had been made by the hon. Member recently appointed to the office of Vice-president of the Board of Trade. He feared the effect of another winter, inasmuch as a great portion of the distress which existed would undoubtedly be attributed to the operation of those laws. That distress had not been exaggerated by the hon. Member for Salford. He had on a former occasion mentioned the circumstance of there being in Sheffield 2,000 houses unoccupied, and he thought at the time, that it was just possible some hon. Members might imagine he had overstated the number. He had, however, received a letter two days ago, in which he was informed, that according to the abstract of the late census, no fewer than 3,223 houses were untenanted in Sheffield. He feared, that it would afford but little consolation to the country to know, that the right hon. Baronet meant to delay producing his measures until he could do so with an united Cabinet.

An hon. *Member* on the Ministerial side said, that as a new Member he could not conceal his astonishment, that hon. Gentlemen opposite, thinking as they thought, speaking as they spoke, and acting as they acted, did not intend to press this discussion to a division. They might, no doubt, be in a minority, but that was no reason why they should not let the country know their opinions by the manner in which they voted. If they did not do so this way, there were no other means of accomplishing it but by every Gentleman opposite stating his opinions, which, heaven forbid be should be called on to do. He would not prolong the discussion. He had just come from his constituents, and he would go back to them perfectly contented, because he knew, and they knew, that the Government was in the hands of persons in whom they could place confidence, who, he trusted, would take time to consider the measures which they meant to bring forward and to carry.

Mr. *Cobden* said, he was not astonished at the hon. Member who had just sat down expressing his wish for a division. Divide was still the cry, they still had a majority of ninety-one. They had brought forward no argument—had not made use of a single reason. They had not appealed to any principle, but the cry was, " Let us divide." He warned hon. Members from setting a bad example to the country. They had heard a great deal of argument against brute force—against physical force, and a numerical ascendancy; but the appeal made by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was not any better than an appeal to numbers. He did not rise for the purpose of replying to that hon. Gentleman, but to add his testimony to that of the hon. Member for Salford, because he thought it due to the Government and to the House, that they should be told of the distress, and of the all-important question which they were setting aside on the present occasion. He would not have the House believe, that the excitement in the north of England on this subject had been produced by the efforts of a few interested individuals. He believed that hon. Gentlemen opposite were unconscious of the state of public opinion on this question, and he was the less disposed to doubt this when he saw it admitted on all sides, and admitted in the morning organ of the party opposite this very day, that the late elections had not been so much a triumph of public opinion as a victory of the purse. [*Oh, oh!*] He only stated what the great organ of Gentlemen opposite admitted, and if hon. Members were sitting there merely from the strength of their pockets, and not from public opinion, then there were good grounds for supposing, that they were ignorant of the real state of the feelings of the country on this question. Why had bribery been resorted to—why had hon. Members gone to boroughs with their constituents in their pockets? If public opinion had been in their favour, if they could have been returned on principle, where was the use of bribery? It was because they had been elected and returned by bribery alone that he thought himself justified in saying, that they were profoundly ignorant of the condition of the country. He had come there to state his opinion of the distress in the district from which he came, and he thought it his duty to bear testimony on this head, and to tell the House, that if they adjourned, or were prorogued, without giving the Corn-laws their consideration, the responsibility would not rest with those representatives, the real and not purchased representatives of those districts in which the greatest distress prevailed. They had heard of the distress that existed in Salford. There were other boroughs in which the distress was equally great. In the borough of Stockport, which he represented, the distress was fearful; one out of every five houses in Stockport was untenanted, half of those occupied were not paying rent; nearly half of the manufacturers mills were closed, and thousands of working people, who, to other countries would be a valuable possession, were wandering about the streets seeking employment, but unable to find it. Yet, in the face of such facts, were they to wait five months for measures of relief? God knew whether or not he (Mr. Cobden) should have constituents in five months. If emigration went on for the next six months as it had done for the last twelve months, he feared he should find very few of his constituents left. If, however, they were to have the discussion adjourned for six months, he begged leave to place the responsibility, and the particular consequences to the labouring population which would flow from such a course, on the shoulders of the right hon. Gentlemen opposite. They had fraternised with the Chartists to some purpose during the last twelve months. A coalition had taken place between them, which he believed was now about to be dissolved; but let them beware, when going back to a people deprived of work, discontented and dissatisfied, that the cause of the delay was placed on the right shoulders. It was right that the working classes should know that they had six months of privation and suffering before them, merely because certain hon. Members were desirous not to miss the pleasures of shooting. He told the House, that the distress of the operatives arose in a great measure from the policy of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They were the cause why the operatives of this country had reduced wages and diminished rations. It was right that the labouring man should know who robbed him. Hon. Gentlemen ought not to imagine that the manufacturers of Lancashire sought to diminish the wages of the working classes. He said solemnly that no greater calamity could befal the manufacturers of Lancashire than to be driven to the necessity of reducing wages. He hoped the capitalists in Lancashire were sufficiently enlightened as to their own interests, to know that the worst thing for them would be to have a badly remunerated working population; for, as Burke said, "We are all the pensioners of the working classes" they are our greatest consumers and our greatest customers, and self-interest alone would prompt us to maintain the rate of wages. He would venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that the capitalists in the north of England had carried on their trade at a positive loss. He ventured to say that, during the last five years, the fixed capital of Lancashire had been depreciated fully fifty per cent. He challenged contradiction when he asserted that, during the last three years, the floating capital of these capitalists had been depreciated in consequence of its having gone to pay the very labourers, who, by short work and occasional cessation of employment, had still been kept employed at the same nominal rate of wages as before. This had been done, too, by draining the trades unions of their funds. In some towns more had been paid out of the trades' unions in support of unemployed operatives, than what was contributed by the poor-rates for support of the paupers. But the time had now come when the funds of the trades unions were exhausted, and he was sorry to see by the *Gazette* that the floating capital of the manufacturer was also exhausted. What were the consequences? In the unfortunate borough which he represented they were threatened with a collision between the masters and the operatives, the operatives resisting a reduction of their wages, which had been nominally kept up, but which would now be permanently reduced by 20 or 30 per cent. The strife once begun, it would speedily spread over the whole of Lancashire. In such a state of things, and when he came to tell the House of the destitute state of the working-classes, was he to be told by Gentlemen opposite that if the operatives were not employed they ought to be sent to the workhouse? He thought the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth had, in a recent debate, in reference to a most distressing case, expressed himself to that effect [Sir *R. Peel:* No, no]. The right hon. Baronet said on that occasion that the parish authorities had surely neglected their duty. But, as representing the working men of Stockport, he told the House that they would not be made paupers—they abhorred and would resist the law which would grind them down to the ranks of pauperism. If they failed in this, they would take the next step open to them, and submit to the secondary punishment of the penal code, by which they might be transported to a country where landlords were not monopolists, and where the working man would not be told that he must become a pauper when he was unable to support himself. No argument had been brought forward that evening—no statement had been made in the least degree consolatory to the starving population of this country. He had heard a good deal of humerous bantering, occasional sallies of mirth, but nothing had been said to alleviate the fears of the manufacturing and commercial world. He believed they were not aware of the state of society for which they pretended to legislate. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth began his speech by saying that he was not inclined to have a party contest on the present occasion; but it was in fact a controversy, and one in which the real question at issue had been overlooked. He protested against the House of Commons being made a mere debating club [*Hear*, *hear*]. Hon. Gentlemen opposite should recollect that he was tolerably well seasoned in physical force, and not easily to be put down. He was about to tell them that he protested against the right hon. Baronet opposite considering that they were sent to the House of Commons to listen to the controversies between him and the noble Lord the Member for London. He was not there to listen to party controversies, but he came to consider the interests of the people at large. When the right hon. Baronet began, by saying that he did not enter on the discussion on party principles, he expected to hear some argument to justify the delay which he asked. But no. The right hon. Baronet said, that he wished to have time. For what? In order, it seems, to consult those functionaries of his Government who may have important communications to make on the subject. Had not the right hon. Baronet the opportunity of reading the evidence taken before the Import-duties Committee? Did he not see there not only the evidence of the public functionaries of the Board of Trade, but also the evidence of a Gentleman not now in the service of the Government, for he had retired full of honours; he alluded to the evidence of Mr. Deacon Hume. In that report the right hon. Baronet might consult the evidence given by Messrs. D. Hume, Porter, and Macgregor, on the operation of the Corn-laws. The country had read that report; it had been reprinted in America, and read in almost every log-hut, yet the right hon. Baronet said he must have an opportunity of consulting the functionaries of Government for evidence on the question. Was that the reason why the subject was to be deferred for eight months? Another argument, which he was almost ashamed to call an argument, had been used by the right hon. Baronet, when, in addressing the late Ministers, he said, "You put off your measure for five years, and did not introduce it until May last." But what did this prove? Nothing. Yet the right hon. Baronet was about to do the same thing, and indefinitely to postpone his measure. The right hon. Baronet made another attempt at an argument. He asked the late Ministers, "Do you stick to a fixed duty of 8*s.*?" This was not the way to govern with satisfaction to the country. Yet this was the way in which the Prime Minister treated an important question in which the happiness of the suffering and starving millions depended. He treated it by tauntingly asking the late Ministers whether they still adhered to the principle of a fixed duty of 8*s.* He protested against the consideration of the question of the Corn-laws being deferred on any of the grounds alleged by the right hon. Baronet opposite. The whole responsibility of doing so in the face of such a winter as they anticipated, must rest entirely with the right hon. Baronet. He had, within the last fourteen days, been informed by a gentleman of Manchester, well entitled to credence, that there were great apprehensions entertained for the peace of Manchester during the ensuing winter. The working man might suffer without complaint, but as Englishmen, they would not sit quiet and see their children starving around them. He knew a borough in which there was great difficulty in finding a mayor, the person on whom the inhabitants fixed, shrinking from the office, fearful that there would be convulsions next winter. He stated the fact. Gentlemen opposite might smile, but it was a fact, nevertheless. He would tell them more. Those persons on whom the Government had hitherto relied to keep the peace in the manufacturing districts had now little motive left to keep the peace. Their fortunes have been impaired—the capitalists have been ruined. He might be told that bayonets would be employed to keep the peace, but they could not do this, unless they carried bread with the bayonets. He warned them that the times were perilous. They all knew the circumstances under which the Corn-law was passed. It was passed when the House of Commons was surrounded with military, and at the point of the bayonet. [*No, no*]. He said the Corn-law of 1815 was so passed. Was that a fit example for a constitutional country to exhibit? It was a law that had been baptized in blood, begotten in violence and injustice, perpetuated at the expense of the tears and groans of the people, and he prayed to God that it might not end in violence, which their conduct in refusing to discuss it had, without doubt, a tendency to provoke.

Viscount *Sandon* thought that a sense of prudence, if not of decency, might have restrained the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down from alluding to the Members of that side of the House (the Ministerial) as having been returned by means of bribery, and not on the ground of public opinion. He believed that the electors of the Members on that side of the House had been remarkable for their purity. Whether he looked to the great towns or to the great counties which they represented, he felt convinced of the truth of what he stated. Neither London nor Liverpool, nor any of the great towns in Lancashire, Yorkshire, or Middlesex, had been carried by corruption. If the hon. Gentleman had but cast a glance at Bridport, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, and a hundred other places, he might from a sense of prudence, have refrained from casting reflections on those who were opposed to him. The hon. Gentleman said, he was anxious to discharge himself of the awful and responsible duty which he imagined to hang on him relative to the condition of the manufacturing districts. The hon. Gentleman, it seemed, felt alarmed at the storm he had raised, and was anxious to relieve himself of the blame of the mischief which he had largely contributed to create, and to throw it on the Ministry, because they were not prepared at present to consent to a repeal of the Corn-laws. He feared that the people of this country would soon find that they had been under the guidance of those better fitted to mislead than to instruct them. What had the hon. Gentleman told the House? He said that the Corn-laws had been carried by bloodshed, and at the point of the bayonet, and only reluctantly admitted that he did not speak of the present Corn-law, or of the one before it; but of the Corn-law of 1815, under which there was an absolute prohibition against the importation of wheat till the home price rose to 80*s*. He would not enter into the merits of the present Corn-law; for the hon. Member himself must be aware of the rate of duty at which corn is admitted by the present law, and at what a rate it was admitted under the former law. There had been a greater increase in the importation from foreign countries under the present than there ever had been under any former law. He was not more insensible to the hardships of the manufacturing classes than the hon. Gentleman was, who seemed in himself to monopolise all the humanity of the House. There was as much humanity on that (the Ministerial) side of the House towards the working classes, as was felt for them by the mill-owners of Lancashire. The present agitation was a vain attempt of the mill-owners to divert the attention of the people from the grievances which their own practices had brought upon them. It was not fair in them to lay exclusive claim to motives of humanity, and to stigmatise all others as devoid of such feelings, merely because they differed from them on a question of political economy, on which able men of both sides had held different opinions. If Ministers had come down, as Gentlemen opposite had done, with some nostrum of their own, with a remedy that would at once relieve the distress under which the manufacturing interests were undoubtedly labouring, then they might have been culpable if they had delayed to produce or to proceed with it, but it was well known and not disguised, that the present Ministry did not attribute the present distress to the existence of the Corn-laws, and that no measure which they might produce to the House would be brought forward founded on the distress which at present existed. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce did not at first attribute the distress to the Corn-laws, but to the operation of the Bank of England and the joint-stock banks. If they asked any Lancashire manufacturer his opinion in private of the cause of the distressed state of trade, he would tell them that it was not owing to the Corn-laws, but to the fact of its having been carried beyond its bounds at a time when it was stimulated by a capital artificially applied, and that they were now suffering from the effects of this over-trading. These were the causes which the manufacturers stated in private, while in public they harangued the multitude, and talked of bloodshed, bayonets, and exclusive humanity. He should like to hear some hon. Gentleman opposite get up and plainly tell them whether, if Ministers had carried their proposition for a fixed duty of 8*s*. three months ago, the distress would have been sensibly diminished. Whether the price of bread would have been lowered in consequence he did not know, but he thought that they would hardly contend that the state of their commerce and manufacturing industry would have been different from what it is at present. He had thought it was his duty to state what he had done, in consequence of the taunts of the hon. Member for Stockport, from which it would appear to be implied that all those on his side of the House were representatives of Sudburies or Bridports. He repeated that he did not attribute the present distress to the Corn-laws, and therefore it was, he believed that no alteration in those laws could materially affect the condition of the labouring classes. The sentiments which he had expressed to the House he had avowed to his numerous constituents, and had not incurred any unpopularity in so doing.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that, as the hon. Member for Stockport had so grossly misrepresented what had fallen from him on a former day, he rose to offer an explanation of what he had stated on the case alluded to. He had heard the hon. Member for Bolton describe the case of a poor man who had been found dead upon his loom, surrounded by his family in a state of starvation. He heard that statement, and after expressing his deep sympathy for the sufferers, expressed a hope some inquiry would be instituted. And, the very first thing I did, said the right hon. Baronet, on my accession to office—for the story dwelt upon my mind—was to write a letter the very day I kissed hands to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department on this subject. I said, that the story had sunk deep into my mind, and that, if true, it was a disgrace to the society in which such distress was suffered to exist. I suggested that some inquiry should be made into the mode in which the Poor-law was administered at Bolton. My advice was taken, and the result is, that an Assistant Poor-law Commissioner has been sent down to that place, and is now there, prosecuting his inquiries into the distressing circumstances to which I have referred. This is the foundation of the charge now brought against me; and because I expressed almost horror at the statement of the hon. Member for Bolton, I am now taunted with saying, that the working classes should be content with the condition of paupers, and that the only question was as to the administration of the Poor-laws.

Mr. *Hawes* said, that if the hon. Member for Stockport was in error as to what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, other Members were in error also, because the right hon. Baronet's speech was not reported in accordance with the explanation he now gave. But turning to the question before the House, they had at last got a speech from an hon. Member opposite, and that of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool did throw some light on the future commercial policy of the Government. The noble Lord had said that it was perfectly well known that her Majesty's present Ministers did not impute the prevailing distress to the state of the Corn-laws. They were therefore disposed to forego the discussion of them with the general assertion on the part of the noble Lord, that the leading authorities in political economy were opposed to a change in the Corn-laws. He had given the noble Lord credit for some reading on the subject, and he had therefore been surprised to hear him state, that the great authorities were in favour of the existing system [Lord *Sandon:* No, no]. He had understood the noble Lord to say, at least, that the authorities entitled to weight were divided. Now, it happened that upon this question there was a singular concurrence of opinion, and he challenged the noble Lord to name one great authority who was not against the continuance of the Corn-laws [Lord *Sandon:* Mr. Huskisson was in favour of them]. Unluckily for the noble Lord the last speech Mr. Huskisson made in this House was in favour of free trade in corn. He (Mr. Hawes) was glad to have sounded the depth of the mine of knowledge of the noble Lord; and if he took the trouble to read Mr. Huskisson's speeches from first to last on this subject, he would find that there was an obvious and gradual progression of opinion towards free trade in corn. He did not claim for himself or his Friends any superior sympathy for the suffering classes, but though he did not charge those who sat on the opposite benches with personal want of feeling, he was entitled to consider how far their policy did or did not tend towards relief. While he gave them credit for feeling, he had a right to denounce the policy of the party, as avowed by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, to be pregnant with mischief and misery to the lower orders of the community. The right hon. Baronet had concurred in the Address to her Majesty at the opening of the Session, and then it was said,

> "We assure her Majesty that we fully share in the deep sympathy which her Majesty feels with those of her subjects who are now suffering from distress and want of employment; and we fervently join in her Majesty's prayer that all our deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of her Majesty's subjects."

He wished to know what sort of sympathy with distress was evinced by the postponement of the consideration of the mode of relieving them for a period of five months. But the right hon. Baronet said he was not yet prepared: he had not duly consulted and considered. This was strange, recollecting the full discussion which took place before the right hon. Baronet came into power, and the length of time that the whole question had been under the view of the country. However, it now appeared that the doors of Parliament were to be shut, and that the people were to endure their distresses, until some half year hence it pleased the Gentlemen on the other side to take the case into consideration. This was certainly a singular way of evincing sympathy, but, at the same time, he gave the other side full credit for personally possessing it. He agreed in what had fallen from the hon. Member for Stockport respecting that part of the speech of the right hon. Baronet, which, judging from the applause which it received from his followers, was most effective, where he vindicated himself for a delay of five months by complaining that the noble Secretary for the Colonies had taken five years to make up his mind on the subject. This might be remissness or negligence on the part of the noble Lord, but what had the public to do with the comparative merits of the two sets of Ministers? The public wanted measures—the suffering population required relief, and yet the right hon. Baronet had refused even to discuss the means of affording it. The right hon. Baronet excused himself on the score of deficiency of knowledge; but, if he would only avail himself of the official aids within his reach, he would not be long in arriving at the conclusion that a change was necessary, and that distress was only to be removed or alleviated by a change. The right hon. Member, the Member for Dorchester, addressing his constituents the other day, told them that he looked upon a fixed duty as next to impossible, and that the only alterations that could be made would be to render the averages more certain and accurate. In fact, it was not in the power of the advocates of the present Corn-laws to defend them upon any of the three grounds on which they had been originally proposed—that they would preserve steadiness of price—protect the farmer—or secure a home-growth equal to the home consumption. These three grounds must now be abandoned. As to the appeal to the late Ministers, whether they would now maintain a fixed duty, he would ask what right had any man to inquire whether it were intended to maintain a fixed duty under all circumstances? The inquiry also came with an ill grace from those who were themselves opposed to a fixed duty, as not only injudicious, but impracticable, whereas, under the sliding scale, all was fluctuation and uncertainty, and the supply of corn was consequently diminished. A great deal of strong feeling had been manifested against the hon. Member for Stockport, because he spoke strongly of the consequences of delay upon the suffering classes; but that hon. Member had urged nothing that had not been said a month ago; everybody had predicted that discontent would follow the refusal to modify the Corn-laws, and add to this discontent the loss of trade and severe personal suffering, and who should say, that the peace of the country would not be in danger? That danger he laid at the doors of the Gentlemen opposite: they had thought fit to refuse even a discussion of the causes of distress. One hon. county Member, who had addressed the House, without adding one word of argument, seemed to rejoice that there would be no discussion; but if the enemies of the Corn-laws were in the wrong, how could it be proved but by discussion? Let it be shown, as the noble Lord had contended, that dear bread was beneficial to the people. [Lord *Sandon*: No, no.] That was the result of the noble Lord's argument. He was a supporter of the Corn-laws. The Corn-laws made bread dear, and as the Corn-laws, according to the noble Lord, ought to be preserved for the benefit of the nation, it was for the good of the people that bread should be dear. Such was the inevitable effect of the reasoning of the noble Lord. The noble Lord had also been pleased to taunt the Opposition side of the House with being participators in an infamous system of bribery. Be it so. He knew nothing of bribery. He represented no freemen, and had purchased no seat; he had incurred no election expenses he was ashamed to detail, and he hoped the noble Lord could say the same. If the noble Lord's election bills were compared with his, a wide difference would be found in them. [*No, no.*] Did the noble Lord mean to say that there had been no subscription for his election? [Lord *Sandon* intimated his assent.] He did not, of course, include subscriptions and money paid by committees. He knew nothing of them in his own case. If there had indeed been gross and shameful bribery anywhere, he hoped it would be shewn that they had committed a high crime of most pernicious effect upon the country. Bribery had certainly done more to shake the confidence of the people in the House than any measures of bad legislation, and all who were guilty of bribery, were guilty of a crime which sapped the foundation of the representative system. He concluded by expressing his deep sorrow that the right hon. Baronet had expressed no opinion on corn, sugar, timber, finance, taxes, or any other subject on which the country was expecting information. Notwithstanding this silence, he expected the confidence of the country just as much as if he had brought forward the best practical and intelligible measures for the advancement of trade, and the relief of distress.

Mr. *Litton* believed, that many of the observations made in the course of the present discussion, were calculated to create discontent and excitement, but not to afford a remedy for the evils which were complained of. Still he could not allow the debate to close without, on the part of the Irish people, praying the present Government to take full time to form a deliberate judgment on the important subjects which had been adverted to that evening. He believed, he expressed the unanimous opinion of the Irish people, when he said, that if the measure with respect to the Corn-laws had passed as proposed by the late Government, it would have involved Ireland in immediate and irremediable ruin. He was sure that many Irish Members who voted with the late Government on other questions, would have felt it their duty to vote against them on such a measure. He regretted the misery suffered by the population of Stockport and other places, but were the interests of the 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 of agricultural population in Ireland to be altogether forgotten in this discussion? They would be subjected to penury, misery, want, and destitution, and in many cases to the actual deprivation of the necessaries of life, if anything like the measure of the late Government had passed that House. It was well known, that from the agitation which had prevailed in Ireland of late years, but which he trusted would not be allowed to last much longer, there had not been much of British capital or industry introduced into Ireland; and its overgrown population depended for existence almost on the labour and profits derived from land. The immediate effect of such a measure as that proposed by the late Government would have been, not only to deprive the Irish population of employment, but to prevent the progressive reclamation of land now advancing in Ireland, to the great advantage of the country. The prosperity of almost all the towns in Ireland depended on the prosperity of the agricultural interest. With respect to the franchise, the Conservatives had always wished that Ireland should have a full, fair, and *bonâ fide* franchise; and he asked what would become of the franchise if the measure of the late Government had passed? A man must have 10*l.* value beyond the rent he paid, and many thousands enjoyed the franchise in Ireland according to the present price of corn. But if the late Government measure passed, and corn were reduced (for that was the argument of its advocates) whilst rent remained the same, as it must where leases existed, the result would be, that one half of the Irish franchise would be cut up. In every point of view Ireland seemed to have been totally forgotten by those who professed to be its only friends. Ought an entire country to be sacrificed for the comforts of two or three millions of people? He entirely disagreed with those who said that the accession of the present Government had occasioned uneasiness in Ireland. The voice of every one almost who had anything to lose, had hailed its formation with acclamation, and the change of Ministry had been rejoiced at even by the lower classes, who were now promised a prospect of freedom from agitation and an opportunity of pursuing their course of industry unchecked. The appointment of the Government had given confidence to all, that justice would be impartially, strongly, but firmly administered.

Mr. *Sharman Crawford* thought, it would not be denied by the hon. Member who last spoke, that though he was not certainly an Irish representative, he was not without a considerable stake and interest in the country whose interests were alluded to by the hon. and learned Gentleman. Nothing in his opinion would be so advantageous to Ireland as the total repeal of the duties upon the import of foreign corn into this country. He was not prepared to advocate at all the late Government measure upon corn. He was for a total repeal of the corn importation duties. In Ireland there might safely be reckoned above 2,400,000 labourers, who were employed in agricultural districts, receiving not more than 6*d.* a day for their labour. Nothing in respect to the price of corn here could make their situation worse. It was not to be expected, therefore, that there should have been petitions from Ireland against the measure of the noble Lord, of the last Session, founded upon a permanent 8*s.* duty upon the import of foreign corn. Ireland did not subsist upon her trade to England in corn or in raw commodities. She exported provisions largely to this country; and of dead pigs exported from Belfast, the number in one recent year exceeded 40,000, all of which went to the manufacturing districts in the north of England. The feeling created in Ireland by the accession of the present Ministers to office, he believed, was generally a feeling of apprehension. He would, however, look to the Government of the right hon. Baronet with the hope of a better result than that anticipated by some upon his side of the House. He trusted, and earnestly hoped the right hon. Baronet would introduce a measure calculated to relieve the distress but too generally experienced by the manufacturers; whatever was done with that intent ought to be done quickly. He was neither a party to a fixed duty nor to the sliding scale. His inquiry was directed to whether there should be any protection or none to our agricultural produce; and he confessed, that, however, unpromising the appearance of the House might be for the experiment (there being not one-third as many Members on that side of the House as on the Ministerial side), he should prefer seeing the question tested by a division to-night. It ought to be tested by a vote and a division, and not by a mere war of words, as on the present occasion. No matter what might be the minority, the result must be beneficial to the public, and promote truth and knowledge. It would put the public in possession of the opinion of parties in that House, and leave them to protect their interests by petitions, as they had on other occasions. With respect to the proposed Poor-law Continuance Bill for a period, he thought it would be quite expedient that such a measure should be accompanied by a clause restricting the commissioners of the Poor-law from forcing the Poor-law into districts, in the interval, where no unions had yet been formed under the existing law; and in proposing this limitation of their authority, he confessed he should be gratified to find that the proposition came, as it certainly ought, from the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* wished to take the opportunity of protecting himself from the supposition that he concurred in the opinion expressed by the noble Member for the City, with regard to the Irish appointments; and still more to guard himself from the inference drawn by the right hon. Baronet from what had fallen from the noble Lord. He had great personal respect for the character of Lord Eliot; but he doubted whether he had power or firmness, or perhaps both, to carry out his just or benevolent intentions. It was known that the noble Lord, the new Secretary for Ireland, had formerly provoked the hostility of his party, by the course he pursued regarding the Irish Corporation Act, wishing, as he did, to put, as in England, all sects upon an equality, Upon that occasion the just and liberal sentiments of Lord Elliot were controlled and overruled by his friends in the House and out of it, and he much feared that a similar result would hereafter attend his labours. Neither did he (Mr. M. J. O'Connell) anticipate anything favourable from the disposition of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Home Department. He, therefore, feared the worst; but if the noble Lord could induce his colleagues to remove the monstrous inequality of the municipal franchise, he would deserve the highest praise, and would render a most essential service to Ireland. He agreed with the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. S. Crawford), that the best interests of Ireland, instead of being injured, would be importantly benefited by an alteration in the Corn-laws; the change proposed by the late Government would have done much good, and upon this point, he believed, that the eyes of his countrymen were beginning to be opened, notwithstanding the bold assertions of the hon. and learned Member for Coleraine, and his Cassandra-like predictions. For himself, he believed that the Irish would receive an advantage from the proposed change, and from the total abolition of protective duties, provided the alteration were gradual, and that existing interests were disturbed as little as possible.

Mr. *Hardy* said, that hon. Gentlemen ought not to attribute the present distress in the manufacturing districts to the Corn-laws, when there had been great prosperity in those very districts during the existence of these same laws. If he wanted to know the cause of the present distress, he would go for information to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. Fielding); he was a blunt Englishman, and would speak the truth. He told them that, in 1820, the annual produce of the four kinds of cotton manufactured was 180,000lbs., which fetched 96*s.* to the manufacturer, whilst the annual quantity now used was 480,000lbs.; the sum received by the manufacturer was reduced from 96*s.* to 27*s.* If people would go to joint stock banks for accommodation, and would build manufactories, because they saw others prosper, and if they would manufacture 480,000 lbs. instead of 180,000 lbs.; and if their prosperity had not kept pace with the increase of manufactures, it must be because they had glutted the market. Then, the hon. Member for Salford had alluded to the number of Houses in Salford and Manchester that were uninhabited, and the hon. Member attributed this to distress, arising from the Corn-laws. Now, the last time it had been his lot to travel by the Manchester and Leeds Railway, his attention was attracted to the large bodies of men and women with packs at their backs, who were standing up in that part of the train, where they could be carried for 2*d.* or 3*d.* a distance of eight or nine miles, and, on enquiry, he was told that, in consequence of the railroad, these people had forsaken the cellars in which they had resided in Manchester and Salford, and were now living in little cottages in the country. They now lived in houses for 2*l.* instead of paying 5*l.* for cellars. This might account for the houses being uninhabited as the glut of manufactures might account for the want of prosperity. He believed that the true way of removing the present pressure under which the manufacturing interest laboured was to reduce the amount of goods manufactured, and return to the old system of carrying on business. Was the House aware of the real state of the case as respected the protection given to manufactures? The manufacture of cotton, if he was not mistaken, enjoyed a protection of from 20 to 25 per cent. [*Several Members*, "10 per cent."] Now, it was singular, he thought, that during all the discussions about the Corn-laws they never heard anything, not a word, of the protection given to cotton. Whether they repealed the Corn-laws or not, one thing was clear, that foreigners were cherishing their own manufactures most tenaciously and would persist in doing so and in competing with us; and the manufacturers of this country showed that they thought so too, by requiring protection for their cotton manufacture. As for the speech of the hon. Gentleman, opposite, who had an estate in Ireland but a seat in England, he had no doubt that no attempts had been left untried to inoculate the people of Rochdale with the virus of anti-Corn-law opinions, and so the speech of the hon. Gentleman was sufficiently accounted for. Much had been said of the extent to which bribery had been carried on in the last election. Now, there were many ways of bribing; there were many ways of treating. They might treat, and they might promise to treat, and he believed there never was an election where promises to treat were carried to a greater extent than was done in the last. In fact, it was a national promise. Her Majesty's late Ministers promised to treat the people with a big loaf for a little penny. The cry went out to all the constituencies. Yet, in spite of that, the constituencies had returned a vast majority of the opponents of her Majesty's late Ministers. Moreover, it must be remembered that there were now in this country two elections everywhere,—one on the day of nomination, the other on the polling pay. On the former it was a mixed election, made by the people generally as well as electors on a show of hands; and he believed that if hon. Members inquired they would find that the election by show of hands was, in a great majority of cases, in favour of the Conservative candidates. Gentlemen might smile but the truth would come out by and by, when the election petitions, of which there were a great number, came to be disposed of. Then it would be shown on which side the bribery was, when the right hon. Baronet should have had time fully and fairly to consider all the disastrous circumstances in which the country was at present involved. Why should the period necessary for such a task be denied the right hon. Baronet? The late Ministry had a much longer time given them to digest their late measures—they had taken from August, 1840, to April, to consider the voluminous report in which the hon. and learned doctor (Dr. Bowring) and other hon. doctors opposite, figured so conspicuously; and having taken all this time to consider the matter, they had determined to take the sense of the country on their policy. But if the Poor-law had really been that law which the noble Lord had always represented it to be—namely, a law framed for the benefit of the people, why was it not permitted to go to the hustings too, and why did the noble Lord postpone the re-consideration of the measure until after the election? The reason was, that the Poor-law was not popular, and therefore the noble Lord shrunk from going before the people with it, and postponed the re-consideration until a future day, advising instead that the cry of the big loaf should be got up throughout the country. That course in his (Mr. Hardy's) opinion, was not fair; for the Poor-law was that law of all others in which the poorer classes were interested, and they ought to have had the full state of the question pla d before them at the election.

Mr. *C. Hindley* had not intended to take part in this discussion, but after the extraordinary speech of the hon. Member, who was the representative of a commercial community, he could not discharge his duty to the House if he remained silent. He did not know whether the constituents of the hon. and learned Member were leaving their houses to enjoy the fine air of the country; but his own constituents were not enjoying any such pleasure. If the statements of the hon. Members for Salford and Manchester were true as to the number of houses uninhabited, it was not because the families had left them for the sake of better air, but because five or six families now dwelt in one house, not being able to pay the rates and rents as they did formerly. They were next told by the hon. Member that the present evils were attributable to over production, but he asked the House where there was evidence that there were too many articles in calicoes, or linens, or woollens, amongst the population? What would they say when he told them that there were hundreds and thousands of the individuals who made these articles and were not able to purchase them. The people had not too many calicoes or too many coats, but too little food. He said it was the duty of the House to consider the means of giving them more food. He asserted that there was not a more industrious population than the working population of this country, and there was no country in which labour ill paid. He remembered when he was at Eberfelt, that a manufacturer told him he would rather pay a good English workman four dollars a day than employ one of his own at one-fifth the sum. He now wished only to address one word to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government. In the course of his speech on the want of confidence debate, the right hon. Gentleman had asked how it was possible that the administration of the Poor-law could be so remiss in the country. During a recent visit to the country, he had been called upon for charity to relieve the sufferings of a workman who had been obliged to leave one master in consequence of the improvements in machinery, which had taken away all demand for his labour in spinning, and he had gone from one master to another till he was again thrown out of employment by the failure of his employer. He said to the man, "with the improvements constantly making in spinning, do you think that you will be able to get employment? had you not better go to the parish?" The man replied, "To the parish I have gone"—it was to the township of Royton, in the parish of Oldham; and what did the man with his wife and three children get? Why, 1*s.* 6*d.* a week to support the five persons in his family; and this was the allowance to support a man who had fallen into distress, not in consequence of any fault of his own, but because there had been improvements in machinery, and because his employer had failed, For, himself, he was no party man, and he did not care which party was in power, so that the party in power would act for the advantage of the people of England; and when he found such circumstances as he had related, he was bound to ask was there no remedy? Yet the right hon. Baronet proposed to renew the Poor-law Bill for nine months without alteration, and would deprive this poor man of an appeal to the magistrates, or any other source, from the merciless frugality of this relieving officer. The people were compelled to starve, or to go into the bastiles. Had it not been for the statements of the hon. Member he would not have risen, but he could not in justice allow those remarks to pass; the people whom he represented were full of apprehension for the future, and of suffering for the present, and he implored the right hon. Baronet to take measures at the earliest moment to raise the condition of the suffering classes.

Mr. *Milnes:* I agree, Sir, with the hon. Gentleman who has last spoken, that the operation of the Poor-law and that of the Corn-law is closely connected, and thus I am justified in asking hon. Gentlemen opposite to allow the same privilege to my right hon. Friend with regard to the Corn-laws, that the hon. Member for Finsbury, the stern and determined advocate for the repeal of the Poor-law has not been unwilling to award him. The question of the Corn-law is deep in the mind of the people of England, and they do not wish it to be hastily and triflingly dealt with. It is a question, that has driven and twisted its roots into every interest of the country, and they cannot be violently torn up without great peril to the whole community. And therefore, am I surprised, that her Majesty's late advisers should, with the tumult of the late elections in their ears, require my hon. Friend to come down with some absolute panacea to remedy all these evils. I believe such a panacea to be in the hand of no living man. And in fact, this seems to me to be the real distinction between the late and the present Government, that while they laid so much stress on their financial specific, her Majesty's present Ministers would endeavour in a spirit of calm and earnest inquiry to trace these disastrous effects to their just causes, and would then, and only then, lay their deliberate judgment before the House, and I must admit, that I do not anticipate from that judgment any of those immediate and startling effects which hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to expect. If my right hon. Friend were to hold out any such hope, I do verily believe he would be deceiving the country. These are not evils to be so remedied. Do not hon. Gentlemen opposite declare that these are no momentary or chance abuses, but that they are profound social diseases growing out of a long course of corrupt legislation, and were not her Majesty's Ministers "*particeps criminis*" till within a few weeks of their dismissal? And in this case, what right have you to demand a sudden and empirical cure? I do not know that I should have troubled the House on this occasion but for two remarks that fell from the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the first was, that it was our business to keep the country in mind as well as the House of Commons. Sir, I will not admit this distinction. We sit here representatives of the will of the people of England—at least, so says the Reform Bill. An opposition may be conducted in two ways—it may be of that corrective and critical character, which would render it a most useful part of the Legislature, or it may be of that factious nature, which, not recognizing in the present House of Commons the due expression of the opinion of the people of England, thinks that the first step to any ultimate good must be a reform of the Reform Bill. I see no middle line between these two, and I would put it to the noble Lord, who commenced this debate, whether this latter position is reconcileable with his repeated declarations of finality and the resistance to organic change, which of late years he has manfully maintained, at least as regards England. The second remark of the late noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs was, that free trade was good *per se*, and that its advantages did not depend on the acts or engagements of foreign powers. Now Sir, I have heard from an old English moralist, that adultery is so great a crime that it can only be committed by two persons, and analogically it seems to me that free trade is only so great and absolute a good when it takes place between two consenting parties. But the principle of the noble Lord would put all intermutual confidence cut of the question, and this appears to me the most important feature in the case. And, as hon. Gentlemen are inclined to dwell on this comparison more than I intended, I will conclude by stating my confidence, that the right hon. Baronet will continue to profess and propogate the principles of free trade in a fair and legitimate way without having resource to any of the questionable means by which her Majesty's late Ministers intended to accomplish their purposes.

Mr. *V. Smith* could at last congratulate the House, that the hon. Gentleman had laid down the principle on which his right hon. Friend would conduct his administration, and that was the principle of legitimate propagation: the principle, not of adulterate, but of legal free trade, would be amply undertaken on the assurance of the hon. Gentleman by this new Ministry. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had not confined himself to promises on the part of the right hon. Baronet's Government, but he had laid down the course that the Opposition would adopt, and he had complained of its factious nature. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman would not adopt the explanation made by the hon. Gentleman, and he hoped that in the few observations to which he should confine himself, and which he had intended to address to the House before the speech of the hon. Gentleman, he should not merit the appellation of factious. There had been in the memory of man an opposition which had declared "We will obstruct and oppose all your measures." To an obstructive opposition he believed he never had been, and never would be a party. The only object of his then rising was not because they (the Opposition) found fault because there was no panacea, which the hon. Gentleman declared, and he agreed with him (the right hon. Baronet) never would produce, or with the silence that prevailed as to the future measures of the Government, although he might consider it slighting to the House and to the country; but the object of his attack, if attack it could be called, was a very different error, and one for which the right hon. Gentleman was not often reproached — the error of indiscretion. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the future financial difficulties of the country, and he had dwelt particularly upon the colonial difficulties. As this affected a department with which he (Mr. V. Smith) had been recently connected, he trusted that he would not be thought irregular if he referred to it. It appeared that, although from the trouble of forming his Ministry, the right hon. Gentleman could not enter upon a consideration of the many papers by which he would have been enabled to produce any measures, he had dipped into a recent paper containing the despatch of Sir George Gipps, the governor of New South Wales, and the answer to that despatch of his noble Friend (Lord J. Russell), and upon that information the right hon. Gentleman had told the House, that the colonies of New South Wales, of South Australia, and of New Zealand were in a state approaching to a national bankruptcy. The error into which hon. Gentlemen opposite would run, would be great if the right hon. Gentleman's statements should induce them to believe that such was the condition of these colonies. The paper which had been produced to the House certainly stated, that in New South Wales, the governor, Sir George Gipps, had issued orders for immigration bounties to an enormous extent, but the reason for this conduct on the part of Sir George Gipps, who had acted as preceding governors had done, in issuing these bounty orders, being for sums given to persons who should land in safety healthy immigrants, was to promote immigration, and he had issued the large number of orders, because "as each permission remained only in force two years, no inconvenience was likely to arise from the practice," and it would cause no distress in the colony. He admitted that this was not a sound reason, but the orders of his noble Friend would prevent any difficulty occurring to the colony, because all the bounty orders were to be brought to the emigration commissioners before the 1st of September last, and after the 1st of November next, no emigrants to claim the bounties could proceed to the colonies. It was clear, therefore, that after that time there would be a cessation of emigration till the right hon. Gentleman, or the noble Lord at the head of the colonial department, should have heard from Sir George Gipps. The effect of this order of his noble Friend would be, that no mischief would accrue to the colonies, although some difficulties might be experienced by the holders of bounty orders in this country. The right hon. Gentleman had done much worse by holding out to the people of this country any doubt as to a national failure in New South Wales. From the information he had been able to gather, he believed it to be one of the most prosperous of her Majesty's colonies. And with respect to New Zealand, it was perfectly true that the governor had called upon New South Wales, being at the time a dependency of that colony, though it was now a separate colony, for a larger amount of money than had been expected. Because, like all governors, the governor of New Zealand had taken to heart the peculiar interests of the colonists under him, and did not pay so much attention to the treasury at home. He believed that this was only a branch of the amicable differences that had arisen between the Colonial-office and the governors. The country ought not to entertain the impression that the colonies of New South Wales or of New Zealand are in a state of irremediable distress, and, therefore, he had been tempted to trouble the House with these few observations to prevent the persons who were flocking by thousands from this country to these colonies, from believing that they will find the progress of their prosperity would be checked by any national bankruptcy on their arrival there; that the people might know, although the House should not propound or pass any measures for their relief here, that if they leave this country for those colonies in despair their condition will not be equally destitute and hopeless there.

Sir *Robert Peel* in explanation, only wished to refer to the despatch of the 16th July, 1841, addressed by Lord John Russell to Sir George Gipps. The noble Lord said,

"I have received your despatch of the 1st February, 1841, marked 'confidential,' in which you report to me the commercial embarrassment which had existed for the preceding three months. . . . I cannot receive your report of occurences so disastrous. (Let them mark the terms) occurrences so disastrous as those which you have now announced to me, without adverting to the question, whether your government may not be in some sense responsible for these evils, however far beyond your power the correction of them may be. . . . . The same mail has brought me your despatch on the subject of bounties on emigration. From that despatch I learn that you have given orders for bounty, payable within two years, for no less a sum than 979,562*l*."

And then the noble Lord went on to say.

> "On the part of her Majesty's Government, I must disclaim any responsibility for this proceeding, and any obligation to ratify your engagements to the enormous extent to which you have entered into them."

He (Sir R. Peel) gave the noble Lord entire credit for the prompt measures he had taken to prevent the evils to the colony, but if he read this despatch, he could but feel great anxiety for the difficulties of the colony, and for providing a remedy.

Lord *John Russell* in explanation said, that he certainly had viewed the state of things represented by Sir George Gipps with very considerable apprehension, but he did not look upon the mischief likely to be produced as being so great as was suggested, because the annual produce derivable from the land sales, about 158,000*l*., would nearly supply the amount of the bounty orders usually issued.

Mr. *Fielden* begged to direct the attention of the House to the deplorable distress that existed throughout the whole county of Lancaster, and in other manufacturing districts. He thought the House should not prorogue until something had been done to remedy this frightful state of things. He was astonished too to find that the cruelties of the new poor law were to be continued for another year: and it was with surprise he found the hon. Member for Finsbury allowing the Poor-law commissioners to continue in power a single hour after the 31st of December. He (Mr. Fielden) would remind the House of the number of petitions that had been presented on this painful subject, especially one from Manchester, signed by 50,000 persons, praying that the authority of the commissioners, should not be extended a single hour after the 31st of December. But this prolongation ought to make the House more feelingly alive to the distress which they wanted but the will to alleviate, for they already had the power—for surely the Government and Parliament could do this; let them then determine not to prorogue Parliament until something had been done. The people of England were as well able to produce every necessary now as at any period of our history; the cause of the change was, that they had no longer in their own hands the fruit of their labour, but it was wrung from them by excessive taxation—whether it was from taxes upon corn or upon sugar it mattered not; but, disguise it as you might, the great cause of the present alarming distress of the people was the excessive taxation under which they laboured. Within a month the House could adopt measures that would give confidence and hope to the people. It was, therefore, their duty to enter into the consideration of this question in a committee of the whole House. If it would not do so he, at least, would record his opinion of what ought to be done in these words: "Resolved, that the distress of the working people at the present time is so great through the country, but particularly in the manufacturing districts, that it is the duty of this House to make instant inquiry into the cause and extent of such distress, and devise means to remedy it; and, at all events, to vote no supply of money until such inquiry be made." He believed if that House did its duty, and applied an early remedy to the distress that existed, old England would yet right herself, but if that remedy were long delayed, they would have occasion deeply to regret the consequence. It was, at least, the bounden duty of that House to inquire into the cause of that distress. Some persons had said that the principal cause of the pressure on the manufacturing districts was over-speculation and over-production. He admitted that the production in manufactures had for some time past exceeded the demand, but the distress was not the consequence of that over-production; on the contrary, he believed that the over-production had been occasioned by the depression which had weighed upon our manufacturing population. The people were taxed far beyond their ability to pay, and the taxes so wrung from them were expended in extravagance and waste; looking, then, at this state of things, and at the distress and destitution which prevailed, it was only reasonable to expect that if that House refused to consider the condition of the people, and to apply a remedy to the evil, the result would be revolution. He would conclude by moving his amendment in the terms he had already stated.

Dr. *Bowring* seconded the resolution. He thanked the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) for his attention to a case which he had had the honour to call to his notice, and all he asked of him and of those around him was that the same sympathy which had been already extended to the sufferings of one might be dealt out to the sufferings of all. The poor might be told to wait, but waiting was very difficult for the suffering many. If hon. Members opposite would only consent to look into the condition of the poor, it could not but be felt that they would ill discharge the duties which they had undertaken, unless they provided a remedy for their distresses. At home, and abroad, great demands were made on the attention of the House. At home, sufferings existed which could not be denied. The case, to which he had before alluded, afforded ample proof of this fact, for the report of the relieving officer was sufficient to establish it. He said that the pauper had applied for relief three months before, and he had made inquiries; he found that the man was in work, and that he earned at the rate of 3*s*. per head for his family per week; the standard which had been adopted by the guardians was 2*s*. 3*d*., and it was not a case, therefore, for relief: no assistance was given, and no further application was made until a demand was made for a coffin, and for money to pay the funeral dues. He did not complain of the conduct of the guardians on this occasion, for he had reason to believe that they were not cognizant of the facts: but he begged the House to bear in mind that there were thousands and tens of thousands of suffering beings whom the Poor-law did not reach, and for whom the commissioners could find no remedy. There was a vast deal of solitary sorrow associated with honourable and high-minded pride, which suffered much—ay, even to death, before its tale of misery was told. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool had stated his belief that the Corn-laws were not among the prominent causes of the distresses which existed; but he had not denied the existence of those distresses, and he had not said that the House of Commons was not called upon to look into their causes, and to see whether they could not discover a remedy for them. Connected with these sufferings there was much of political discontent, in which there was so much of real grievance, that their consideration was absolutely necessary. He prayed that the people might not plead in vain, or their condition would be most painful.

The House divided on the question that the Order of the Day for the Committee of Supply be read—Ayes 149; Noes 41: Majority 108.

List of the AYES.

Acland,T. D.
Ackers, J.
Acton, Colonel
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Ashley, Lord
Attwood, J.
Bagot, hon. W.
Bailey, J.
Baird, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Barrington, Viscount
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen Lord
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruce, Lord
Buck, L. W.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Campbell, A.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Chelsea, Viscount
Chetwode, Sir J.
Cholmondeley,hon. H.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Cochrane, A.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Collett, W. R.
Cresswell, C.
Cripps, W.
Dawney, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dowdeswell, W.
Duffield, T.
Dugdale, W. S.
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ferrand, W. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, W. E.
Gore, W. O.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, H.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge,rt. hn.Sir H.
Hardy, J.
Hawkes, T.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hoskins, K.
Hughes, W. B.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irton, S.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Ker, D. S.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mac Geachy, F. A.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Masterman, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Miles, P. W. S.
Miles, W.

Milnes, R. M.
Morgan, O.
Murray, C. R. S.
Neville, R.
O'Brien, A. S.
Owen, Sir J.
Packe, C. W.
Palmer, R.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pemberton, T.
Planta, rt. hon. J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Pollock, Sir F.
Reade, W. M.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Round, C. G.
Round, J.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Russell, C.
Sandon, Viscount
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Scott, hon. F.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smith, A.
Smyth, Sir G.
Smythe, hon. G.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, F.
Tollemache, J.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Villiers, Viscount
Vivian, J. E.
Waddington, H. S.
Wigram, J.
Wood, Colonel T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel

TELLERS.

Freemantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

List of the Noes.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Brotherton, J.
Cave, hon. R. O.
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Crawford, W. S.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
Ebrington, Viscount
Ellis, W.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Fox, C. R.
Gill, T.
Gore, hn. Captain
Granger, T. C.
Harford, S.
Harris, J. Q.
Hindley, C.
Howard, Sir R.
Jardine, W.
Jervis, J.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Napier, Sir C.
O'Connell, M. J.
Parker, J.
Pechell, Captain
Plumridge, Captain
Ponsonby, hn. C. F. A. C.
Rawdon, Colonel
Rennie, G.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Thornely, T.
Tufnell, H.
Vane, Lord H.
Villiers, hn. C. P.
Wakley, T.
Ward, H. G.
Wigney, I. N.
Williams, W.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Fielden, J.
Bowring, Dr.

Order of the Day read.

Supply — Miscellaneous Estimates.] Mr. *W. Williams* hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not press the motion for going into committee of supply at that late hour. It had been the custom under the late Government to oppose all votes after twelve, and if the right hon. Gentleman now persisted in the motion, he (Mr. Williams) would feel it necessary to that a few observations before the Speaker left the chair.

Sir *R. Peel* was far from wishing to oppose the wishes of the House, but he hoped that there would not be any objection to the Speaker leaving the chair, in order that he might propose a Gentleman as chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and of private bills.

Mr. *Williams* said, his objection applied to items of the estimates, and he should not, therefore, offer any opposition to the wish of the right hon. Gentleman.

The House to go into Committee of Supply.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that it appeared to him to be desirable to adhere to the practice of the House in appointing a Gentleman to be chairman of committees of ways and means who should also have the charge of attending to unopposed private bills. In the selection of the Gentleman he was about to propose to the House, he had been mainly guided by a consideration of the time which he had devoted to the private business of the House, and he had also proposed to that Gentleman to take, in addition, the charge of committees on public business, should it be the pleasure of the House instead of Members being indiscriminately called upon to take the chair on public bills. To that arrangement the Gentleman to whom he referred had agreed; he therefore proposed Mr. Greene as chairman of committees of ways and means, and he moved that that hon. Gentleman do take the chair.

Mr. *Greene* (having taken the chair) thanked the right hon. Baronet for having proposed him. At the same time he must beg the indulgence of the House if, in the earlier part of the discharge of his duties, he found some difficulty. He felt an additional difficulty in consequence of the efficient manner in which the duties of the office had for some years past been discharged. He had also to beg the assistance of the House in preserving the order necessary in conducting the business as Gentlemen must be aware, that from the very nature of the business in committee, it was infinitely more difficult to preserve order, than when the deliberations of the House were conducted in more solemn form, with the Speaker in the Chair. In conclusion, he could only say, that he should endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor, in the care, zeal, and assiduity with which he would discharge the duties of the office, that had been conferred upon him.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he should propose the first vote, and then move, that the Chairman do report progress.

Sir *G. Clerk*, then moved that the sum of 116,117*l.* be granted to her Majesty to complete the charge of the commissariat department to the 31st March, 1842.

Mr. *W. Williams* objected to the vote as being extravagant, and exceeding any that had been proposed during the last twenty years. The right hon. Gentleman had agreed to take the estimates as prepared by the late Government; but, looking to the dilapidated state of the finances, as represented by the right hon. Gentleman, he (Mr. Williams) thought it was necessary, that they should look to those points of expenditure in which they could effect reductions. The Miscellaneous Estimates for the present year amounted to 2,898,000*l.*, those for 1830 to only 2,150,000*l.*, making a clear increase of 748,000*l.* upon the present year. He would have liked to see the present Government commencing their first money votes by the adoption of a system of economy, though he was very sorry to say, looking back to the expenditure of the last ten years, that the late Government had not afforded them the example which he wished them to follow. Had that Government practised economy, and adopted those reductions which had been recommended in that House, he doubted very much whether hon. Gentlemen opposite would occupy their present positions.

Vote agreed to, as also a vote of 25,000*l.* for the half-pay pensions and allowances of the Commissariat Department.

Sir *George Clerk* then proposed a vote of 54,000*l.* to complete the expenditure consequent on the late insurrection in Canada.

Mr. *Jervis* suggested the propriety of postponing the votes for the Miscellaneous Estimates until a future day, as, no doubt, many hon. Gentlemen had observations to make with respect to several of them.

Vote postponed.

House resumed.—Committee to sit again.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.] On the motion of Sir G. Clerk, that the Administration of Justice Bill be read a second time,

The *Speaker* said, it appeared to him, that there were certain clauses in this bill affecting the privileges of the House. It would, therefore, be a matter for consideration whether the bill should be proceeded with.

Sir *R. Peel* observed, that under the circumstance of money clauses being contained in the bill, the measure no doubt ought to be postponed. At the same time, he trusted, that the House of Lords would adopt a new bill, founded on the present one, when sent up from that House. He moved, that the bill be put off for six months.

The second reading put off for six months.

The House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, September 20, 1841.

THE SLAVE TRADE.] Lord *Brougham* said, he held in his hand a petition to which he would beg to call the earnest attention of the House, as it related to a subject of the deepest importance. It was from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, by whose chairman it was signed; but though, according to the forms of their Lordships' House, it must be taken only as the petition of the individual who signed it, there could be no doubt that it spoke the sentiments of the very respectable body from whom it came. After all the laws which had been passed in this and in many foreign countries for putting down the Slave-trade, it was greatly to be regretted that British capital and British skill were still found engaged in that infernal traffic. The petitioners stated, that several British mining companies were established in the Brazils and Cuba, that these mines were worked chiefly by slaves, and that British capital was employed by British subjects in the purchase of newly imported slaves from Africa, to supply the waste and mortality and other exigencies connected with those mines. Now, though it might be lawful for the subjects of some foreign countries to embark in the Slave-trade in those countries, it was not so with British subjects; for, no matter whether the trading in slaves in some foreign countries was illegal or not, if a British subject was proved to have been engaged in carrying on the Slave-trade in such countries he would be liable to be tried and convicted as a felon and a pirate, and to sentence of transportation for life, as the law now stood; but as it stood a few sessions back he would be liable to the punishment of death. The question then would arise, whether it would according to our law be considered a trading in slaves, to purchase newly-imported negroes from Africa? On that point there could be no manner of doubt that the British subject so employing his capital would subject himself on conviction to the penalty of transportation for life. The petitioners further complained that officers belonging to the British army and navy held appointments under the companies to which he had referred. They also stated, that British banking companies had been formed in those countries where the dealing ~~in~~ African slaves was carried on, and that these banking companies were the consignees of goods from British merchants, which goods they must know were used and could be used only as barter in the purchase of slaves. He did not mean to assert that those banking companies, or the consignees of British goods, even though they well knew the purposes to which they were to be applied, were, as the laws now stood, acting illegally, but according to the statement of the petitioners some of those parties went a step further—a step which, in his mind, left no doubt that they were acting in direct violation, not only of the spirit, but also of the letter of the law passed in this country for putting down the traffic in slaves, for it appeared that they did not dispose of the consigned goods at a price, but that it was a condition of the sale that the price was to be a share to a certain extent in the profits which were to be made from the dealing in slaves. Now it was quite clear that this was illegal, and subjected all the British subjects engaged in it to the penalties he had mentioned. He did not state, that there was direct evidence of this as against the merchants and companies referred to, but in a report made byc ommissioners sent out to the African coast it was stated, that goods sent to that coast were not paid for at a fixed price, but that the sale was made on a condition that the vendors of the goods should share in the profits of the Slave-trade. Such a dealing was no doubt against the spirit of our laws against slave-trading, and he hoped it would be treated as felony and piracy. The petitioners also stated, that large consignments were sent out of fetters and shackles to the Brazils and to Cuba, the parties sending them well knowing the uses to which they were to be applied. He did not say, that as the law against slave-dealing now stood such trading as this came within its prohibitions, but there could be no doubt that the law required amendments, so as to bring such practices within its reach. The petitioners went on to say, that vessels were being built in this country which, from their structure and internal arrangement, could leave no doubt that they were intended for the Slave-trade. One vessel was now nearly completed in one of our best harbours, which was to be sent to the Havannah, and no doubt thence to the coast of Africa. Under these circumstances the petitioners prayed their Lordships to extend the provisions of the 5th of George 4th, to such dealings in slaves as they had described, and to appoint a committee to inquire into the whole of the allegations of the petitioners. He would earnestly urge their Lordships to comply with the prayer of the petitioners, which sought for inquiry. He hoped his noble Friend at the head of the Board of Trade, would have no objection to the production of the report of Dr. Madden, which contained some important facts as to the state of slave trading on the western coast of Africa.

The Earl of *Ripon* said, that the report referred to by his noble and learned Friend was not addressed to the department over which he had the honour to preside. It was addressed to one of the Secretaries of State, and as it was not in his office he was not prepared to say whether it was a document which he could lay before the House. He would, however, make inquiry on the subject. As to the other part of the prayer of the petition for inquiry, he thought if it could be shown that any British subjects were engaged in that degrading traffic it would be a ground for the interference of Parliament. If his noble and learned Friend was prepared to show that, in a moral point of view, British subjects were implicated in that odious traffic, it would form a ground for inquiry.

Lord *Brougham* said, that the document to which he alluded had been addressed to Lord John Russell. As to the remark of his noble Friend about the proof of the statements of the petition, he begged to be understood as not at all pledging himself for the proof of any one of them. He spoke on the assumption that the petitioners could prove their own statements.

Petition laid on the Table.

New Houses of Parliament—Ventilation.] The Duke of *Wellington* laid (by command) on the Table copies of the correspondence between the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, on a report of the architect of the new Houses of Parliament relating to their warming and ventilation, and also to rendering them fireproof. The noble Duke observed, that it was desirable that this report should be taken into consideration without delay, by committees of both Houses. He would propose a similar course to that adopted last year, when the subject was considered by the joint committees. He would therefore move, "That the Report be referred to a select committee."—Committee appointed.

Local Courts.] Lord *Cottenham* observed, that it might be convenient to the House if he at once stated the course which he intended to pursue with regard to those bills, relating to the administration of justice, which he had laid on the Table at the commencement of the Session. He did not suppose that it would be possible before the close of the Session to obtain sufficient time to give them that ample consideration which their importance required; he should therefore withdraw them for the present Session. He was anxious, however, to ensure the attention of the House to the subject matter of these bills, and more especially that of his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack, so that these measures might—if the principle was adopted by the House—be carried out as completely as possible. The chief object of these bills was the establishment of courts with local jurisdiction throughout the country, not only for the recovery of small debts, but also for the trial of questions connected with property to a certain amount. He conceived that the greatest possible public benefit would be derived from the establishment of these courts, which also might be constituted in such a way as to be most useful for several legal purposes. For instance, in proceedings in the Court of Chancery it was necessary very often to institute inquiries in the country which at present were conducted in a way not the most satisfactory, and which at the same time were attended with very great expense. Now, these courts might be rendered most useful in investigations of this nature. Again, the greatest advantages had resulted from the constitution of the present Court of Bankruptcy in London, and many of the advantages which were experienced in the metropolis from this court might be extended to the country, by giving to those local courts some of the powers now exercised by the Bankruptcy Court. Jurisdiction also in inquiries in lunacy cases might safely be entrusted to these courts. He also proposed that the judges of these courts should have power of hearing and determining in insolvent cases. Another provision of the measures which he had prepared was to unite the Insolvent Court and the Court of Bankruptcy. The latter, as regarded the Court of Review, had hardly any business, while the Insolvent Court was overpressed. The House was aware that there had been a great diminution in the number of judges in the Court of Review. The number of judges in that court constituted by the Bankruptcy Act was five; one vacancy had occurred which had not been filled up, and he (Lord Cottenham), during the period in which he had the honour of holding the seals, had transferred two of the other judges of this court to other judicial offices, where their services were required. Under these circumstances there was only one judge in the Court of Review, while the business was not sufficient to occupy his time. He had already stated, that the pressure of business was very great in the Insolvent Court, and a considerable portion of the time of the judges of that court was taken up in the circuits. Now, if the local courts had jurisdiction in insolvency, it would greatly relieve the Insolvent Court in London. It would be in the recollection of many noble Lords, that he had appointed a commission composed of a number of Gentlemen engaged in various branches of trade, as well as in other pursuits. These commissioners had made a report, which was a very valuable document, and many of the recommendations in it he had embodied in these bills. He had felt it to be his duty to bring under the consideration of the House the results of the investigation of these gentlemen, and he trusted that noble Lords during the recess would turn their attention to the report he had alluded to, as well as to other documents on the subject, with the view to the full consideration of these bills, or others having a similar objectin view. He would only further add, that he should not at present press these bills, but should bring them forward at an early period next Session.

Bills put off *sine die.*—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, September 20, 1841.

Minutes.] New Members. Sir James Graham, for Dorchester; Sir John Nicholl, for Cardiff.

Bills. Read first time:—Administration of Justice (No. 2). —Read second time:—Royal Gardens; Frogmore Lodge; Lunatics.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Plumptre, from various places in Kent, Nottingham, and Monmouthshire, against the Grant to Maynooth.—By Dr. Bowring, from Dublin, for the Restoration of the Rajah of Sattara.—By Mr. Cobden, from Abingdon, and Milton Abbott, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Sir R. Inglis, from Adam Murray, to prevent loss from the Defalcation of an Official Assignee.—By Mr. Wakley, from a Property Tax Association, for a Tax on Property.

Church Extension.] On the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of Supply being read,

Mr. *Hawes* begged to ask a question of the hon. Baronet, the Member for the University of Oxford, whether it was his intention to renew this Session, or next Session, the motion which he made last Session of Parliament for an address to the Crown, praying for some provision for church extension.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, that it was not his intention in the course of the present Session to renew the motion for church extension, of which he had given notice last Session of Parliament. With respect to any motion which might be made in another Session of Parliament, it was sufficient for him to postpone any answer, and request the House to postpone requiring it till that Session arrived.

Subject at an end.

Vacation of Seats.] Mr. *Tufnell* Having heard that the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Ripon, had accepted the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, he wished to know the reason why a new writ had not been moved for for Ripon.

Sir *E. Sugden* said, those measures were not completed which would displace the former officers.

Sir *R. Peel* said, no change whatever had as yet been made. It was the intention that the appointment alluded to by Mr. Tufnell should be made, but the ceremony even of kissing hands had not yet taken place.

State of the Country.—Ireland.] Mr. *Otway Cave* said, I rise, Sir, in the first place, to enter, before you leave the chair, my humble protest against the course which the majority of this House, under the guidance of the right hon. Baron opposite, has thought proper to pursue with regard to the postponement of the great question of the Corn-laws; and I fear and lament that that course will be considered by the people of this country to be marked by inhumanity, impolicy, and gross inconsistency. The noble Duke, who is the organ of the Government in the other House, has told us that every poor man in England can obtain a competency if he be sober and industrious. My noble Friend, the Member for Liverpool, has said, that the distress of the working classes is not connected with the Corn-laws. The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, says, "He who lays the axe to the root of protection—who, by forced enactments, would decree, that diminished produce should not be compensated by high price —would depreciate native industry and prove fatal to the agricultural interest." So, then, Sir, there is a class in this country—a class assuming to rule and to feed us—who declare that whenever they fail in the discharge of these giant functions, of this self-imposed and awful responsibility, the consequences of their failure shall fall, not on their pockets, but on the nation's life; that if corn be dear and scarce, dear and scarce it shall remain; and that at any sacrifice of human life, at any increase of crime and misery, high rents and high prices must be kept up; and then last, and not least, comes the right hon. Baronet, the head of the Administration, and shuts the doors of this House in the face of a starving population, telling them that five months' hence he will take their case into consideration. I should be sorry to use too strong language, or I should say, in the words of my hon. Friend, the Member for Finsbury, that such language and such treatment are "enough to drive the working-classes mad." I think the course pursued by this House impolitic, because it teaches the suffering classes to look for redress to other quarters than this House; and when their complaints are silenced—not by argument, but by mere numerical majority—it makes them remember, that though we may have a numerical superiority here, they have a greater majority elsewhere. For the inconsistency of the party opposite I have only to refer to the speech of the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, in April last, when the measures were announced that were to be contained in the budget; the delay of a month on such a question as the Corn-laws was then pronounced by that right hon. Gentleman an intolerable evil; four months had elapsed since that time, and yet he now proposes to postpone it for five months longer. These facts will not be lost upon the country. Already the new Tory alliance totters. The Chartists are beginning to be sorry for the victory they have helped the Conservative party to achieve. It is hazardous to deal in political predictions, but I do believe, that before the winter is over, the middle and working classes will make common cause for the repeal of the Corn-laws. They will join with those who are in reality their natural friends and protectors, and it will be impossible for the present Government to resist such a combination. Drowning men, it is said, "will catch at straws" and whatever may be said to the contrary, I believe that an impression prevailed at the late elections in England that the right hon. Baronet was possessed of some peculiar statecraft, some political panacea which would cure, or at least alleviate the evils of the country; this impression was strengthened by language held subsequently by the right hon. Baronet, in which he said, that if rival practitioners were dismissed, and if he were regularly "called in," he might give some salutary advice. His terms have now been complied with, however the reverse of generous; he has been regularly called in; in his own classical language, he has "pocketed his fee," and, in proportion to the hopes and the expectations that have been raised will be, as I think and fear, the anger and disappointment that will ensue. Then will a reaction in reality take place—then will the working classes regret that they have changed King Log for King Stork, and that, instead of lukewarm friends, or neutrals, they will find that they have powerful and uncomprising opponents. That no such disappointment may take place, I most devoutly wish, and if any real remedy be devised by the right hon. Baronet for the evils of the State, I, as an independent Member, will give him my humble support. But there is another subject to which I must now call his attention, and I have a question to ask to which, I trust, he will give an explicit answer: does he or does he not intend to bring forward Lord Stanley's Irish Registration Bill? He stated on Friday last, that his difficulties with respect to Ireland were removed; and much as I regret to differ from the noble Lord who sits beside me, I must say, that I cannot participate in the confidence, that he expressed in the present Cabinet, as regarded Ireland. I have no doubt whatever of the amiable characters and excellent dispositions of Lords De Grey and Eliot; but if they had the highest abilities and best dispositions in the world, they would be obliged to act in accordance with the wishes of the Cabinet at home; and when I see, that the high places in that Cabinet are filled by the present Lord Chancellor, and by the Members for Dorchester and North Lancashire, who hate Irish liberty with a perfect hatred, and who have given us no reason to suspect their change of opinion, and whom, if I believe to be sincere, I must also, therefore, believe to be most hostile to Ireland; I say, that seeing this, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that they will not have the power, although they may have the wish, to benefit that most unfortunate country. I fear, also, that the Irish themselves will see in these appointments only another proof of the contempt in which they think they are held by England, and that Ireland is only thought fit for an "*experimentum in corpore vili*," when they hear that two of the most unpractised of our statesmen are sent to try their "'prentice hands" upon her. Unless, therefore, I receive a plain and satisfactory answer to the question which it is my duty to put to the right hon. Baronet, I venture to tell him that agitation will begin in the sister kingdom in a way that will cause no slight embarrassment to his Government. There are many wrongs and grievances yet unredressed—the tithe question, though some may think it settled, is not dead, but sleeping, and the people in that country have been taught to know, not only their rights, but how to obtain them constitutionally. They well know the evils of agitation, but they think them preferable to the still greater evils of oppression; and I beg of this House to consider for a moment the hard dilemma in which so often they place the Irish people. If they make no strong opposition to their grievances, then they are told, that the quiet state they are in is a proof that no real grievances exist, or that they exist only in the imagination of their leaders. If, on the other hand, they make such demonstrations as cannot be mistaken then they are told, forsooth, as I myself have heard them told in this House, that their very resistance disqualifies them for redress, and that "we will not grant to clamour what we denied to justice." There is, however, another contingency to be contemplated, although the very thought of it makes me blush, as an Englishman; it may be, that the boast of the party opposite will be realised—that England will fall in love with Toryism, as they assert, and holding out her hands for the fetters, be base enough to ask to have masters; and, in that case, I tell this House, and through this House, the country, that to any such infamy as this, Ireland will not be a party. So long as you continue to advance in civil and religious liberty at home, so long as you promote the blessings of free institutions abroad—pursuing that course of foreign policy which has won for the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs the reluctant admiration of even political opponents; above all, if you give to Ireland every right and privilege that you claim for yourselves; so long will you fulfil the true conditions of the connection Ireland will derive advantage from, and be proud of it, and both countries will be eternally benefited. But if you choose to descend to the rank of a second-rate power in Europe; if, after degrading yourselves at home and abroad, you attempt to impose upon Ireland the evils of your own political vices and degeneracy, then will she fling at once her parchment union to the winds, and be justified before God and man in hoisting the standard of repeal; for anything will be better for her than Tory-Orange domination. I trust, that Ireland will be saved the necessity of any such step as this, and that the right hon. Baronet will take this humble admonition on my part in the same spirit in which it is given, and that by declaring that he will give up the late Irish Registration Bill (for which the newspapers and election petitions of his party appear to wish to pave the way, by every species of enormous fiction), he will allay the fears and suspicions on this subject, of such vital importance to the interest of Ireland.

Sir *R*. *Peel* rose, he said, to answer the question which had been put to him by the hon. Gentleman. He certainly did not intend to bring forward the identical bill that had been introduced in the last Session by his noble Friend (Lord Stanley); but in concert with his noble Friend and the House generally he should be exceedingly glad to correct such errors as notoriously existed in the system of Irish registration. He should, at the same time, be exceedingly unwilling, in attempting to correct those errors, that the franchise which it was intended to confer upon that part of the united empire under the Reform Bill, should suffer any limitation. It should be his endeavour, therefore, to reconcile these two objects—as he was sure it had been the aim and intention of his noble Friend—that was to say, the correction of admitted abuses in the mode of registration, with the preservation either of the same franchise, or a franchise to a similar extent as that conferred upon the people of Ireland by the Reform Bill. He had no immediate intention of bringing forward any measure on the subject; but he did intend taking the matter into consideration in conjunction with his noble Friend, and when their measure should be brought forward, he thought it would be found to have been framed with a studious endeavour to reconcile the two objects to which he had referred.

Subject at an end.

BOARDS OF ORDNANCE AND ADMIRALTY.] Sir *C. Napier* begged to call attention to one of the recent appointments of the right hon. Baronet. He could not conceive how the public service could be efficiently carried on in the absence of a navy officer at the head of the Board of Ordnance. He thought, also, that it was paying a bad compliment to the navy, in which there were 600 captains and 200 admirals, not to find one officer amongst them capable of being intrusted with the government of that board. Why, it would be really as absurd, he thought, to make him Lord Chancellor of England, as to place a civilian at the head of the Board of Ordnance; and he should not be at all surprised if the noble Lord who had been appointed to that office were unable to distinguish between a line-of-battle ship and a frigate. Besides, it was contrary to the usual practice.

Sir *R. Peel* could only assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman, that by the appointment referred to he did not mean to cast the slightest imputation or reflection upon the profession of which the hon. and gallant Gentleman was so distinguished an ornament. It was not fitting that he should enter into a discussion upon the question on the present occasion; but he must observe, that the practice of appointing a navy officer had not been invariably adhered to. To enter into a discussion of the question at present would oblige him to refer to the constitution of the board itself, and the officers who formed part of it. He believed, that the constitution of the board gave general satisfaction to the profession. [Sir *C. Napier*—No, no.] And as regarded this particular appointment, he thought he should be able to satisfy the House, that it had been made upon general views, for the good of the service and the advantage of the country, although it might be a question whether the practice of placing a civilian at the head of the Admiralty ought to be adhered to or not.

Sir *C. Napier* expressed a hope that the right hon. Baronet would take the first opportunity of correcting the error. He could assure the right hon. Baronet, that the officers of the navy were not content upon the subject, and Sir G. Cockburn himself had told him that the only proper way to rule the navy was by placing an admiral at the head of it.

Captain *Pechell* concurred in the sentiments expressed by his hon. and gallant Friend; and could only refer, in support of what his hon. and gallant Friend had stated, to the satisfaction which his late Majesty gave while at the head of the Admiralty, because he was a naval officer, and understood the nature of the service over which he presided. When the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Launceston, was at the Board of Ordnance some years ago, he admitted the evil of not having a naval officer connected with that department.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, as he had been referred to by the hon. and gallant Officer, he could only say, that during the five or six years he was at the Ordnance, there was no naval officer at the board, nor had any been appointed in the first instance by Lord Melbourne's Administration. The appointment of a naval officer to this department was therefore not an invariable rule, although he admitted, that advantage might arise from having a naval officer at the Board. With respect to the office of Surveyor-general of the Ordnance, his opinion was, that that office would be better filled by a military than a naval officer.

Captain *Plumridge* had nothing to offer in opposition to the appointment, as regarded the noble Lord himself; but still he thought it as necessary, that the navy should be ruled by a naval officer as the army by a military one.

Subject at an end.

SLAVE-TRADE.] In reply to Sir E. Wilmot,

Viscount *Palmerston* said, that information had been received by the late Government, stating, that as many, he believed, as six vessels were being fitted out at Hamburgh to be employed in the Slave-trade. He could not say whether that information were well founded, and, without implying any opinion one way or the other, he had communicated it to the Board of Admiralty, in order that the necessary directions might be given to the cruisers on the coast of Africa, in case the report should turn out to be true.

PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE.] Sir *Thomas Wilde* remarked, that a very important question had been brought before the House, with respect to his right hon. Friend (Sir E. Sugden), after accepting the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, retaining his seat in that House. The principle involved in this was a very important one, for it was declared, that a Member of the House having accepted office from the Crown should be remitted back to his constituents. This was imperatively required by the 4th and 5th Anne. But in this case it was said, that the act was not violated, because there were some ceremonies to be gone through, that had not yet been accomplished. It was said, that the patent of the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord Campbell) had not yet been recalled. He did not think, that fact of much importance, but the circumstance itself, as it occurred, appeared to him to be such, that he felt bound to say of it a more dangerous evasion of an Act of Parliament had never been attempted. The right hon. Baronet opposite had, by the authority of the Crown, offered to a Member of that House a high office, so high an office as that of Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He begged then to know whether the influence arising from that office was one that ought not to be remitted back to the constituents? The principle was particularly dangerous when there was a power of delaying the revocation of the patent which could confer office on the Member, who might in the meanwhile be voting the supplies, and on every question affecting the liberty and property of the subject. He wished now to say, that he intended to bring the matter distinctly before the House. At the same time he wished to say, that he desired to make no improper reference to his right hon. Friend, as he was one for whom no one could entertain a higher respect than he did. At the same time, high as was his regard for his right hon. Friend, he had a still higher regard for the privileges of the House, and the liberty of the people. He conceived, that his right hon. Friend continuing to occupy a seat in that House, was, under the circumstances, an evasion of the act of Parliament, and he should bring the matter before the House.

Sir *E. Sugden* said, that as he was not present at the early part of the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he could not make any reply to them; but he understood the hon. Member to say, that he (Sir Edward Sugden) was acting unconstitutionally in retaining his seat in that House, having accepted the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He would beg to say he did so, because he conceived that he did not legally fill that office, though he had consented to fill it. He considered it his duty to his constituents not to abandon the trust they reposed in him, until he had lost it in law. He would also say, that he had not voted on any question since he accepted that office, nor had he been even called upon to consider whether he ought to vote. That he mentioned as a fact, and without attaching importance to it. He had no intention to do an unconstitutional act; but he never was more surprised when, without the least notice given to him, he heard the speech of his hon, and learned Friend, and at the close of that speech, that he was spoken of in terms of civility. He wished that the civility was shown by acts, and not by the terms in which it was expressed. He believed he was standing on his right as Member for Ripon, and maintaining his place in that House. He did not wish to carry the principle to any inconvenient extent; and if it were the opinion of the House that he was stretching the constitutional principle, he would at once withdraw; but he did not consider he had lost his rights as a Member of Parliament, until he actually filled the office which he had accepted. At that moment he was not legally Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Lord Campbell still, legally speaking, held that office. It was not an acceptance of office, within the meaning of the act, until the appointment had actually taken place. It was not an acceptance to say he would accept. The minister might withdraw his offer. The office was held by patent, and the delivery of the Great Seal into his hand was certainly necessary before the appointment could take effect. That seal still remained in the custody of those to whom Lord Campbell had delivered it. The patents were not perfected, and therefore until they were so, and until all the necessary ceremonies had been gone through, he could not be considered as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He hoped the House would acquit him of any improper feeling, or of any presumption on the subject; but he considered that his constituents would have a right to accuse him of neglecting their interests, if he abstained from occupying his place as their representative, while he had a right by law to do so.

Sir *Thomas Wilde* wished to explain why he had not given notice to his right hon. Friend, and in doing so he would repeat those expressions of courtesy towards him which he had before used, although he knew that his right hon. Friend had a very peculiar method of acknowledging any courtesies. He was not aware when he entered the House, that it was the intention of his hon. Friend to put a question to the right hon. Baronet opposite on the subject; but that question having been put, he felt it his duty, when he heard the answer, to lose no time in giving notice of his intention to bring the subject before the House, and he had consequently no opportunity of giving notice to his right hon. Friend. In that intention he had been confirmed by the very dangerous doctrine laid down by his right hon. Friend, and to-morrow he would draw attention to the subject.

Lord *J. Russell* thought his hon. and learned Friend was quite right in having mentioned the subject, as the acceptance of the office by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, was publicly announced on Friday last. It was not a question of whether the right hon. Gentleman wished to retain his seat improperly, or to act against the desire of the House; but a question of considerable importance as to the interpretation which was to be put upon the Act of Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that there was not a proper acceptance of office until the office was actually filled. In several offices that could be done at once. The Secretaries of State received the seals of office upon their appointment, and their seats were vacated immediately after. But in many other offices in the state, such was not the practice. In the Board of Admiralty, it required no less than a week to make out the patent, and when he was appointed Paymaster of the Forces, it took three weeks to complete the appointment. It had always, as far as he remembered, been the custom, upon the formal acceptance of office, to move for a new writ in that House, in order that a new election might take place. If that were a right custom, it ought to be continued; but if the right hon. Gentleman were correct in saying that the office must be filled, then he (Lord J. Russell) should be disposed to say, that the practice ought to be uniform, and not to have different rules for different cases. The question had been raised in the case of Mr. Horsman, who had addressed his constituents, stating that he had accepted office, and who subsequently voted in the House. No further motion or discussion, however, had taken place on the subject, but that case having occurred, and the right hon. Gentleman having asserted positively that it was right that he, a Member of that House, accepting office from the hands of the Prime Minister, who spoke as the organ of the Crown, should retain his seat as Member for Ripon, it behoved the House to come to some decision upon the subject, and, without passing any censure on the right hon. Gentleman, or any one else, to adopt some uniform practice, and let the meaning of that law be understood which said, that any Member of that House being chosen to accept office or profit from the Crown, should be thereby declared to be unseated, and that a new writ should be issued for another election. —Subject at an end.

CONTINUANCE OF THE POOR-LAW.] Mr. *Yorke* wished to know from the right hon. Baronet opposite, whether there would be any difficulty in the way of the introduction into the Poor Law Bill which the right hon. Baronet had announced it to be his intention to propose a clause which would take from the Poor Law Commissioners a power which, directly or indirectly, they now had? The subject to which the clause which he contemplated referred, was that of the indiscriminate separation of man and wife.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he should be better prepared specifically to answer the question at the sitting of the House on the next day. But he could at once inform the hon. Gentleman, that he should take care to adopt such a course in reference to the new bill, as would not prevent any hon. Member from bringing the subject in question before the House.

Mr. *Yorke* felt obliged to the right hon. Baronet for the general assurance he had given. But, that his views on the subject might not be misunderstood, he would take leave to inform the right hon. Baronet, that should any difficulty arise in the introduction of such a clause into the bill now proposed by the right hon. Baronet, he should, as far as he was concerned, endeavour to procure its insertion in a second bill.—Subject at an end.

CORN FROM RUSSIA.] Mr. *Harcourt* rose to request from his noble Friend opposite, the Member for Tiverton, an explanation on the subject of a paper which had been some time since presented to that House, and which contained a communication from our consul at St. Petersburgh on the subject of the quantity of grain produced in a province of the Russian dominions. A portion of that paper had been quoted in the debate on the address by his right hon. Friend who was now at the head of the Government. Sir Edward Baynes, in that paper, said, "In order to give an idea of what this country can produce when the harvests are particularly good, I have been assured by one of the principal corn merchants of Ribinsk (one of the greatest grain marts on the Volga), that in 1835 the government of Tamboff alone produced 38,000,000 quarters of grain." In a statement subjoined the cost at first hand at St. Petersburgh was stated to be for wheat from 13*s.* 6*d.* to 14*s.* per imperial quarter. Now, this information appeared to him so extraordinary, not to say incredible, that had it not been communicated to the Government twelve months ago, and had he not presumed, from the attention that had been afforded to the subject, that probably some further inquiry had been made as to the truth of the statement, he would not have given much attention to the matter. But either this information was true, or it was not. If it was true, then, as it came out with the sanction of the authorities, it must necessarily have a very great effect on the opinions of the agricultural body in the impending discussions on the Corn-laws. For although the mere fact of the province of Tamboff having produced 38,000,000 quarters was in itself unimportant, yet when it was borne in mind that the population of the province did not amount to 1,500,000, it was quite clear that upon a yearly product of 38,000,000 quarters there would be an unconsumed surplus of 30,000,000. This was, of course, for many reasons, utterly incredible; but still, as a county Member, and one who felt no indisposition that his constituents should fully enter into the question of the Corn-laws whenever it was brought under consideration, with a view to see whether they might not be modified with some advantage to the consumer, without loss to the producer, and at the same time to the increase of the revenue, he was very unwilling indeed that unfounded impressions should go abroad as to the enormous quantity of corn which in good years could be poured into this country from others. But Tamboff was an inconsiderable province of Russia, and if the rest of that country were to produce corn at the same rate at which Tamboff was supposed to produce it, no Corn-laws would suffice to protect the corn trade of this country. Because it appeared that the first cost at St. Petersburgh was 14*s*., the charge of placing it on board was 3*s*. 2*d*. a quarter, and the charge for freight was only 5*s*. per quarter. Thus the whole expense of bringing the quarter of corn into the river here would be, according to this calculation, only 22*s*. 2*d*. So that the 8*s*. duty proposed by the late Government would, under such circumstances, be no protection whatever to the home grower when the average for the year was 40*s*. The calculations made by Mr. West of the whole produce of the united kingdom in 1814 and 1815 did not give a larger amount than did this calculation of the province of Tamboff; yet Tamboff was not half the territorial extent of England, containing only 24,000 square miles. If the supposed produce of Tamboff were compared with the produce of other provinces of the same empire, the error would be still more apparent. The produce of Podolia three years ago was 3,000,000 of quarters, of Volhynia less than 3,000,000. Now, it was impossible that those provinces which were notoriously fertile could have produced 3,000,000 of quarters annually, and that of Tamboff have produced 38,000,000. There was also an error in these returns as to the mode of calculating the cost price at first hand of the corn at St. Petersburgh. That calculation appeared to go upon a valuation of the bank note rouble at 11*d*. Now, the value of the silver rouble was only 10*d*.; and in reducing the price in rubles into English currency there would seem to have been some mistake made. He had risen under these circumstances to ask his noble Friend opposite if in the course of the last year any means had been afforded by communication from St. Petersburgh of ascertaining whether the report of the consul was worthy of credit, because. if it was not worthy of credit, such a paper ought not to be circulated with the sanction of authority among the agricultural body.

Viscount *Palmerston* thought that a reference to the context would at once show that the ciphers referred to by the hon. Gentleman were erroneous, and that some mistake had occurred in transcribing them. In the passage immediately preceding that referred to, Sir E. Baynes said, "supposing the cultivation to continue within its present limits, the provinces that supply St. Petersburgh could send down in the years of average crops, besides what is required for local consumption, from 175,000 to 210,000 imperial quarters of wheat;" and he further added that in years of abundance these quantities might be tripled, or that, in fact about 600,000 imperial quarters might be produced. Now, if that were the case, it was not very likely that Tamboff, a comparatively inconsiderable province, could have produced 38,000,000 of quarters. The terretorial extent of Ireland was, as compared with Tamboff, as nineteen to twenty-three. A reference to the comparative productions of the two countries would at once dispel any alarm which might have been occasioned, and show that the statement complained of was the result of error only. But there was another ground for supposing that the error was an accidental one. The calculation referred to was for the year 1835. Now, how many quarters of wheat were exported from St. Petersburgh in that year? Two. In 1836 none at all were exported. So that it was quite evident that if the produce of Tamboff had so increased, the appetite of the population had increased in the same ratio. If his hon. Friend would inquire at the Foreign-office or at the Board of Trade he would no doubt find that there had been an error in transcribing the paper in question. With reference to the mode of converting the price in roubles into the price in English currency, he thought there could be no doubt that the calculation had been made with reference to the actual relative value of the two coinages.

Subject at an end.

SYRIA.] Dr. *Bowring* said, before he put the question of which he had given notice, he hoped he should be allowed to make one or two observations that would make the subject intelligible. For a very long time past there had existed between this country and the Ottoman empire certain treaties known by the name of the Capitulation Treaties. By those treaties, a duty of 3 per cent. was agreed to be imposed upon all exports and imports, and the tariffs which regulated those capitulations had been settled at various times by commissioners, so that the imposts intended to be levied never exceeded this 3 per cent., and from the diminished value of merchandize were in most cases much less than this amount. But in the progress of years, and the general disorganization and anarchy of the Turkish rule, enormous abuses had introduced themselves into many of the provinces, especially those immediately under the sway of the Sultan, and in these the capitulations had become of no effect. One article after another had been monopolized —heavy imposts had been levied on consumption and transits—and commercial operations were interfered with by every sort of exaction and abuse,—and to remedy which grievances, in 1838, a treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the Porte, by which it was agreed that instead of the 3 per cent. formerly levied upon exports, 12 per cent. should be collected by the Turkish empire, and that instead of the 3 per cent. upon imports there should in future be a duty of 5 per cent. At the same time, however, all internal taxes or impediments, that had formerly interfered, were to be put an end to. Now, he was very ready to admit, that, as far as Turkey Proper was concerned, the treaty to which he had last referred was of the utmost commercial importance, supposing it was really carried into effect, which it had not been up to the present hour, for so inveterate were the ancient habits of misrule and oppression, that the feeble hand of the sultan had been controlled by that all-pervading corruption which characterizes the officers of the Porte. But beyond the limits of Turkey Proper, the treaty of 1838 was positively mischievous—for, in many of their dependencies, the ancient capitulations existed in their full vigour, and only 3 per cent was levied on articles of export and import. That treaty exhibited a lamentable ignorance of, or a reckless inattention to, the state of things—and even to the solemn engagements of the Porte in many of the provinces which came, or were supposed to come, under the operation of the treaty. The Porte had no right to interfere with the taxes of the provinces of the Danube—with Servia, Wallachia, or Moldavia—they paid a fixed tribute and regulated their own internal taxation. They had already trampled the treaty under foot and considered it as a dead letter. They would not allow the Porte to quadruple the duty on exports or double that on imports; and the Porte dared not insist on giving effect to the treaty in those districts. To Arabia also, the treaty had been found utterly inapplicable; and the same observation would apply to Egypt, where the payment of fixed tribute by the Viceroy, and the whole system of administration and government placed the ruler in a position wholly different from that of the direct nominees of the Sultan. But in Syria the operation of the treaty had been most injurious and cruelly oppressive, for the Syrians had not been subject to those internal duties, charges, and monopolies, which had made the capitulations of no effect elsewhere. They paid, and had continued to pay up to the period in which Mehemet Ali's sway was overthrown, the low duties which the capitulations had established. Since the restoration of the Turkish authority—if, indeed it be, or can be restored, the Turks had endeavoured to increase the export duties to 12 per cent. under the plea of the treaty; they had been changing the whole system of collection—and had in fact been introducing that state of things to which an experienced Austrian statesman had referred. Prince Metternich's despatch of April 20, 1841, to the internuncio, in reproving the "inept innovators" of the East, had these words:

> "If I am not altogether deceived the Porte will have to abandon in the greater part of its dominions, the mode of receipt recently introduced into several of them. By collecting the duties through its own receivers it will only have augmented the exactions so far as its

subjects are concerned, and the deficiencies as far as the Treasury is concerned."

It seemed that in Syria, Mouhassils and Defterdars were employed to collect the duties, persons not of the religion of the principal part of the population, who were Druses and Maronites, and that they were imposing enormous duties in Syria, contrary to the engagements entered into by the Government. Our own Cabinet was a party to these engagements. We had stimulated the Syrians to revolt against Mehemet Ali—we had held to them splendid promises. As long ago as 1836, Lord Ponsonby had sent a subordinate official of the Constantinopolitan Embassy, a Levantine, to sow the seeds of discontent and insurrection; and he had been rewarded by the consulship of Damascus. This gentleman (Mr. Wood) returned again, when it was decided by the Four Powers to eject Mehemet Ali from Syria, and Lord Ponsonby thus instructed Mr. Wood on August 4, 1840:—

"I direct you to declare in my name loudly to whoever chooses to hear you, that I am authorized to acquaint the Syrians that the British Government, in union with the Governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, will protect the Syrians who shall return to the direct obedience of the Sultan."

At about the same time Sir Charles Napier thus addressed the Syrians:—

"The allied powers have engaged to recommend to the Sultan to make an arrangement to render your condition happy and prosperous."

And Mr. Wood thus wrote to the Emir Bechir El Sheckaby on the 13th of August, 1840:—

"Four years ago I alluded to the probable separation some day of Syria from the dominion of Mehemet Ali, and he promised them if they would revolt, 'peace and happiness, and liberty.'"

To the Emir El Kasim, Mr. Wood thus wrote:—

"My Prince, you must remember the conversation we had together four years ago, and the determination you then declared to arm your countrymen, provided England assisted you in your noble efforts to procure liberty for your countrymen."

And thus to the Maronite Patriarch on August 15, 1840:—

"The sublime Porte has only at heart now the general prosperity of its Syrian subjects, to whom it will grant the free exercise of their laws and perfect liberty, and the powerful intervention of England and Austria will secure these blessings to them."

Again, Mr. Wood wrote to the Emir Bechir, (confidential:)—

"The great powers have decided to relieve the country from the burdens imposed on it, particularly that part which is governed by you."

On the 29th of September, 1840, Lord Ponsonby thus wrote to Lord Palmerston:—

"The Porte will effectually engage to make a remission of taxes in Syria."

And the Grand Vizier also authorised Mr. Wood "to regulate and settle the actual affairs of the Porte in Syria." To the Emirs and Sheiks of Damour, Mr. Wood thus appealed on the 27th of September, 1840:—

"Come to us armed, both you and your chiefs, in order that you may assist us in making you free and happy."

In his despatch to Lord Ponsonby of the 8th of October, 1840, Mr. Wood said:—

"I had declared to the Syrians that the Porte would grant them their ancient rights and privileges. In consequence of such promises, they were encouraged again to revolt against the Egyptian authority after they had laid down their arms. I was sent by your Lordship, authorised to make a number of promises to the Syrians, and was, in a manner, pledged to see them executed by the Sultan's officers."

Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Ponsonby, November 9, 1840.

"The honour of the British Crown requires that the promises made to the Syrians in the name of the Sultan by the British agent, Mr. Wood, should be fulfilled."

Mr. Wood's zeal, indeed, seemed to be boundless. This Christian envoy of a Christian Government called upon the Mussulmans in the name of the Koran, which he entitled "the Holy Book"—"the Sacred Law," to revolt, and so strong was Lord Ponsonby's confidence in him that he writes, November 18, 1840,

"I have instructed Mr. Wood to consider himself absolutely free from the authority and control of every body in Syria, in his execution of the duties and trusts reposed in him by the Porte."

It would seem, however, that accounts of the misdoings of the Turks had reached the Foreign-office at this time, for, in answer to a despatch representing "the unusual vexations—the infamous and unpunished proceedings of the Constantinopolitan troops towards the Christian Rayahs and their clergy," Lord Palmerston instructed Lord Ponsonby to obtain from the Sultan arrangements giving full satisfaction and security to the Syrians; and Lord Ponsonby replied, that the Porte was ready to take any measures for insuring to the Syrians the reward of their loyalty to the Sultan; and in a despatch so late as March 14, 1841, Lord Ponsonby said—

> "It is particularly necessary that the Porte should faithfully perform the promises Redschid Pasha authorised Mr. Wood to make to the Syrians."

There can be no doubt therefore that we are bound to give effect to the pledges under whose influence the Syrians had thrown off one Government and assisted us to establish another. We have made them promises and they have a right to call upon us for their fulfilment. Every communication from Syria shows that the utmost disregard is shown by the Turks to the pledges that have been given. The Syrians had suffered much; their towns had been destroyed, their fields had been devastated, and multitudes of them had perished. His object was to ascertain from the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, whether her Majesty's Ministers were cognizant of the fact, that the duties on exports and imports had been greatly increased by the Turkish authorities in Syria, notwithstanding their engagement to the contrary, entered into in the most solemn manner; and whether, such being the case, any measures had been taken for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the grievance.

Sir *R. Peel* could not help suggesting, that the noble Lord, the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, would, perhaps, have been the best authority to appeal to for satisfactory information upon this matter. He apprehended the state of the question was this:—In 1838, he thought it was, a treaty was ratified between the Porte and this country, which, for various internal monopolies, and exactions of different kinds, substituted an export duty of 9 per cent. There had been previously an export duty of 3 per cent., which still continued, and at present the whole duty to which British subjects were liable was 12 per cent. on exports. In some cases he had no doubt the levy of that duty might bear hardly on the native inhabitants, comparing the present amount of duty with what they were before subject to in particular districts of the country; but, on the whole, he apprehended that the substitution of a duty of 9 per cent., in lieu of various monopolies and exactions which formerly prevailed there must be advantageous. That abuses existed in the enforcement of that duty he was not disposed to deny. It was impossible, however, to form an opinion of the results of that treaty by restricting their view to any one point of Syria; they must look to its general effect, and so far as British interests at least were concerned, he had every reason to believe that its operation had been beneficial. The inhabitants of Lebanon complained of the exactions to which they were subject under the rule of Mehemet Ali. He believed, however, that commissioners had been appointed by the Porte, who were in communication with the local authorities appointed by the inhabitants of Lebanon, and some arrangement was made to remit certain duties, in the first instance exacted by the Turkish authorities, and of which the inhabitants of that district complained. He believed, also, that the inhabitants of Lebanon demanded exemption from the operation of these duties for three years, in consequence of assurances which had been given them by the Turkish government. That question remained still unsettled. He had only to state, that there was every disposition on the part of the Government of this country to use its influence with Turkey for the purpose of securing to the inhabitants of Syria any advantages which they had a right to expect in consequence of engagements which had been entered into by British instruments acting under the authority of the Porte. But the great object of the Syrian operations being to restore the independence of Turkey, it was not very easy for foreign powers to interfere beyond certain limits in respect to the acts of the Turkish government. It was possible for us to interfere in respect of any contravention of a treaty when British subjects were concerned; it was possible for us to use our interest, in order to induce Turkey to fulfil the engagements she had entered into with her own subjects; but the great object of the recent movements being to restore the independence of the Ottoman empire, the hon. Member must himself see it was, as he had already said, no very easy matter for foreign powers to interfere. He rather thought, from the inquiries he had been able to make in the course of the morning, that some convention had been made between the authorities of Turkey and Lebanon, under which a certain sum was to be paid by the latter, which, in point of amount, was not unreasonable. This was the only satisfactory answer he could give the hon. Gentleman beyond a repetition of the assurance, that so far as this country could consistently with the maintenance of the independence of the Ottoman Power use its influence for the purpose of preventing the great change which had taken place in Syria from operating to the disadvantage of the inhabitants, that influence would not fail to be exerted.

Viscount *Palmerston* wished, although it was not altogether regular, to add a few words to what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet. With regard to the treaty of 1838, although the hon. Gentleman considered it a bad one, he certainly thought it a good one; and when he stated that several other powers had, in imitation, concluded exactly similar treaties with Turkey, he thought it might be inferred that the treaty had been advantageous to the Christian inhabitants. He knew that his hon. Friend had a strong feeling in favour of Mehemet Ali, and it was honourable to him that he had not abandoned the Pasha when he had encountered misfortune and failure. It was, therefore, not unnatural that the hon. Gentleman should look with some degree of dissatisfaction on the state of things established in Syria. He was also particularly anxious that this treaty should not be applied to Egypt, because that would of course, diminish those fiscal means which Mehemet Ali had applied in a manner not very consistently with his allegiance as a subject. But first of all, with regard to what had been done in Syria, the statement of the right hon. Baronet was quite correct. When first Syria was restored to the lawful dominion of the Sultan some officers, Mouhassils and Defterdars, were sent to collect the revenues, and it was perfectly true they had committed great excesses. On that being made known to the Turkish Government every desire was manifested to correct those abuses, and persons duly authorized were put in communication with the people of Lebanon and other parts of Syria, for the purpose of making some satisfactory arrangements with regard to the tribute they should pay; and before leaving office he had reason to believe that some arrangement would be made, which for a certain number of years would relieve the people of Lebanon from anything which could be considered oppressive. With regard, however, to the other transactions to which the hon. Gentleman had alluded—the employment of Mr. Wood to hold communications, on the part of the Turkish and English Governments, with the people of Syria, he must protest against the statement that he had been sent there to excite the inhabitants to rebel or revolt. What he had been sent to do was, to assure them that they would be protected, not in returning to their allegiance, for they had never swerved from it, but in asserting within their country the authority of their legitimate sovereign. It was Mehemet Ali who had encouraged rebellion, and not those who promised them assistance in maintaining the authority of the Sultan. The conduct of Mr. Wood, therefore, was perfectly correct. He was authorized by the Ministers of the Sultan, to hold out certain promises and expectations to the Syrians if they supported the Sultan against his rebellious subjects. They did so—they were entitled to have those promises made good, and he believed every step had been taken, as the right hon. Baronet had stated, consistently with the rights of an independent Power, to obtain the performance of those engagements. The strongest representations, consistent with a regard to those rights, had been made, calling upon the Porte to fulfil the promises which had been given to the Syrians, and his firm belief was that they would be performed.

Lord *C. Hamilton* was understood to express a doubt whether Mr. Wood should not properly be regarded as altogether a British agent in the negotiations with the people of Syria.

Viscount *Palmerston* admitted that Mr. Wood was a British dragoman acting under Lord Ponsonby, but he had authority from the Turkish government, and in virtue of it he held those communications with the subjects of the Ottoman Porte.

Conversation dropped.

The Order of the Day being again put,

DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE.] Mr. *S. Crawford* felt it absolutely necessary to make another appeal to the right hon. Baronet, with reference to the condition of the working classes and the great urgency of some measures for their relief, because since Friday last he had received a statement from Rochdale exhibiting an amount of pressure and distress which it was perfectly frightful to contemplate. It appeared that in that town, which he had the honour of representing, there were 136 persons living on 6*d.* per week, 290 on 10*d.*, 508 on 1*s.*, 855 on 1*s.* 6*d.*, and 1,500 on 1*s.* 10*d.* per week. Of these five-sixths had scarcely a blanket among them; eighty-five families had no blanket, and forty-six families had only chaff beds, without any covering at all. When such a statement had been placed in his hands, he could not in duty to his constituents remain silent at his post. He was compelled to plead in their behalf for some measure of immediate relief. The right hon. Baronet called for time to consider how these evils could be remedied, but surely five months were too long. If the right hon. Baronet could not propose measures effectually to relieve the people, some temporary act should at least be passed to cheapen the price of food by removing the tax on the importation of foreign corn. The right hon. Baronet also proposed a renewal of the New Poor-law Bill and of the commission, which had had the effect, and was intended to have the effect of reducing the means by which the poor were to be relieved. The report recently published by the commissioners showed that they had zealously endeavoured to limit the means of out-door relief. If it should be the pleasure of the House to renew the Poor-law, he should move a clause by which the commissioners should be precluded from extending its operations to districts not already under its provisions, and also from restricting or forbidding out-door relief in any case without the consent of the guardians. He earnestly hoped the right hon. Baronet would seriously apply himself to this important subject. He must not rely only on the largeness of the majorities by which he might be supported; if his measures were not in accordance with the feelings of the nation, the greater his majority now, the greater would be his weakness by-and-by. Public opinion would recoil on him, and the effect would be as in the case of the Reform Bill. He did not object to the grant of a supply upon any party grounds; he did so in order that he might have the opportunity of eliciting an assurance from the right hon. Baronet that inquiry into the condition of the labouring classes should not be postponed till next Session. Unless the right hon. Gentleman gave some intimation to that effect, he should decidedly record his dissent to the present motion.

Sir *R. Peel* assured the hon. Gentleman that he heard with the deepest regret any account of the sufferings of any portion of the people of this country; at the same time he had a very strong impression that it was very difficult by any act of legislation suddenly to provide a remedy. He thought he should only be countenancing a fatal delusion if he encouraged the belief that it was possible for Parliament to adopt any act by which immediate relief might be obtained. There must be an universal impression on each side of the House, however differently Members might feel on other matters, that the only hope with respect to the effect of legislation was to lay the foundation for improvement, and work a gradual amelioration in the state of society. Any sudden intervention on the part of the Legislature could afford but little hope of supplying an immediate remedy for evils which all must deplore. He was sorry that he could not purchase the acquiescence of the hon. Gentleman in this motion by holding any language different from that which he expressed on Friday; but in repeating that determination, he begged to assure him that he regarded the statements he had made with feelings as poignant as those the hon. Gentleman had himself evinced.

Mr. *Thornely* had no statistical statements to lay before the House, but he could assure them that there was not a single branch of manufacturing industry which was not in a state of depression. He, for one, should have infinitely greater pleasure in remaining there until next February, than in meeting at that period. He had looked that morning at a statement which was given of the state of our cotton trade. He found, that in 1840, the quantity of cotton taken out of the Liverpool market for the weekly consumption was 23,288 bales, while in 1841 it was 19,304 bales, showing a reduction of one-sixth. This was accounted for by the closing of so many mills, and the working of short time in others, causing, of course, great distress among the labouring classes. He had conversed with men, during the late recess, engaged in commerce; and he must say, that without regard to political opinions, every practical man concurred in the opinion that had there been a duty of 8*s.* imposed in last May, and the reduction which had been proposed had taken place in the sugar duties, a great improvement must have ensued in the commerce and manufactures of the country. Let them look at the duty which might have been derived from corn. There were not less than 1,600,000 quarters in bond at the present time, which, at 8*s.* duty, would yield 640,000*l.* At the duty of 1*s.*, these would give but 80,000*l.*, showing a difference of 560,000*l.* Thus would the revenue be benefitted by 500,000*l.*, while 1*s.* more would not be charged to the consumer. He was persuaded more had been paid to the foreigner on the Continent than the 500,000*l.* that would have gone to the Treasury, if corn had been purchased according to the usages of commercial prudence. In common cases, orders were sent to foreign countries to purchase when goods could be had at certain limited prices, and to be shipped when the freight could be contracted for at low terms; but it being ascertained early in August, that from the working of the averages, the duty would be at the lowest in the week commencing either 9th or 16th of September, orders were sent to the near ports of the Continent to purchase at high rates, and to give almost any rate of freight in order to get to market so as to reach the low duty.

He was persuaded that the public would pay a great deal more to the foreigner on the continent in the purchase of corn at an advanced price, than the 500,000*l.* which would have been levied as duty, and would have gone into the Treasury, if the trade were conducted according to the common usages of commercial prudence. It was usual to fix the duty according to the value of the article, but let them look at the present rate of the duty on corn.

	Average price.		Duty.			Per cent. Ad Valorem.
Wheat .	73	2	1	0	equal to	1¼
Barley .	37	8	6	4	„	17
Oats .	24	9	10	9	„	43
Rye ,	38	3	12	6	„	30
Beans ,	43	5	5	0	„	11
Peas .	45	5	2	0	„	5⅓

Let the House look to the operation of the Corn-law as regarded its effects upon the United States of America, our best customers. Though, as the law stood, it had proved possible to bring corn into this country from the near ports of Europe, it was impossible that America could send in a quarter of wheat, so as to obtain the advantage of the low rate of duty. Before the Americans could be aware of the reduction in the rate of duty they were shut out from all participation in it. He submitted these considerations to hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Congress of the United States were to meet in December, and the manufacturers of America were already at work to prevent the introduction of British commodities there, except at advanced duties; and unless in the interval the Government of this country would put the commodities of the United States on a fair and equal footing, it was certain that this country would lose the opportunity, perhaps the only opportunity she would ever have, of gaining such an access to that market as she ought to have. He was not surprised that the report of the committee on the Import duties should have produced such an effect. The justice of the views set forth in it was universally admitted, he knew that it was read extensively in America, but he begged the House would consider what the Americans said of it:—

> "When you act on the same principles you have so beautifully enunciated, and admit our produce into your markets, then you may lay claim in turn to the sympathy and liberality of other countries."

With respect to the sugar duties, it was the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool who, some time ago, had carried an amendment against the reduction of the sugar duty, grounded, he (Mr. Thornely) believed, upon the principle of encouraging the sale of sugar, the growth of free labour, in preference to sugar, the growth of slave labour. But it appeared that the inhabitants of Liverpool were of a different opinion to the noble Lord; for it was a curious fact that every sugar refinery in Liverpool had ceased working sugars of British growth, and were exclusively engaged in refining foreign sugars in bond. In one week 1,100 boxes of Havannah sugars were sold to be so refined. The fact appeared from the prices current of Liverpool, to which he referred the noble Lord. The sugar so refined was sent all over the world. It was sent to Jamaica, Demerara, British America, and even to the Isle of Man. Everything had been done to mystify the price of sugar. The price of raw sugar in bond might be called 2*d.* per pound; refined sugar 4*d.* per pound. All above these prices paid by the consumer, was either duty paid to the revenue, or the price paid for the sugar monopoly. He was of opinion, that if her Majesty's late

Government had carried the 12*s.* duty they proposed to lay upon foreign sugar, there would not have been a single week in which the grocers and refiners would not have selected largely from that sugar, by which means the country would have been greatly benefited by the reduction in price, and the revenue largely benefited by the duty. In conclusion, he would say, that he had passed a long commercial life; he was now out of business; and he had never entertained any other opinions than those in favour of free-trade principles, of the soundness of which he was perfectly convinced. He had been long an observer of the working of the monopoly system; and he was not surprised at the impression the report of the import duties committee had had upon the country. He was in the habit of being early in his attendance at the House, and he had remarked, that among the prayers read at the Table previous to the commencement of business, there was one, "that we may lay aside all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections." Happy, indeed, would be that day, when Members, upon entering that House, would leave at the door all private and personal interest, whether it be that of the landowner, the manufacturer, or the merchant. True, they had a duty to perform to their constituents, but they had likewise a higher duty to perform to the country and to the world. He deeply regretted that the measures of commercial reform proposed by the late Ministers, had not been carried, as he was sure they would have been productive of immense national benefit. He would urge upon the right hon. Baronet opposite, that if he would set himself in defiance to those who came there for the furtherance of private and partial interests, he would have the opportunity of doing an immeasurable good to the country—a good for which that country would be for ever indebted to him.

Mr. *H. R. Yorke* said, though immediate relief was much wanted by the people under their distresses, he thought the position of the right hon. Baronet, as a public man, with his immense responsibilities, ought also to be considered. It must not be forgotten, that the misery now spoken of was increasing in the spring of the year, and with the misery there was increasing an excess of expenditure over income. The right hon. Baronet, however, having objected to the specific measures of relief proposed by the late Government, was bound to bring forward others in their place. It was, therefore, with intolerable pain that he heard the right hon. Baronet say he intended only to propose a certain sum to be voted for the ventilation of the House—a thing excellent in its way; another sum for the centralisation of royal vegetables, also a thing excellent in its way—and other sums for the public service. The right hon. Baronet also meant to bring in a bill to continue the Poor-law, by the affected detestation of which, and the denunciation of its obnoxious clauses, many hon. Members had gained their seats, and, having done this, the right hon. Baronet would most kindly send the country Gentlemen back to their accustomed avocations.

The House divided on the question that the Speaker do leave the Chair:—Ayes 136; Noes 22: Majority 114.

List of the AYES.

A'Court, Captain
Acton, Colonel
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Attwood, M.
Baillie, Colonel
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Berkeley, hon. C.
Blackstone, W. S.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwicke, P.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Browne, hon. W.
Bruce, Lord
Buck, L. W.
Campbell, A.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Carnegie, hn. Captain
Chelsea, Viscount
Chetwode, Sir J.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cochrane, A.
Collett, W. R.
Cripps, W.
Dalrymple, Captain
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Divett, E.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Egerton, W. T.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fleming, J. W.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gill, T.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Grant, Sir A. C.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hogg, J. W.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Howard, hn. C. W. G.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irton, S.
Irving, J.
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Knightley, Sir C.
Langston, J. H.
Leicester, Earl of
Litton, E.

Lockhart, W.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Manners, Lord G.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Masterman, J.
Milnes, R. M.
Morgan, O.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
Owen, Sir J.
Pakington, J. S.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pollock, Sir F.
Ramsbottom, J.
Reade, W. M.
Rice, E. R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, C.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Viscount
Scott, R.
Scott, hon. F.
Seymour, Lord
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smythe, hon. G.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Tollemache, hn. F. J.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Tufnell, H.
Vane, Lord H.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Vivian, J. E.
Vyvyan, Sir R. R.
Waddington, H. S.
Wakley, T.
Walsh, Sir J. B.
Welby, G. E.
Wigram, J.
Wilde, Sir T.
Wood, Colonel
Wood, Colonel T.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel

TELLERS.

Baring, H.
Fremantle, Sir T.

List of the NOES.

Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Bryan, G.
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Dennistoun, J.
Elphinstone, H.
Ferguson, Colonel
Fielden, J.
Gibson, T. M.
Granger, T. C.
Harford, S.
Hawes, B.
Napier, Sir C.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Philips, M.
Plumridge, Captain
Protheroe, E.
Rennie, G.
Thornely, T.
Walker, R.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Williams, W.
Crawford, W. S.

House in committee.

SUPPLY — MISCELLANEOUS ESTIMATES.] On the question that a sum not exceeding 60,000*l.* be granted for completing the sum necessary to defray the expenses for civil contingencies until the 31st of March, 1842.

Colonel *Sibthorp* hoped the system of jobbing which for more than ten years had been practised by her Majesty's late Ministers would now be put an end to. He would say nothing of the appointment of a reverend gentleman to the deanery of Armagh, which he designated an insult to the Archbishop—he would say nothing of the appointment of a noble Lord to sit for about seventeen days for the adjudication of important cases at the Irish bar—he would say nothing of all the other jobs that had been perpetrated by the late Government, for he had a confident hope, and a firm belief, that such mal-practices would not be permitted by the party now in office. There were two or three points, however, in the miscellaneous estimates to which he could not help adverting. One of them related to an hon. Member of that House, of whom he wished to speak with no disrespect, for he admitted the talents and assiduity of that hon. Gentleman, and considered that the blame did not attach to him, but to the late Government, which had appointed him to the discharge of certain duties. The hon. Gentleman, now Member for Bolton, but then Member for Kilmarnock, had held a seat in that House for a period of two years, six months, and five days, and at that time was receiving a considerable salary, and sums for his expenses for duties which he undertook and discharged, as he (Colonel Sibthorp) had already admitted, with great talent and assiduity. The amount received by that hon. Member, and shared (as he understood) with two other Gentlemen, was 17,159*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*, according to an official return granted on a motion of his (Colonel Sibthorp's) last year, and that sum was for four or five reports. He had not read those reports, nor did he intend to read them; they might be very useful documents, and might contain much important matter, but they were too much for him to understand. He protested against the grounds on which that sum was given to the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *W. Williams* said, that the hon. and gallant Colonel opposite had often been associated with him in opposition to acts of extravagance by the late Government, and he (Mr. Williams) trusted, that now the hon. and gallant Gentleman's own party was in power, he would continue in the same course. He must call the attention of the House to some of the items contained in the estimates. He objected particularly to the items charged for the expense of ambassadors' outfits, and was quite sure, that the Government would have no difficulty in finding persons most competent to fill these offices for the emoluments annually allowed to them, without any of these additional charges for outfits. He was quite unable to account for one of the charges, and was at a loss to imagine how it could be justified—it was a charge of 319*l.* 12*s.*, for the master of the ceremonies and packing of pictures for her Majesty's ambassador at Paris. It was utterly impossible that the people, in their present distressed and impoverished condition, could afford to pay more taxes; therefore, if expenses of this kind were continued, and further taxation should in consequence become necessary, the inevitable result would be, that the higher classes, who alone profited from such lavish expenditure of the public money, must bear the additional taxation themselves, by placing a charge upon property. There was another item that appeared to him to be most objectionable, viz., 578*l.* to defray the amount expended on account of the visits of the Grand Duke of Russia, the Prince of Leiningen, the Duke of Coburg, the Duchess of Braganza, the King of the Belgians, and Count Mensdorf. Why were the people of this country to be made to pay the expenses of these illustrious visitors? Then there was a charge of 406*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* for the incidental expenses of the chief bailiff of the Tower of London for one year to 5th of April, 1840. How was that to be accounted for? Again, there was a charge of 2,702*l.* for the Marshal of the Queen's Bench Prison, on account of salary and expenses for one year and a quarter to the 30th of September, 1840, in consequence of the fees being deficient to that amount. He thought that that charge required explanation, and the same remark applied to the charge of 360*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* for the amount issued to pay fees to certain officers of the Court of Exchequer upon passing declared accounts. Supposing the officers to be amply paid, he was at a loss to conjecture why the public should be charged with the payment of these fees. Then there was a charge of 387*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for appointing the right hon. Charles Poulett Thomson Captain-general and Governor-in-chief of her Majesty's provinces in British North America. He believed, that this was to defray the cost of stamps necessary to make out the appointment, but surely as the appointment in itself was one of high honour and distinction, and accompanied with a salary of 7,000*l.* per annum, the individual who received it ought at least to bear the expense consequent upon its being conferred. He found another charge of 1,455*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* for sums paid to sundry persons, as of her Majesty's bounty. He should like to know what those sums were, and to whom they were paid. No explanation was given of them in the vote. After a brief reference to one or two other items of a smaller amount, the hon. Gentleman concluded by expressing a strong conviction that the chief part of these expenses might be saved to the country, without any injustice to individuals or injury to the public service.

Lord *J. Russell* said, he could not but express an opinion adverse to that of the hon. Member for Coventry, with regard to the last point he had mentioned. The hon. Member supposed, that in the case of ambassadors and others occupying high offices abroad, the expense of their outfits was not properly incurred by the state. Undoubtedly that might be so, if the House were prepared to say this, that none but persons of great fortune should be appointed to such offices. If, however, as he presumed, the House would concur in thinking, men of great talent should rather be preferred, even with small private fortunes, and without the ability to lay out large sums of ready money, to the amounts requisite for their outfits, then these expenses were properly borne by the State. Now, of course, no distinction could be drawn between different individuals appointed to the same situations, and if the allowances were made in one class of cases, they must be made in all. He confessed, that he had often wished, when at the Colonial-office, that governors sent out, instead of being at the expense of their commissions, should have their appointments free of expense; and he was not without hope that arrangements might be made for securing this. As to Lord Sydenham, however, there was no doubt that allowances had been made to him contrary to the usual practice for the expense of his commission, and on this ground, and this ground only—that the appointment had been, out of the usual course, only for a short time, all other governors being appointed for a period of six years at least, Lord Sydenham having to contemplate only a short stay in Canada. Had the noble Lord been appointed for the ordinary period, as in the usual course, he would have been (subject only to the condition of his retaining the confidence of the Crown), he would have had to bear this expense. Having, however, been appointed only for a short period, it was not thought just that he should have to pay this expense. He would add this as the result of his experience, that so far from public appointments, especially of this nature, being sources of great emolument, the individuals filling these offices were often obliged (as in the case of Lord Sydenham had actually, after all, been the fact) to make no inconsiderable payments out of their private purses. Certainly men were always found ready to accept and even to ask for these foreign appointments, but this was from the natural feeling of ambition, and desire to have honourable and useful employment in the public service, and it rarely or never happened, that the occupants of these offices, even for considerable periods, augmented their private fortunes. As this was the case, it seemed to him, that it would be unjust in the State to take advantage of this feeling in the public mind, and to say, "Since there are always to be found men willing to take these appointments, they shall always pay for them; we will not allow a sufficient support to them, but put the offices up to public auction and give them to the lowest bidder." As to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln, with respect to the expenses incurred for Dr. Bowring's services, he did not think it necessary to repeat the conclusive answers upon that point which had been formerly given.

Lord *C. Hamilton* said, without impeaching either the services of the learned doctor, or the justice of his remuneration, he would take the liberty of asking (as it seemed certainly but fair that the country should have the full benefit of those services) whether it were true, as he had heard it asserted (and so commonly that he should think the noble Lord opposite would feel glad of an opportunity of contradicting it, were it untrue), that the reports of the learned doctor had been greatly curtailed and altered by the noble Lord lately at the head of the Foreign-office?

Viscount *Palmerston* said, he certainly had struck out the word "sovereign," applied in several places to Mehemet Ali, owing to his learned Friend's zeal in the Pacha's cause, which phrase did not seem to him quite correct. He had also struck out various passages, (most of them extracts from other works, eulogistic of the Pacha's character and policy, which appeared to him to have nothing to do with the subject matter of the inquiries. But he had made no alteration whatever in the statistical portion of the reports.

Mr. *Milnes* said it seemed to him, that in a case of this sort, where the agent was sent out as the officer of the Government, there was a perfect right on the part of the Ministry to alter his reports in any way necessary to render them official documents; and he would further say that he had for one derived satisfaction from the perusal of these reports, and he hoped that her Majesty's Government would never hesitate on proper occasions to propose a similar course, nor could he well conceive of any mode in which public money could be more advantageously laid out than in the collection of such valuable information.

An hon. *Member* said this had ever struck him as one of the worst jobs ever perpetrated even by the most jobbing of Governments.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY ROYAL PALACES—PUBLIC DISTRESS.] On the question that a sum not exceeding 51,654*l.* 10*s.* be granted to defray the expenses of works and repairs in public buildings.

Mr. *Williams* observed, that the sum to be expended on account of the Royal palaces would be greater this year than for some previous years—a sum not less than 49,500*l.*; and many of these palaces were not inhabited by any Members of the Royal family, but were tenanted by persons who held them by favour and without any public service or any claim whatever. Such was the case with Hampton-court and Kew. The latter was kept up for a foreign prince. The King of Hanover was no subject of this realm; why, then, should the people of this land be taxed to keep up for him a palace which he never used? Then, as to Kensington, only a portion of the palace there was occupied by a member of the Royal family, and it would be far better if the kitchen and other gardens of the palace were thrown open to the gardens, which formed so valuable and delightful a resort for public recreation. The result would be, not only a great public boon, but a great public economy. There were not less than nine of these palaces kept up—there was (besides the palaces at Brighton and Windsor,) the palace at Claremont, kept up at an expence of 14,000*l.* annually, for the King of the Belgians;—that was a charge which ought not to be imposed on the people of this country. A great deal had no doubt been said about the exceeding liberality of the King of Belgium, and that he did not touch any of the money himself; but what mattered it to the people, who had to pay it, whether his Majesty spent it, or somebody else for him? Really, to look at these estimates, one would imagine that we were in a very prosperous condition. If the expenses he had alluded to were at all connected with her Majesty's comfort, not one of her subjects would wish to stop them; but it was notorious that her Majesty never even saw half these palaces. A great part of these expenses might therefore, without in the remotest degree affecting her Majesty, be retrenched; and as the right hon. Baronet the Premier had stated his intention to effect all possible savings, he trusted that to this subject, so open to retrenchment, the right hon. Baronet's attention would be directed.

Mr. *Wakley* feared that no advantage would attend the remarks which had been just made. The hon. Gentleman, Mr. Williams, spoke on that side of the House amidst gentlemen by whom all these estimates and expenses were proposed and incurred. Now it appeared to him that the House should submit with becoming humility to their unfortunate position at this time, to take what the constituencies had been pleased to do at the late elections, and endure what might be submitted to them during the coming year. These estimates, without doubt, exhibited from beginning to end a carelessness of the public expenditure—there was no doubt about that, nobody could deny it who looked fairly and dispassionately at them. Every man in viewing them must suppose, if he knew nothing of the financial condition of this country, that we were in a state of extraordinary prosperity, that there was no distress, no calamity, no diminution of trade, and no complaining on the part of the labouring population. Here was a recklessness of public expenditure from beginning to end; but who was to blame? He declared that since he had been a Member of this House he had observed more recklessness on the part of the Members of this House with regard to the public money than by the hon. Gentlemen who were now in office or by the hon. Gentlemen who had left their seats and gone to the other side. The real difficulty the country had to contend with, was the wantonness of the House of Commons with regard to the expense. Only a few Members paid attention to the subject; only a few were captivated with figures; the hon. Member for Coventry was one of these, and he regretted that there was not more of his class in the House. The Administration that was now formed was one of great ability, and carried with it a great part of the wealth and intelligence of the country—and it was perfectly useless, in the present state of the House, to contend against a body so constituted; they must be patient, they must bear and forbear, and submit to the propositions that were made to them. After a fair trial had been given them, then, supposing that measures were not brought forward, and curtailments not made which ought to be made, there might be another appeal to the country, and they would see what would be the result. The noble Lord, the Member for the city of London, and the Whig party, had no reason to complain of the existing state of things, or to speak in a tone of discontent or dissatisfaction. This House was constituted as the offspring of the noble Lord's will—the creature of his own choice. He had been entreated and solicited again and again, within the last six years, to make that change in the constitution of this assembly which was evidently necessary. But the noble Lord said, "No, we don't want Reform or revolution every year; we are satisfied with what has already been done." How then could the noble Lord complain of the hon. Baronet, when he stated he wished for time to produce those measures which he thought were necessary for the public good. The right hon. Baronet had already found that he was reclining on no bed of roses. He did not find a rich Exchequer, he did not find the finances of the country in a flourishing condition; and he, for one, thought that he ought to have time—that time ought to be afforded. He thought hon. Gentlemen would be defeating their own objects, and inflicting injury on the people, by hurrying the right hon. Baronet to the adoption of immatured and indiscreet measures. He was surprised at the statement on the other side, that the right hon. Baronet would not summon Parliament for five months. Now he had heard nothing of the sort from the right hon. Baronet; all that he had heard was, that he desired time to prepare the measures, which he thought it necessary to submit to the House. He did not know whether those measures would be good or bad, but he knew that hon. Members had not the power to compel him to bring forward those measures until it suited his disposition. There was a very large majority against them, and he would repeat that they must submit patiently to what might be the determination of that majority. This House as now constituted, undoubtedly had not the approbation of the small party to which he belonged; and they did not believe that the House, thus constituted, would consult the interests of the people. They might be deceived—and he sincerely hoped they might be deceived; for nothing would give him greater delight than to see measures of a comprehensive character proposed, that were calculated to impart satisfaction to the public and promote their interests. The right hon. Baronet on this occasion, had merely adopted the estimates proposed by the late Ministers; and probably, if Gentlemen opposite had been placed in a similar position, they would have acted in a similar manner, pressed as the right hon. Baronet had been for time. But he would say that if the Minister, in a future Session of Parliament, should come forward and propose measures of this kind, with the finances in their present condition, he would not be deserving of support. In fact, when they looked at the distresses of the working people, to whom this country owed all its reputatation, power, and wealth, it was a crying sin and shame, that 1*l.* of expense should be incurred that was not justified by circumstances. The noble Lord who had just left the House (Lord J. Russell) had stated that there should be certain sums granted for ambassadors to foreign courts; but he would ask if it was meet and proper that, when foreign princes chose to come to this country to visit their relations here, the poor English public should have to pay their expenses? Why, it was bringing discredit on monarchy—it was bringing discredit on the aristocracy, and was calculated to make the people look on them as their persecutors, and as the persons who ever and anon were placing them in more extreme distress. Now here was a sum of money mentioned in the estimate as paid for the expense of a foreign Sovereign visiting this country; and a sum of 1,000*l.* paid for an ambassador to go to Frankfort. Was this fair? Could any man believe this expenditure to be just? If the appointment of an ambassador to Frankfort were really useful, he did not object, for he was not one who was disposed to complain of the manner in which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Palmerston) had administered the foreign affairs; on the contrary, he considered that his administration of our foreign affairs had the effect of putting this country in a prouder position than it had ever before attained, and that England was never more respected abroad than at this moment; and this was mainly owing to the exertions of the noble Lord. Now he wished that the noble Lord would come forward and tell the House next year what expenses might be reduced and what might not be reduced. He thought the noble Lord could come down with a long list, showing that very great reductions might be made without the slightest detriment to the public. If he would do so it would be received as a happy climax to his great exertions. Many of the offices were utterly useless, and the estimates were framed with an utter disregard of the public interest; and he did hope that the present Administration would see to what extent the people's burthens might be reduced, and that the principle of economy would be unremittingly applied.

Mr. *Fielden* was surprised at some part of the speech just delivered. The hon. Member for Finsbury had talked of the justice of giving the Government time. That was just what he wished to have given them, the old constitutional principle being, that the grievances of the people should be first redressed before the supplies were granted; and this appeared to him the only proper course on the present occasion. The distress of the country was too serious for delay. Lancashire was fast going. The best workmen were departing to foreign countries, to obtain there that subsistence which at home they could not get. He wished to know whether it was the intention of the Government to afford the people any relief before the winter set in?

Mr. *Wakley* would ask the hon. Member for Oldham why he did not come forward with a measure for the relief of the distressed condition of the country? If the hon. Member was so fully impressed with that idea, it was his duty to propose any remedy which he (Mr. Fielden) thought would effect the object which he had so much at heart.

Mr. *Fielden* in reply observed, that if it was his duty to have prepared a remedy, he would have done so at once, and without any hesitation.

Mr. *Ewart* observed, that if the hon. Member's remedy, patience, were the sole recommendation he had to offer, he feared he would soon have to assist at the inquest on the defunct remains of the country. He would, however, not enter upon the various topics which had been suggested by the hon. Member, but would confine himself to the question before the committee, and he begged to give expression to the satisfaction which he felt in finding that the Regent's Park was now available to the public as a pleasure ground. He thought, that the same course might be advantageously adopted with respect to other parks, and particularly as regarded Richmond Park, which would be a great accommodation if thrown open to the public. There was Kew Park also, which was contiguous to the large and populous towns of Brentford, Isleworth, &c., and which was closed six days in the week, and which might, without inconvenience, be thrown open. He hoped, that Kensington Gardens would be preserved in their present state, and not be encroached upon, as the west-end of town was already sufficiently built in; and unless breathing space was preserved at the present time, there would be no future opportunity for obtaining it.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that there was no more dangerous and unconstitutional doctrine than that which threw upon the executive Government all the responsibility of originating measures. It was the duty of Members unconnected with the Ministry to propose whatever measures they thought would be conducive to the interests of the state. It was the duty of the hon. Member for Oldham to have stated the other night to the House what he thought would be the remedy for the evils of which he now complained. He should like to know whether the proposition of an 8*s*. duty on corn instead of 1*s*. would have had the effect of relieving the people from the distresses that now pressed heavily upon them? He thought, that the course which the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government intimated to the House his intention of pursuing was both fair and reasonable. The right hon. Baronet did not state that he intended to prorogue, although such appeared to be the general impression. He thought, that it was highly impolitic to wish the right hon. Baronet to come down to the House with ill-digested measures, and trust to chance for their being carried. He would never lend himself to a factious opposition. It was the duty of the House to give the right hon. Baronet a fair and impartial trial.

Mr. *Williams* thought the case of the country stood thus:—The patient was suffering from a severe malady; the late Government had come forward with measures of relief, and they had been rejected, and the present Government refused to administer a remedy. He thought, if the measures of the late Ministry had been carried, that the country would not have been in its present deplorable condition.

Sir *R. Inglis* did not wish to interfere in the quarrel, it was a very pretty one as it stood. He rose for the purpose of making an observation in allusion to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Dumfries, who appeared to have taken the position formerly occupied by the late Member for Kilkenny. The hon. Member, although he reserved to himself the liberty of doing what he liked with his own fields and gardens, wished to deny to the Crown the right of managing its own property. He considered the right of the Crown to Richmond-park to be as strong as that by which any private gentleman held his estates.

Mr. *Ewart* thought that the hon. Baronet was wrong in the view which he took of the distinction between the property of the Crown and that of private individuals. The property of the Crown was held for the benefit of the people as well as for the interest of the Sovereign. He did not think that her Majesty at all participated in the exclusive views entertained by the hon. Member opposite.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY—MUSEUM.] On the vote of 21,000*l*. for the new buildings of the British Museum.

Mr. *Hawes* said, he regretted that in consequence of the librarian and his assistant being engaged in making a new catalogue for the library and occupying the apartments, the public were still excluded from that most interesting part of the building. He hoped that if the objection were made, that the dust created by the admission of visitors would injure the books, proper measures would be taken to obviate the conjectured mischief. At all events, he thought the objection not sufficient to justify the exclusion of the public, and he trusted that the trustees, some few of whom were present, would take the subject into consideration.

Dr. *Bowring* inquired when it was likely that the catalogue would be completed and printed.

Sir *R. Peel* was understood to reply, possibly in the course of a few weeks. With regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Lambeth, the questions whether the public should be allowed promiscuously to enter the library for the purpose of seeing the place, or to examine and read the books, were very different. There was every disposition on the part of the trustees to allow access to the library for the purpose of study, but to make the library a public promenade would certainly be to destroy the design of the institution.

Mr. *Hawes* did not think by allowing the public to walk through the room those who went to study would be disturbed, particularly as an apartment was specially provided for their accommodation.

Dr. *Bowring* said, there was no difficulty in the public obtaining access to the libraries on the continent.

Sir *R. Inglis* ventured to say, that the hon. Gentleman had never seen ten persons at one time in the library of the Vatican; and though the visitors to the library at Paris were numerous, sometimes amounting to 30,000 in a short space of time, there were no readers seen there. The quantity of dust produced by so great an influx of persons must certainly be very great, as hon. Members might well imagine, from the state in which that House was at twelve or one o'clock.

Vote agreed to.

Supply—Model Prison.] On the grant of 15,000*l.*, for the completion of the Model Prison.

Mr. *Williams* said, it was now too late to object to this vote, but he would observe, that if the system adopted in the United States, of making prisoners work in erecting the prison had been followed, a considerable amount of expense would have been saved to the country.

Supply—Caledonian Canal.] On the proposal that the remaining half of 50,000*l.*, be granted for the permanent repair and improvement of the Caledonian Canal.

Mr. *Williams* said he had been one of the committee appointed to inquire and report its opinion upon the subject of the condition of the canal, and the advantages to be derived to commerce from a further outlay of public money. He regretted to say the subject had been treated very summarily, and in the conviction that the interests of trade were not served in proportion to the enormous expense of this canal he had voted against the report; another Gentleman voted for it, two had signed it without having paid any attention to the subject; and the result on the whole was that, the numbers being equal, the casting vote lay with the chairman, Mr. Robert Steuart, who, being a Scotch gentleman, thought it was desirable to secure to Scotland the advantages of this canal, and thus the proposition, originally for granting 200,000*l.*, according to the estimate of Mr. Telford for the canal, was, in spite of his opposition, carried. It was necessary to state to the committee, that during the last nineteen years, no less a sum than 2,350,000*l.* had been lavished by the Legislature upon this object, and of so little advantage was it to the trade of the kingdom, that the tolls on it produced no more than 2,500*l.* a year since 1821. Since which the expenditure had been 26,000*l.* above the income derived from it. For the last seven years the actual loss to the country had been on an average 2,070*l.* a year. This was not the only aspect in which this great undertaking presented itself to their consideration, for it was stated by Mr. Walker, the present engineer, that, in order to render this canal perfectly complete and useful, a still larger sum than the 200,000*l.* recommended by the report of the committee would be necessary. Mr. Robert Steuart, in order to obtain the sanction of the different commercial constituencies in the country, wrote to five of the principal English ports—namely, London, Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, and Newcastle; he also wrote to Belfast, Dublin, Glasgow, Dundee, and Leith. He alluded to Mr. Walker's report, and pointed out the advantages which would arise from increasing the depth of the canal from eleven feet to seventeen feet, and placing steamers upon it, and he would now read the answers which were received. The secretary to the committee at Lloyd's, writing in the name of the committee, said:—

> "Their impressions are, that no advantage could accrue to the shipping and commerce of the country by rendering the Caledonian canal more navigable, of sufficient importance to compensate for the expense."

And let the House recollect, that a great portion of the shipping insurance is effected at Lloyd's, The answer received from Bristol was:—

> "This port is not materially interested in the question."

The communication received from the Chamber of Commerce at Hull was to this effect:—

> "After having made the necessary inquiry of the merchants and shipowners, we have come to the unanimous conclusion, that the trade of this port does not appear to us to be interested in the matter, and, in our opinion, were the contemplated alterations carried into execution, few or no vessels leaving here to the westward would take advantage of the Caledonian canal."

Liverpool, from which 666 vessels went north about, the year before, did not condescend to send any answer; and as it was thought the letter might have miscarried, a second was written, and according to his recollection the answer returned was that they considered the project of no value to their trade. From Newcastle no answer whatever was received. The communication received from Dublin was to the following effect;—

> "I am directed by the council of the Chamber of Commerce to inform you that the merchants of this port, engaged in the Baltic trade, are of opinion that no material benefit would accrue to them if the Caledonial Canal was completed and steam-tugs placed thereon."

From Belfast the following resolution resolution was received:—

> "Resolved, that the Chamber of Commerce of this town do not consider the advantages likely to be derived to the trade of Belfast to be such as to warrant them in recommending such a large toll as that contemplated for the Caledonian canal."

The replies from Dundee, Glasgow, and Leith were in favour of Mr. Walker's plan. A return was also made by the Custom House of the number of vessels that went north about, from sixteen of the largest commercial ports in the United Kingdom, embracing nearly the whole of the trade of the country carried on in that direction, from which it appeared, that in 1838, the number of ships was 2,042, the tonnage being 391,400 tons. The number of vessels going north about from London, Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, and Newcastle was 1,386, with a tonnage of 274,000. Now, supposing all the other vessels that went north about to have used the Caledonian canal, the number would only have been 656, and the tonnage 117,000. The number of vessels that went north about from Dundee, Glasgow, and Leith was 280, the tonnage 49,000. But to the great number of vessels passing through the Pentland Firth the canal was of no value. The number that went through in 1838, was 1,827, of which 1,175 were British vessels, 206 American, 220 belonging to Northern nations, and 26 from the West Indies. Now, with respect to the expenses. During the last few years they had been nearly five times the sum annually received. Such an expenditure he considered a perfect waste of the public money, and he trusted that the Government would send down some person in whom they could place confidence, together with an engineer, both being unconnected with Scotland, to examine the work and ascertain whether it could be conducted in a manner beneficial to the country. If they would take the advice, he was convinced that no further outlay would take place, and that the Chancellor of the Exhequer would save at least 300,000*l*. He would now state to the House the evidence on which this outlay was recommended. Mr. Walker was asked this question with reference to the estimate. "And did you make any accurate or minute survey of the canal?" His answer was:—

> "I did: when I say minute survey, I mean such a survey as I should make without taking the depth and dimensions of the different parts. This I requested Mr. May to do when I left the canal."

Another question was,

> "What time did it occupy you?" To which he replied, "I was about a week altogether upon the line; after having finished the survey, I left with Mr. May instructions as to the detailed surveys. About six months afterwards we met, when the full detail of the works was gone into, and an estimate of every part was formed from his (Mr. May's) detailed survey."

Now here was a chief engineer making an estimate without having taken either the depth or dimensions of the canal, relying entirely on the evidence of Mr. May, an ordinary engineer. No doubt Mr. May was a trustworthy man, but from what he (Mr. Williams) saw of him before the committee, he must say that he did not consider him as possessing a sufficient knowledge of engineering to form an estimate of such a work as that now under discussion. The estimate was founded on a very loose calculation, and he thought such a large sum ought not to be expended without some further inquiry. Although the report of the committee was agreed to in 1839, some doubt was entertained on the subject, and the committee was revived in the following year, when Mr. Steuart stated that he had received an intimation that a joint-stock company had been formed, who were ready to take the matter out of the hands of the Government, but the negotiation was not carried into effect. No evidence in favour of the work was adduced except that of gentlemen connected with Scotland; and if the work was likely to confer so much benefit on that country, it was rather strange that some of the commercial towns and counties did not undertake its management. Under all the circumstances, he trusted the Government would consent to postpone the vote until the next Session.

Sir *Robert Peel* was of opinion that the towns and counties of Scotland were much too wise to accept of the offer. A sum of money had been expended on the undertaking, which there was a natural reluctance to lose; but if no public advantage was likely to accrue from following it up, he thought the sooner it was abandoned the better. It would be wiser not to proceed than to incur the loss of several hundreds of thousands of pounds more. He, therefore, had no hesitation in agreeing to postpone the vote, and thus afford an opportunity of considering what steps should be taken to prevent the loss of what had already been expended. No further expenditure ought to take place until an impartial inquiry should be entered into with respect to the probable advantages which would result from the carrying out the project.

Sir *G. Clerk* did not consider the work likely to be of benefit to Scotland, and had protested against the large sum which had been annually voted. The work was undertaken not on the recommendation of any person connected with Scotland. It was commenced about forty years ago, on the suggestion of Lord Colchester, Mr. Isaac Hawkins Brown, and Mr. William Smith, of Norwich, whose political opinions were essentially different, but who philanthropically suggested that it would afford employment to persons residing in the Highlands of Scotland. After the works had been contracted for, persons accustomed to excavations were engaged; and he believed, that not a single Highlander was employed. He understood that some portion of the work was in a dangerous state. One part of the canal had been constructed by damming up one of the large locks twelve feet above its natural level. The embankment was now rather insecure, and if it should give way a large district would be inundated, and probably a great sacrifice of life and property would take place. He was quite satisfied, that the work would never pay its own expenses. Such works ought not to be undertaken as national works, but by individuals, who would be more likely to take an interest in their management than any public commissioners. He trusted the expense which had been incurred in this instance would be a warning to the House not to undertake the execution of public works. The hon. Member for Coventry had alluded to the committee of 1840, and to a proposition for transferring the canal to the management of a joint-stock company. The canal was to be placed under their control, they undertaking to make all the necessary repairs, and to be restricted to a certain amount of toll. It was true the negotiation had been broken off at that time, but within the last few days another proposal had been made on the subject. It was quite clear, that certain works must be proceeded with forthwith, but he believed, that sufficient sums remained for that purpose out of the supply last voted.

Vote postponed.

SUPPLY—MR. VIZARD.] On the question that the sum of 10,750*l.* be granted to her Majesty to complete the payment of the salaries and expenses of her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department,

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, he felt it to be his duty again to object to the expense attendant upon a new appointment which had been made by the late Government of a gentleman, with whom he (Colonel Sibthorp) had no acquaintance, to the office of solicitor to the Home Department. After no less than eighteen changes in the Government of the country since the year 1798, no such appointment had been thought of, and it was only during a recess, in which Parliament could not interfere, that her Majesty's late Administration had thought fit to make the appointment. Then it was that he found, that Mr. William Vizard had been appointed to the new post of solicitor to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. But on looking to the communications which had passed between the Home-office and the Treasury, he found that the noble Lord at that time at the head of the Home Department, when appealed to on the subject of this appointment, stated, that the business of the office would require the undivided attention of a professional man of experience and talent; and yet the noble Lord had, in point of fact, appointed a man who held another valuable situation—that of secretary of bankrupts, with a salary of 1,200*l.*, a man who during the period he had held that situation had received no less than 18,141*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* To this appointment he (Colonel Sibthorp) had taken an objection on a former occasion, and he wished now to know from the right hon. Baronet, whom he rejoiced now to see at the head of the Home Department, whether it was the intention of her Majesty's present Government to cancel that appointment; and, above all, whether, in the event of their continuing that office, it was their intention to retain in it a gentleman who held, besides it, the office of Secretary of Bankrupts?

Sir *J. Graham* said, he could not forget the jealousy with which the hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln had regarded the creation of, and the appointment to, the office to which his hon. and gallant Friend had alluded. He differed from his hon. and gallant Friend in no one particular, but he felt bound to say, that Mr. Vizard had been for twenty-five years his solicitor and private friend, and yet, from a sense of public duty, and concurring with his hon. and gallant Friend, he (Sir J. Graham) had not been in the office he had now the honour to fill forty-eight hours before he sent for Mr. Vizard, and told him that it was not his intention to interfere with the vote to which Parliament had come last Session, and by which Mr. Vizard's salary was provided for up to the 5th of October next; but he had announced to Mr. Vizard that it would be the duty of her Majesty's Government scrupulously and carefully to review the mode in which the law business of the Home-office was carried on, and in that review he should cordially act in concert with his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer; that his appointment was not to be held as a bar to that review, and that, as at present advised, he did not think it desirable that the office he (Mr. Vizard) held under the Home Department should be continued.

Sir *T. Wilde* was satisfied that the result of the review to which the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Home Department had alluded, would be that the public service at present demanded and would continue to demand the continuance of the office to which allusion had been directed. Of such an appointment as that of Mr. Vizard he had no knowledge until it had been made; but this he did know, that his hon. and learned Friend Sir John (now Lord) Campbell, then the Attorney-general, and himself had designed making a representation in furtherance of such an arrangement to the proper department of the late Administration. The duties of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, were not only most numerous but onerous in connexion with the Administration of the law. There were very few days indeed upon which the Secretary of State for the Home Department, did not receive letters from magistrates and others requiring instruction and advice upon the construction of various acts of Parliament. Some of these inquiries required the earliest possible attention, in order to save magistrates from committing themselves, or to prevent other similar and equally unfortunate evils. The course had been, it was true, that when the Secretary of State had been asked for advice, for that public functionary to apply to the Treasury in order to obtain the opinion of the solicitor of that board upon the particular point upon which advice was solicited. Now, the Secretary for the Home Department, had various other important duties connected with the Administration of Justice to perform, and yet he had under the old system first to solicit the advice of the solicitor to the Treasury; that solicitation answered, many statements as to the law and facts, frequently elaborate, were essential; above all, an early answer was necessary, and upon most of them no man was more competent to give such an answer than was Mr. Vizard himself. Such was the real state of affairs, and on the score of economy, he was of opinion, that the saving of fees to the Attorney and Solicitor-general upon such points would go considerably, if not wholly, to make up the amount of Mr. Vizard's salary. For Mr. Vizard, he was not prepared to speak; but thus much he would add, that he did not believe that a dozen cases could be sent from the Home-office without requiring the party referred to, not only to wade through acts of Parliament, but to examine law authorities—a duty which none but a professional man could discharge. He could also state, that since Mr. Vizard's appointment there had been a great diminution of points and cases referred to the law officers of the Crown. But with regard to prosecutions, admitting as he did the high qualifications possessed for such purposes by Mr. Maule, the present solicitor to the Treasury, than whom a more diligent, indefatigable, and intelligent man never filled the office—still, even that Gentleman, pressed as he must have been with the affairs of his own department, had found it absolutely necessary to employ others to conduct prosecutions which the public safety and protection demanded. At the period of the machine-breaking in the Midland Counties, Mr. Tallents, of Newark, had been so employed, and must have made, as he deserved, a large demand upon the Treasury. Again, the late prosecutions in Wales were of such a character and importance, as to demand an attention upon the part of the solicitor to the Treasury which, consistently with his other avocations and duties, it was impossible he could discharge. And hence, he was satisfied that not only public economy, but public justice, would be advanced by the appointment of such an officer as the solicitor for the Home Department. He knew that no situation required more skill and attention. With regard to Mr. Vizard personally he could say, that with 1,000*l.* a-year for himself, and 500*l.* a-year for an assistant, he had renounced all private professional practice in the courts. He would only add, that during his practice as a Queen's counsel, and also during the period he had held the office of Solicitor-general, the public interest demanded, and still continued to demand, the constant attention of a solicitor for the Home Department. The Customs, the Excise, the Mint, each had their separate solicitor, and, that being the case, why should the Secretary of State, before he could act, be compelled to wait for the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-general, when, with such an officer near him, the Secretary of State could get, if not the best, at least very competent advice upon such questions within twelve hours? He trusted that the whole matter would be duly considered in the course of the review of the whole subject to which the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary for the Home Department had alluded.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he should be sorry at once to pronounce a positive opinion upon the subject, but having filled the office for some years of Secretary of State, he must at present state that he did not think such an office as that which the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had eulogized was absolutely required. During the time he had held the office of Home Secretary he had an Under Secretary (Mr. Hobhouse), who, though brought from the Treasury, discharged all those duties which the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had overlooked, as belonging to an under secretary of state. He spoke with the greatest respect for Mr. Vizard, when he said, that with the assistance of such a man as Mr. Phillipps, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, had little to require even upon the most intricate and delicate construction of statute law. And of Mr. Hobhouse he must add, that he very well remembered Sir Vicary Gibbs, remarking, that he would not hesitate to put his name to any legal opinion given by that gentleman. He repeated, therefore, that the hon. and learned Gentleman had apparently overlooked the permanent nature of the appointment of the under Secretary of State, and that the office was usually, as at present, filled by gentlemen of legal eminence. He (Sir R. Peel) was of opinion that the sum of 2,500*l.* per annum was quite enough to secure sufficient legal experience and talent to the Treasury and to the Home-office. Without, however, pronouncing a positive opinion now that an inquiry was to be prosecuted, he would say, as the result of his personal experience, that it was better to have an able under Secretary of State rather than a solicitor as legal adviser to the Home-office.

Colonel *Sibthorp* entertained the highest opinion of Mr. Vizard, but the hon. and learned Member for Worcester had not quite satisfied him as to the propriety of, or necessity for, the appointment.

Colonel *Rolleston* had applied to the Home-office for information, in his capacity of magistrate, and had always obtained the advice he sought. In his judgment there was no necessity for the appointment of a solicitor to the Home-office.

Sir *T. Wilde* would bow to the opinion of the House if, after inquiry, the result should be unfavourable to the continuance of the appointment; but he was bound to observe, that it was an unsafe practice to trust the expositions of legal questions and elucidations of acts of Parliament to any one who was not conversant with what was passing daily in the law courts. Mr. Hobhouse, no doubt, was very talented; and Mr. Phillipps, the present under Secretary, was also talented; but they had been out of practice several years, and, though each might give a very respectable opinion on many legal points, yet he doubted if ever Mr. Phillipps would venture to give an opinion as to the construction of an act of Parliament, without first consulting the Secretary of the Treasury. Sir William Grant, when only out of practice six months, declared his incompetency to give a legal opinion.

Sir *R. Peel*: The hon. and learned Gentleman had told them that Sir W. Grant, after having been out of legal practice for a period of six months, considered himself unqualified to give an opinion upon any legal point that might be submitted to him, and yet the first condition that he had imposed upon Mr. Vizard was, that he should give up his court practice on taking the office of solicitor to the Home Department; and if, as was the fact, he had now been out of court practice for two years, how could he be better qualified to give an opinion than was Sir W. Grant, after only six months' cessation from practice? Let it also be remembered, that the Home-office had an Attorney-general and a Solicitor-general constantly practising in the courts, to whom they could at all times apply for a legal opinion when necessary.

Sir *T. Wilde* did not imagine that Sir W. Grant meant to say, that the mere fact of his having been out of practice for six months incapacitated him from forming an opinion; but that what he meant to infer was, that a person who was not constantly in the course of professional practice and professional reading was not the most safe adviser. It was true, that Mr. Vizard had been required to give up his private practice on his appointment to the office in question, but he had not, therefore, given up his professional reading, and could the right hon. Baronet say, that the under Secretary of State for the Home Department had time to read the law reports, and to keep up that course of professional reading which was necessary to enable him to give an opinion as to the construction of acts of Parliament? He (Sir T. Wilde) knew that, from the nature of his official duties, he had no leisure for such a purpose; and that from the moment he entered upon his office he must cease to be a professional man. But it was perfectly reasonable, that Mr. Vizard should give up his private practice, and yet be able to devote himself to such reading as was sufficient to enable him satisfactorily to perform the duties of his office.

Vote agreed to.

Supply — Poor-Law Commissioners.] Upon the vote—29,677*l.* for the expenses and salaries of the commissioners for the relief of the poor and their assistants, being proposed,

Mr. *Williams* said, had it not been for the assurance which the right hon. Baronet opposite had given, that the whole subject to which this vote related should be taken into his consideration at an early period in the ensuing Session, he should have felt it his duty to propose a considerable reduction in the amount now asked for; but, relying on the right hon. Baronet's promise, he should make no objection.

An *hon. Member*, on the Ministerial side, observed, that if there was not a great reduction in the expenses of this department when the estimates came before them next year, he should move that the salaries of the Poor-law Commissioners be reduced to the same amount as the salaries of Excise and Customs Commissioners. He believed they were now nearly double.—Vote agreed to.

Upon the vote of 19,600*l.* for foreign and other secret services being proposed,

Mr. *Williams* said, that this was a vote to which he should decidedly object. He found the charge for foreign secret service for the year was 25,000*l.*; and for the home secret service, the charge was 10,000*l.*; and 6,000*l.* also for the same services in Ireland. Now there was an impression abroad that this secret service money was applied to all sorts of improper purposes. It had been said, that it had frequently been used to a great extent at the elections. He did not object to a reasonable sum being allowed for foreign secret services, but he could see no reason for any such expenditure in this country or in Ireland, unless indeed it were required to pay spies; and, as spies were not wanted in this country or in Ireland, he should oppose the vote altogether, as there had been already a sufficient sum voted for the foreign secret services.

The committee divided — Ayes 144, Noes 7; Majority 137.

List of the Ayes.

Acton, Colonel
Aldam, W.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Ashley, Lord
Baillie, Colonel
Baird, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Barnard, E. G.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bowring, Dr.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hn. W.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Campbell, A.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Chelsea, Viscount
Clements, Viscount
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cochrane, A.
Cripps, W.
Dalrymple, Captain
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dugdale, W. S.
Egerton, W. T.
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ferguson, Colonel
Ferrand, W. B.
Fitzroy, Captain
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gill, T.
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hn. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Greenall, P.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hayes, Sir E.
Heathcoat, J.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Holland, R.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irton, S.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Ker, D. S.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lennox, Lord A.
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murphy, F. S.
Murray, C. R. S.
Neville, R.
Nicholl, right hon. J.
O'Connell, M. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Paget, Lord W.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmerston, Viscount
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Plumridge, Capt.
Plumptre, J. P.
Pollock, Sir F.
Protheroe, E.
Reade, W. M.
Rice, E. R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hn. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sanderson, R.
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Scott, hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Smythe, hon. G.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thornely, T.
Tollemache, hn. F. J.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Tufnell, H.
Vane, Lord H.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Waddington, H. S.
Welby, G. E.
Wigram, J.
Wilde, Sir T,
Wood, Colonel
Wood, Colonel T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

List of the Noes.

Bryan, G.
Fielden, J.
Harford, S.
Hindley, C.
Morris, D.
Pechell, Captain
Wakley, T.

TELLERS.

Williams, W.
Crawford, W. S.

Vote agreed to.

Supply—Convicts.] On the vote of 133,500*l.* for the expense of convicts in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. *Williams* complained of the amount of this grant which made criminal jurisprudence very costly.

Sir *R. Peel* said that before next year the whole of these estimates should undergo the most careful revision.

Agreed to.

Supply—Education in Slave Colonies.] 15,000*l.* for the religious and moral instruction of the emancipated Negro population having been proposed,

Mr. *Williams* objected to the vote. It

was on the whole as much as was voted for education in England.

Mr. *V. Smith* said, that his noble Friend (Lord J. Russell) some time before leaving office, had addressed a circular to the different West Indian colonies stating that he could no longer consent to this charge for the instruction of the Negro population, when so small a sum was voted for education at home.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY — FERNANDO PO.] On the sum of 19,987*l.* being proposed to defray the expenses of the expedition to the Niger,

Mr. *S. Wortley* inquired what had taken place with respect to the sale of Fernando Po to our Government.

Viscount *Palmerston* said that the Spanish Government had agreed that the sale should take place, but having submitted the proposition to the Cortes, they found them entertaining such a disinclination to dispose of the island, that they thought it best to drop the matter.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY — PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS OF DESIGN.] On a grant of 5,000*l.* in aid of local subscriptions for the establishment of Schools of Design in large towns.

Mr. *Williams* said, he approved of this grant, but regretted that he could not find people in any town to combine for the purpose of extending the advantages of schools of design among their fellow-townsmen, and hoped that the Government would use some strenuous efforts to promote their establishment.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he should never object to the grant of public money for such a purpose. He thought that it would be a great benefit to the country if schools of designs were established generally throughout all manufacturing districts, but he was quite certain that Government alone should not take it up, but should invite the co-operation of persons on the spot, who, it was hoped, would take a sufficient interest in the matter as to co-operate actively with the Government. Unless individuals in the respective localities assisted Government, he was very much afraid it would not be as successful as they wished.

Mr. *Ewart* concurred in the views which had been taken by the right hon. Baronet.

Dr. *Bowring* said, that there could not be any doubt but the most successful schools on the Continent were those where where the Government had been assisted by the persons residing in the locality.

Mr. *Williams* said, he had heard the opinions of the right hon. Baronet with the greatest satisfaction.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY—MAYNOOTH.] On the motion that a sum not exceeding 4,464*l.* be granted to her Majesty to defray the charges incidental to the support of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth.

Mr. *Plumptre* said, that he rose as an individual Member of Parliament to oppose the grant. It was only that day that he had presented thirty-five petitions against any further grant to the College of Maynooth, and he had presented at an earlier period of the year not less than 100 petitions to the same effect. He hoped that the right hon. Baronet below him would not think that in opposing this vote he meant to offer the slightest opposition to his general policy. He had uniformly opposed it on all occasions, and though he felt it to be his duty to differ with the Right hon. Baronet on this matter, he was most anxious to give him in all other things every support in his power. He felt delighted to see the right hon. Baronet occupying the place he did, and to know that he was, as he had himself expressed it, free as the wind to do as an independent Minister, determined to do his duty to the country. He would prove a blessing to the country, and he invoked the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD upon his head. He had ever opposed this vote, and he did so still, on the principle that he could not consent to grant the public money in support of what he believed to be the propagation of error. He should say "Nay," to the present vote, and unless some very strong reasons were adduced to dissuade him from it, he should divide the Committee on it.

Major *Bryan* suggested, that many hon. Members could hardly be expected to vote money for the Church of England, who were opposed to that Church, but who never asserted, that in so voting, they voted for the propagation of error.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* concurred with his hon. Friend in the opinion that the grant to Maynooth was most objectionable; but hoped that he would not divide the Committee on the present vote. There had been a previous vote this year taken, and the parties had doubtless calculated upon the remainder being also granted by Parliament, and had incurred certain expenses which otherwise they would not, and, therefore, he was indisposed to disappoint them in the second half of the grant for this year. But let the hon. Gentleman oppose the grant in the first instance next year, and let the parties have due notice of that opposition, so that they may make their calculations accordingly, and he should certainly support him. In reply to the hon. and gallant Member opposite, he would say, that voluntarily he would not give money for the propagation of what he conceived to be an error; but when a positive law ordained that it should be paid, then he should pay it. Individuals were not taxed in relation to their creeds, but in relation to their property.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* said, he should like to know whether the argument of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Oxford University (Sir Robert Inglis), did not apply to his favourite motion for Church of England extension? He only wished that there should be a fair division on this question of Maynooth College.

Mr. *Pakington* expressed his earnest hope that his hon. Friend would not divide the Committee, though he was inclined to doubt whether the money voted to Maynooth College was a grant which was beneficially applied.

Mr. *Darby* also opposed the grant, but hoped his hon. Friend would not divide.

Mr. *Smythe* supported the vote, because he conceived it to be only an act of justice to the great majority of our Roman Catholic brethren in Ireland, who had strong claims upon us. He did not support the vote on the ground taken by the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis), namely, that of prescription; because it should be recollected, that had it not been for the statute of *mortmain*, introduced by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, a statute palpably levelled at Roman Catholics, a rev. prelate would have bequeathed a large quantity of property to Maynooth College which would have been thus rendered independent of all Parliamentary aid.

Sir *R. Peel:* Sir, I merely rise to say, that I perfectly remember having expressed my opinion upon this vote in the last, or probably the preceding Session of Parliament, and, to prevent any mistake arising as to my motives for proposing and supporting it now, I must say, that I do not rest my vote in favour of it on the ground that one-half of the required estimate has been already voted by the House. I have voted for the grant to Maynooth College for the last thirty years, whether in or out of office, without feeling any violation of religious scruples. In order to enter into a full defence of this vote upon the present occasion, it would be necessary to state all the circumstances under which, at the period of the Union, the vote for Maynooth was originally given, and I must, therefore, confine myself to my former reasons for having considered it my duty to make the proposal of the present grant in the estimates before the House.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* said, it must have been three Sessions since the right hon. Baronet had expressed the opinions to which he had referred, for he did not think he had spoken upon the subject when it had been discussed in either of the last Sessions.

Sir *R. Peel:* I really cannot say positively whether it is two or three Sessions from this time that I spoke upon a similar vote to this, but I remember a distinct proposal being made by some hon. Gentleman respecting the grant being withheld, and that I then made a speech upon it, in which I gave my reasons for supporting its continuance. It would have been very easy for me to have avoided giving a vote on the occasion to which I refer, by leaving the House, as other hon. Members sometimes do. I certainly spoke my sentiments upon the grant, however; but if I have accidentally been absent when some similar vote has heen discussed in subsequent Sessions, no inference ought to be drawn from such a circumstance than ought, at the present moment, to be drawn from the fact, that the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell), the late Secretary of State, is not in the House.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* said, he did not want to draw any inference from his absence, but he had heard the matter remarked by some hon. Members in that House.

Mr. *Plumptre* said, however he might feel disposed to acquiesce in the recommendation of some hon. Friends about him, he felt conscientiously disposed to press his motion to a division.

Mr. *Cochrane* said, that, although he was disposed to allow every man the free exercise of his religious principles, yet as he was conscientiously opposed to the present grant he would vote against it.

Mr. *Hope* (as we could learn) begged to remind the hon. Member for Bridport that he had already voted for a grant that was at variance with their feelings at his side of the House. as Members of the church of England. They were all of that description at that side, but the gentlemen on the other side were of various persuasions.

Mr. *Forbes* : They differed from the Maynooth principles, not in form, but in doctrine; and he hoped the division would be persevered in. He did think if he voted for the Maynooth grant, he would do what would be an injury to the people of Ireland in a religious point of view; and so far as it might be considered in a political point, he did not think that, from the experience of the last thirty years, they could say that it had tended very much to the peace of Ireland.

Mr. *Cochrane* said with regard to the church of Scotland grant, to which allusion had been made, if there had been a division upon it, he would have voted against it.

The committee divided — Ayes 99; Noes 23: Majority 76.

List of the AYES.

Acton, Colonel
Aldam, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baring, H. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowring, Doctor
Bramston, T. W.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Bryan, G.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Chelsea, Viscount
Clements, Viscount
Clerk, Sir G.
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Crawford, W. S.
Cripps, W.
Dalrymple, Captain
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Egerton, W. T.
Escott, B.
Ewart, W.
Fielden, J.
Fitzroy, Captain
Forman, T. S.
Fox, C. R.
Gaskell, J. M.
Gill, T.
Gore, M.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Greenall, P.
Hamilton, W. J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Harford, S.
Heathcoat, J.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hogg, J. W.
Hollond, R.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Irton, S.
Jermyn, Earl
Ker, D. S.
Law, hon. C. E.
Leicester, Earl of
Lennox, Lord A.
Lindsay, H. H.
MacGeachy, F. A.
March, Earl of
Martyn, C. C.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murphy, F. S.
Nicholl, right hon. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Paget, Lord W.
Palmerston, Viscount
Pechell, Captain
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Plumridge, Captain
Pollock, Sir F.
Protheroe, E.
Reade, W. M.
Rice, E. R.
Rolleston, Colonel
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Smith, rt. hn. R. V.
Smythe, hon. G.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thornely, T.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Towneley, J.
Tufnell, H.
Vane, Lord H.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Waddington, H. S.
Wakley, T.
Watson, W. H.
Wigram, J.
Williams, W.
Wood, C.
Wood, Colonel
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Fremantle, Sir T.
O'Connell, J. M.

List of the NOES.

Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Boscawen, Lord
Cochrane, A.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Forbes, W.
Fuller, A. E.
Goring, C.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hayes, Sir E.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Johnson, W. G.
Lawson, A.
Lockhart, W.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Marsham, Viscount
Masterman, J.
Murray, C. R. S.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sibthorp, Colonel

TELLERS.

Plumptre, J. P.
Campbell, A.

Vote agreed to.

SUPPLY—LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.] On the vote of 6,232*l.* for the household of the Lord-lieutenant,

Viscount *Clements* objected to the vote, as he looked upon the office of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland quite as an ante-diluvian one, and one which he hoped to see abolished. He was persuaded that, if the question were calmly considered, the country would see the advantage of doing away with the office. They sent over a Lord-lieutenant as the representative of Royalty, and whenever he arrived a royal salute was fired, the soldiers were drawn out in line, and the drums beat. The Lord-lieutenant held levees too. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen might well laugh, for he thought nothing could, indeed, be more laughable than that a man should be sent over for the purpose of aping Royalty in Ireland. He should like to see all this altered, and that the time would come when they might have a Lord-lieutenant like a similar functionary in the counties of England, without the appurtenances of Royalty and all this ridiculous household. Having offered these few observations, he would not give any opposition to the vote.

Vote agreed to.

House resumed. Committee to sit again.

ROYAL GARDENS, KENSINGTON.] Sir *Thomas Freemantle,* in proposing the second reading of the Royal Gardens Bill, hoped the House would allow it to be advanced a stage, though the hour was late, on the condition that the discussion should be taken on a future stage of the bill.

Mr. *Protheroe* said, he had yet heard no argument upon this subject which had had sufficient weight with him to induce him to consent to the bill passing through another stage, and he must therefore, however reluctantly, oppose its further progress on the present occasion.

Mr. *Wakley* said, he feared a division would be of no use, if the Government were determined to carry out their measure. He had, the other evening, begged the right hon. Baronet to go and visit the spot on which it was proposed to build, and he was sure, if the right hon. Baronet would personally look at the place itself he would not persevere with the bill.

Sir *Robert Peel:* I have taken the advice of the hon. Member, and have visited the spot in question—and I must say, that I do not, after having done so, feel the force of his objections to the proposed plan, for I found, that on going from Kensington Palace to the Uxbridge road, the land on which it is proposed to build, is all on the left hand of the path which bounds Kensington-gardens. It is ground which has never been open to the public; and, besides, it is only intended to build villas upon it, which will not occupy the same space as would a street of continuous houses. There will be as much open space left after the villas are built as there is now, and the health of the neighbourhood will be much more promoted by the alteration of the place, as proposed, than by leaving it in its present state, or building streets upon it. If we admit that the object of consolidating the gardens is a useful one, it is surely better to devote the Crown land to the purpose proposed, and that we should vote the money required in this way, than that we should come down next year, and ask for 1000*l.* under the head of Crown lands in the estimates.

Bill read a second time.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, September 21, 1841.

MINUTES.] New Members. Earl of Lincoln, for South Notts; W. Busfeild, Esq., for Bradford.

Bills. Read first time:—Expiring Laws; Poor-law Commission Continuance.—Read third time:—Navy Pay.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Greenall, from Wigan, for Better Observance of the Sabbath.—By Mr. Clay, from Hackney, and by Mr. P. M. Stewart, from Paisley, for Inquiry into present Distress.—By Mr. Wakley, from Pagham, for the Repeal of the New Poor-law.

VACATION OF SEATS—MEMBER FOR RIPON.] Sir *T. Wilde* begged to repeat to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the question which had been put the night before, why it was that a new writ had not been issued for the borough of Ripon, in the place of the right hon. Gentleman, who had been appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Sir *R. Peel* did not perceive, that, according to his interpretation of the act, it was necessary for any Gentleman to whom office had been offered to vacate his seat in Parliament until the completion of the formal proceedings which might be considered to constitute the formal appointment. If hon. Gentlemen were to be compelled to vacate their seats before there was a *bonâ fide* acceptance of the office which they had been offered, and before the appointment was completed, the greatest inconvenience might be sustained by Gentlemen who, after having an offer made them, and having thereupon vacated their seats, had the offer, from some cause or other, revoked. As, however, in the present case, the formal instruments had advanced to such a stage as practically to preclude a revocation of the offer, if the hon. Member opposite thought proper to move a new writ for Ripon, he should make no sort of objection to the motion.

Sir *Thomas Wilde* said: Nothing that ever fell from the right hon. Baronet gave me more regret than the statement which he has just made, sanctioning principles which will, in my judgment, go far to destroy the independence of this House. As the issuing of the writ is no longer opposed, I should have been content to have made the motion without adding a single word, because, in bringing the matter under the attention of the House, I had no desire to make anything like an attack upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman, but merely to vindicate the authority, consistency, and independence of this House. But the weight and authority which attaches to the speeches of the right hon. Baronet in this House, makes principles if erroneous, and supposed to be deliberately asserted by him, very dangerous to the country; and the circumstances under which he has now spoken, will induce an impression, that he has uttered sentiments which have the sanction of his deliberate judgment. But I am persuaded, that neither the language nor object of the statute of Anne can have been considered by him, and that the Parliamentary course and usage ever since the statute passed must have been entirely overlooked by him, and that he is utterly unacquainted with the clear and strong opinions expressed by several of the hon. Gentlemen now sitting around him when they occupied seats on this side of the House, utterly at variance with those which the right hon. Baronet now professes to entertain. I am satisfied, that a very short investigation would convince the House and the right hon. Baronet, that those opinions he has pronounced are inconsistent alike with the statute, with the Parliamentary usage, and the integrity of the House. There is not the slightest foundation for the proposition that any more formal act of acceptance of an office under the Crown is necessary to vacate the seat, than the announcement of the fact to this House by the first Minister of the Crown, confirmed by the statement of the Member himself; and I am prepared to satisfy the House, that it is quite immaterial whether the place is conferred by patent or in any other mode; and when the right hon. Gentleman, the late Member for Ripon, contended that it was necessary to the vacating of the seat, that the patent granting the office should be issued and accepted, he entirely overlooked the convenience and safety of several of the hon. Gentlemen around him, all of whom, acting contrary to his view, have treated their intimation of acquiescence to the first Lord of the Treasury in the offer made to them of their respective appointments as an acceptance by them of such appointments within the meaning of the act of Parliament, and as having vacated their seats, and acting upon such conviction, have procured themselves to be re-elected by their several constituencies; but if the opinions of the right hon. Baronet and the late Member for Ripon be correct, those hon. Gentlemen will have to go back to their constituents again, for many of their patents are not sealed at the present moment; and the right hon. Member for Dorchester will have the happy opportunity for another oratorical display in his ingenious misapprehension of some of the dinner speeches which may be delivered in the mean time. The conduct of these hon. Gentlemen, acting with the concurrence of the right hon. Baronet, manifests the real opinion entertained by that side of the House. The case put by the right hon. Baronet justly leads to the very opposite conclusion to that which he professes to have drawn. He says some act of formal acceptance in writing ought to be the foundation for the vacating the seat of the Member, and that some solemn act should be done by the Crown to secure to the Member the certainty of the office the acceptance of which is to deprive the Member of his seat. But surely it is obvious, that a more direct evasion of the statute cannot be imagined, nor a more successful attack upon the independence of Parliament, than that the Crown by its first Minister should make a distinct offer of a place which the Crown has the power of bestowing, and that the Member should declare his acceptance of that office, and yet should retain his seat for any indefinite period, during which it might suit the purposes of the Minister to delay the formal act of appointment, in order that in the interval he might possess the vote of the Member; and should, during that time, effectually control the voter by his fears, that a vote displeasing to the Minister would deprive him of the reward of his corruption. The state of dependence thus produced is utterly inconsistent with the unbiassed discharge of his duty to his constituents, and is the very evil contemplated by the statute, and for which the remedy of sending him back to his constituents was devised. As the motion I am about to make is unopposed, I cannot with propriety trespass at greater length on the attention of the House, for the purpose of calling its notice to the language and object of the statute, and of the Parliamentary construction which that language has received; and I must content myself with solemnly protesting against the doctrines advanced by the right hon. Baronet, and with asserting that it has been the constant course of Parliament, as well in regard of the office of steward of the Chiltern Hundreds, as of every other office of profit under the Crown, to act upon the admission of the Member himself, or any one authorised by him, of his having accepted the office, as a sufficient ground for issuing a new writ, without any inquiry whether the office had been formally bestowed or not. I have, therefore, only to move, that a writ be issued for the election of a burgess to serve in this House for the city of Ripon, in the place of the right hon. Sir E. Sugden, Knt., who has accepted the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he had not vacated his seat till the patent was in his hands.

Sir *J. Graham* also stated that he had not vacated his seat until he had kissed her Majesty's hands on his appointment.

Mr. *C. Wood* said, that in the very last report on this subject, a committee of the House—a committee on which the right hon. Baronet next the right hon. Member for Tamworth had sat, if not the right hon. Member himself—was at direct variance with the principle laid down by the right hon. Baronet. In that case, the case of Mr. Wynn, no difficulty had been made in issuing a new writ; yet it was perfectly well known and admitted, that the right hon. Gentleman did not receive his patent of appointment until two months after his re-election. It was most desirable, as Mr. Wynn himself had suggested, that some course should be taken by the House to define what did constitute the acceptance of office. In the case of Mr. Wynn there was no act done before he vacated his seat; all that he had received was an intimation that directions would be given for making out his patent, and he thereupon vacated his seat, the patent itself not being made out for two months after.

Sir *R. Peel:* I did not concur altogether in the opinion of my right hon. and learned Friend, the Member for Ripon, as expressed yesterday, that the completion of the patent was necessary before a new writ could issue. I should have no objection whatever that it should be understood that the tender of an office under the Crown in writing, and the acceptance of it, also in writing, by the person to whom it was offered, should constitute a vacation of the seat. I think there ought to be some record of the transaction, and that it should not be left to rest upon mere conversation. In Mr. Horsman's case, there could be no doubt, that he had written to his constituents, that office had been offered to him, and that he had accepted it. Yet he voted in the House after the date of that letter, and the House did not interfere. In the present instance, I have no hesitation in acceding to the motion for a new writ, as I know the necessary instruments are so far advanced as to constitute an acceptance of office.

Lord *J. Russell* certainly thought that the principle stated by the right hon. Baronet might be productive of serious inconveniences to the public, especially in the case of the subordinate Members of the Government.

The new writ was ordered.

The Prorogation.] Mr. *C. P. Villiers* wished to ask the right hon. Baronet what was the probable duration of the prorogation of Parliament? The reason why he wished to put this question was, that an hon. Member on the Ministerial side of the House had stated in his place, that nothing that had fallen from the right hon. Baronet ought to lead to the conclusion that Parliament would be prorogued to so late a period as February.

Sir *R. Peel* begged to state, that he had made no communication on the subject to any hon. Member who could have made such a remark; he himself had not heard any such remark, and did not at all understand to whom the hon. Gentleman opposite referred.

Mr. *Villiers:* To the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Wakley.)

Sir *R. Peel* said, that the hon. Member for Finsbury had made such a statement without any authority from him. The hon. Gentleman opposite must be aware, that it was impossible for the hon. Member to give any assurance to the House on the subject.

Mr. *Villiers* said, that he had not described the hon. Member for Finsbury to make the statement as upon the authority of the right hon. Gentleman. A doubt had been raised in the public mind on the subject, and it was the object of his question to set it at rest.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he had never heard a question of that nature put to a Minister before. It was one to which he could not, consistently with his duty, return an answer. The period of the meeting of Parliament might depend on circumstances which it was impossible to foresee. He, therefore, should give no opinion whatever on the subject.

Mr. *Villiers* thought the right hon. Gentleman did say, that if no extraordinary circumstances occurred, Parliament would meet at the ordinary period. They might therefore, he thought, justly infer, that it would be in February.

PRIVATE BILLS COMMITTEES.] Mr. *Ewart* rose to move the following resolutions, of which he had given notice: —

"1. That it is expedient that committees on private bills should be approximated, more nearly than they now are, to judicial tribunals, and exempted, as much as possible, from all motives of local and personal interest. And that the responsibility and efficiency of such committees would be promoted by diminishing the number of Members composing them.

"2. That, with a view of attaining these objects, the number of Members composing committees on opposed private bills be reduced to seven.

"3. That such seven Members be appointed by the committee of Selection, after the second reading of such bills. But that previous to such appointment, the committee of Selection do ascertain from each of such seven Members that he is willing to serve, and that he is, neither through his constituents nor himself, personally interested for or against the bill in question; and that in case he is unable to serve, or is interested as aforesaid, the committee of Selection do appoint some other Member to serve in place of him.

"4. That the committee of Selection appoint no Member to serve on more than one such private bill committee at a time."

He believed, that great ignorance prevailed with regard to the transacting of business by Committees on Private Bills. He believed the right hon. Baronet opposite had had many opportunities of seeing the baneful working of the present system of Private Committees; and he appealed to him whether reform was not to be desired in their machinery and construction. In the first place, these committees were appointed principally from the local connection with the subject, and therefore it was impossible that they could be altogether impartial, being interested either through themselves or their constituents. The system of canvassing that went on during the sitting of a committee, was at variance with the justice of the case under the consideration of the committee, and it was discreditable to the character of the House. The committees of the House of Commons were not only partial tribunals, but, from their size, inconvenient for accomplishing the ends of justice. They ought to be purified, and diminished in point of numbers. The remedies which he ventured to suggest, were, in the first place, to propose, that committees should be more nearly assimilated to judicial tribunals. How was that to be effected? By removing as far as possible all motives of partiality. His next desire was to increase the responsibility and efficiency of committees. A body of thirty-five Members had a much more divided responsibility than a body consisting only of seven Members. He proposed, therefore, to increase their responsibility by reducing the number from thirty-eight to seven. The House of Lords had reduced their committees from an almost unlimited number to five, and prohibited any Member, directly or indirectly interested, from sitting. In the year 1838, the Duke of Richmond was examined before the House, and his evidence would be found to confirm all that he (Mr. Ewart) had said. In the same year the present Speaker and the hon. Member for Lancashire, drew up a set of resolutions on the subject, which, having examined, he found to be essentially the same with those he now proposed. Not only were the suggestions he had made founded on reason, but they came before them sanctioned by the House of Lords, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Chairman of the committee of Ways and Means. How had those rules operated in the House of Lords? Why, it was admitted that they had done great good; and, with respect to that House, he believed they had rendered its committees more effective, and their proceedings much more beneficial. The hon. Member concluded by moving the resolutions of which he had given notice.

The question was put on the first resolution.

Mr. *Estcourt* thought, that the principle laid down by the hon. Member was good, and he was not disposed to controvert it, but he thought he had taken a wrong mode of carrying it out. He would not deny—but that he entertained considerable respect for the opinion which he knew prevailed, not only amongst many Members of that House, but also very extensively out of doors—that in the constitution of committees on private bills, the principle of representation ought to have due weight. Committees on private bills might be considered under two aspects; first, as judicial tribunals, and, secondly, as inquisitions. They had to inquire as well as to judge. If their functions had been purely judicial, he would accede at once to the proposition of the hon. Gentleman, but where the matters brought before them might possibly lead to extensive inquiry, it appeared to him, that a larger number of Members ought to be appointed than if their functions were purely judicial, more particularly, when, in the result of that inquiry, the constituents of the Members might be interested. So long as the committees had been constituted, as formerly, of a very large number of Members, belonging not only to the county interested, but to the neighbouring counties. So long as the Speaker's list had been very large, he would admit that considerable inconvenience arose from the canvassing of agents, but both those evils had been remedied during the two last Sessions of Parliament. He confessed he thought there was very great weight in the arguments of those hon. Members who desired to give that tribunal a representative character. As far, however, as he had been enabled to form an opinion, the amendments of last Session had given general satisfaction. If, after a fair experiment, which could not be afforded in a single Session, the objections urged by the hon. Member should be found to have gained ground, he would then be prepared to accede to his propositions; but as no discontent appeared as yet to exist, he thought that was not a fit time for the hon. Member to press his resolutions. If the same system was preserved in the present as in the last Session of Parliament, and if hon. Members would bind themselves to carry the arrangements into effect, he had no doubt that there would be a most satisfactory result—that no party would be disappointed, and no unnecessary expense incurred. Believing the motion was unnecessary and uncalled for, he should take the liberty of moving the previous question.

Mr. *W. Ferrand* said, that he should support the resolutions, and if for no other reason, because the Members for Bradford had declared on the Hustings, that they would use their utmost endeavours to provide that town with good and wholesome water. This was said in reference to a private bill now before Parliament, and the object of which was to deprive him unjustly of some property, and take away part of the water that belonged to him.

Sir *G. Clerk* hoped the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Wigan, would withdraw his resolutions, as it was not expedient that the House should, at this period, be called upon to go into the consideration of such a subject. The experiment of last Session had not been sufficiently tried, and that to exclude hon. Members from taking part in an investigation whose constituents might be interested in the subject matter of a private bill, as proposed by the hon. Member, would work positive injustice.

Mr. *Ewart* said, that if the proposition he had made had been founded only upon his own opinion, he should at once assent to the recommendation of the hon. Member for Oxford; but as it was a case on which the public felt very strongly, and as many Gentlemen, of great experience, agreed in his views, and feeling, that, as the House had gone so far, they ought to go still farther, he should take the sense of the House on his motion.

Lord *J. Russell:* as the hon. Member has declared his intention of taking the sense of the House on his motion, I beg to say a few words in reference to the vote which I intend to give. I agree with my hon. Friend in much that he has stated with respect to the exemption from committees on private bills of local and personal interests, and if any scheme can be devised for giving to those committees a more judicial character, I shall support it. However, though I agree so far as I have stated with the hon. Member, I am not prepared to go the length of saying that local interests should be altogether excluded. I am not prepared to say that, admitting certain local interests, is not a mode by which more information can be obtained, and that more easily in a short time than in the more formal shape of witnesses could be obtained in a much greater length of time. By this mode, and in the form of discussion, more information might be obtained in a short time than in the formal way I have mentioned in a long time. I must, therefore, say, that although I shall vote for the previous question, I do not totally differ in opinion from the hon. Gentleman, and I hope to see still greater improvement effected in the system.

Mr. *Aglionby* hoped to see the motion brought forward and discussed in every Session, until greater improvements were effected. While he admitted the right of a constituency to the services of their representative, yet they had no right to have that representative transformed into an interested judge. He thought the best plan which could be adopted would be to allow the representative to attend before the committee, and give information where he happened to be connected with local interests, and he thought this plan would cause the House to stand higher in public opinion.

Sir *R. Peel* was rather sorry that the hon. Gentleman was about to take the sense of the House on this question. In his opinion it would be much better to give a fair trial to the existing system. The public attention had been very strongly called to the mode in which private business was conducted in this House. There was a strong impression throughout the country that there were great abuses in the mode of conducting it. Nothing could tend more to lower the dignity and character of Parliament than an improper mode of conducting the business on private bills, and of conveying the impression that improper influence could be used in carrying them into effect or impeding them. Great improvements had been made under the suggestion of Lord Dumfermline and the present Speaker. It was better, then, to give the present system a fair trial, and not call upon a new Parliament, in which there were so many new Members, who had not yet had the advantage of seeing how the system worked. He did not think it advisable to take the sense of the House at the present moment. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Aglionby) thought that the constituents had the right to the services of their representatives and that it was the duty of the latter to attend and claim to be heard. Now he had had some experience in these matters, and what, he would ask, must be the effect of this, in the case, let it be supposed, of a railroad: let it be supposed that it was the object to defeat the bill. There would then be the representatives of several counties and towns. Then, according to the assumption of the hon. Gentleman, they would be bound to attend, and have a right to be heard; and then the object being to have the bill postponed, the decision of the committee must be delayed until it would be too late to proceed with the bill. The moment they admitted the right of those persons to be heard, they could not limit the time which they might occupy in speaking [Mr. *Aglionby*: one hour]. If they approved of the appearance of Members in the character of advocates and witnesses, with a view to sustain the rights of their constituents, the inevitable consequence would be, that the bill they opposed must be lost, and he defied a committee to come in sufficient time to a decision that could expedite the opposed bill through Parliament. If the parties appeared by counsel, there was a difficulty in restraining even them within reasonable limits. He had seen a dreadful consumption of time and waste of money in these matters. He had seen how difficult it was for chairmen to control counsel—how much more difficult to control Members, who would appear with a greater authority than could invest the character of counsel. The unfortunate committee, unless it showed symptoms of yielding to the opposition, would be soon reduced to a despairing quorum, even if they could get a quorum, and at last might throw up the duty devolved upon them in disgust. But then as to the proposal of excluding Members. If the House decided that the representatives of local interests should be prevented from attending committees, it would be indeed a very strong measure, and one that required serious consideration. The establishing of a disqualification or exclusion of Members was a very dangerous principle, and they did not know when once adopted how far it might be carried. After all, their best security must be the integrity of Members, controlled by public opinion. If they said that Members representing local interests should be excluded, they provoked them to assert a right, and to resist, on the part of their constituents, the rule they laid down, and he was very much afraid that they would bring on debates of that nature, by which much time would be consumed, and that the House always listened to with great impatience. He wished the new Members of the present Parliament to have the opportunity of seeing how the present system worked. If, on experience of it, they must despair of improvement, then the hon. Gentleman could come forward with a better chance, at a future time, of effecting the important changes that he now desired.

Mr. *Ewart* would have no objection that the whole of his resolutions should be referred to the committee on private business. That would be a fair mode of compromise, and he trusted it would be acceded to by the right hon. Baronet.

Sir *R. Peel* thought it was highly necessary that the present system should have a fair trial, which had not yet been had.

Mr. *Ewart* was perfectly aware that the majority must be against him. Under such circumstances he would, therefore, not waste the time of the House by forcing a division. But he would continue to press them on the attention of the House so long as he had the honour of a seat.

Amendment and motion withdrawn.

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS IN THE PARKS.] Mr. *Rennie:* Mr. Speaker—The object of the motion which I am now about to submit to the House, is a remedial and effectual measure for the prevention of those lamentable and unnecessary sacrifices of life, which occur so frequently in the Royal parks of this metropolis. Sir, I trust, if the House will accord to me its indulgence for a very few minutes, I shall be able to show that this subject, involving as it does a deplorable and constantly recurring loss of life requires, and is entitled to the most serious consideration of Parliament. These accidents are not of the nature of those which may be considered extraordinary—every precaution which the most vigilant superintendence can suggest is put in practice—no pains or expense have been spared by the Royal Humane Society in their praiseworthy efforts to protect the lives of their fellow subjects, and yet every returning season exhibits the impossibility of attaining their object by the means at present in use. Sir, I hold in my hand a very interesting satistical document, furnished to me by the Royal Humane Society—it contains a carefully drawn up return of the number of persons who have been drowned in the Royal parks during the last six years; but, before reading this statement, I must beg the attention of the House to what passed at a meeting of that Society, convened especially to take into consideration the expediency and practicability of the measure which I shall conclude by submitting to the House.

"That upon a careful consideration of the danger to which the public is exposed during the bathing and skating seasons of the year, from the numerous accidents of a critical nature which have occurred in the parks, it is the confident opinion of this committee, that the proposed measure is of the utmost consequence, inasmuch as it would effectually secure the public against the dangers to which it is now most unnecessarily exposed; whilst it would enable the Royal Humane Society to turn its attention to the preservation of life on the river Thames, by appropriating the large annual expenditure now incurred in the parks, with very great advantage to the safeguard of the public, particularly at those places where accidents have lately become so numerous as to require the watchful aid of the Institution, and which its limited income is not otherwise adequate to meet."

I will now, Sir, read to the House, the return of the number, and the nature of these accidents, which I conceive it to be the duty of Parliament to take cognizance of.

DROWNED.

Years.	Hyde Park Bathing.	Hyde Park Ice-breaking.	St. James's Ditto.	Regent's Ditto.
1835	2	7	3	„
1836	2	„	„	„
1837	2	1	„	„
1838	2	2	„	„
1839	2	„	„	„
1840	3	1	5	„
1841	2	„	„	„
	15	11	8	„

RECOVERED.					
Years.	HydePark.	St. James'	Regent's	Attempted Suicides.	Suicides.
1835	37	26	4	2	4
1836	19	1	3	10	1
1837	19	5	„	10	3
1838	49	11	10	14	1
1839	34	„	5	12	9
1840	49	5	26	11	3
1841	35		11	8	„
	242	54	59	67	21

Total Recovered . . 355	Total Drowned . . . 55

Sir, I trust, that I have shown to the House, that I have requested its attention to no trivial matter—that in little more than five years thirty-four people have met with an untimely end; that these thirty-four individuals, full of health and vigour, thinking only of recreation and amusement, unreflecting and unprepared —were hurried into eternity, and into the presence of their Maker, and shall we be free from blame, shall we be exonerated from a most awful responsibility, if, after the proof which I have adduced, that these calamities cannot be arrested by any ingenious precautions, such as are in use at present, we neglect or refuse to adopt a remedy—a remedy which persons whose study and attention has been given for a long series of years to the preservation of life, tell us is the only effectual means of preventing those shocking and heart-rending occurrences. But, Sir, let me consider the question in a practical shape. By the statement which I have read to the House, it appears, that no fatal accidents have occurred in the Regent's-park water—this, I am told, is in consequence of there being very few deep places; and I will, therefore, say for this present, confine the remedies to the Serpentine and St. James's-park waters. Now, Sir, looking at these two lakes, hon. Members must not suppose, that they are bottomless pits, nor of any depth either impracticable or difficult to fill. I am assured, that the deepest pool in the Serpentine does not exceed twelve or thirteen feet. A very great portion of the eastern end is not more than four or five feet deep, and although I confess I am not prepared to state the exact number of cubic yards of material, that would be required to accomplish my object—thus much I know, that any quantity can be had and laid down at the water's edge at little or no expense. The immense volume of old materials which builders and others frequently find difficulty in knowing where to get rid of, could be brought to some one convenient spot, without cutting up or injuring the walks or drives, and thence conveyed in boats to the places requiring to be made shallow. If a better description of bottom be considered necessary, a coating of gravel, which can be obtained in the park itself, would be laid over the surface of the material which had been used previously. I can believe, that, probably, some bold and adventurous swimmers may say, you would injure our sport. I would ask them how many of those who have been drowned bathing, were swimmers, or persons unable to swim? Sir, the Serpentine has several cold and chilling springs, which I am told produce cramp, and paralyse in an instant the skill and energies of the most expert—that the larger number of casualties are of swimmers, who have sunk from the cause I have mentioned. But Sir, the thousands who are invited, for I say they are, to a certain degree, invited to bathe, by placards indicating the hours at which it is permitted, should be protected, should have the means of cleanliness, which is so necessary for the health of this vast metropolis, made accessible to them without the risk to all, and the certainty of death to a certain number annually. But, Sir, those whose amusement, at a different season of the year, I am also anxious to protect, will admit that their diversion would be much promoted, as it is too obvious to require illustration, that shallow water freezes in much less time than deep, and consequently the ice would bear with a less intensity or duration of frost than it does at present. Sir, great and much to be deplored as the accidents which I have enumerated from the returns of the Royal Humane Society are, it must not be concluded that the evil is not much further extended. Of the 355 persons who have been recovered by medical process, how many are there whose health and constitution have met with shocks from which they never recovered. Sir, I have no wish to exaggerate—no exaggeration is required. But when every expedient has been adopted which skill, ingenuity, and invention can contrive, when every care, vigilance, and superintendence has been exercised by a society, perhaps unexampled in its philanthropic intentions to preserve the lives of its fellow-citizens, and when that society, after a very large expenditure, comes forward and declares that the remedy which I now propose is the only effectual one which that society has heard devised, I think, Sir, that this House will incur a very heavy responsibility if it refuses to adopt the means of preserving the lives of so many of her Majesty's subjects, and when it is considered that her Majesty is herself the patroness of this very society, which now calls upon you to promote its objects. Sir, the right hon. Baronet, in his speech on Thursday last, passed a most just and well-deserved eulogium on the administration of Lord Duncannon, in so far as relates to the improvement of the walks, drives, and plantations of the parks. But, Sir, I have shown a much more important task yet remains to be performed, and I implore the right hon. Baronet to accede to the address which I am about to propose. I entreat of him to consider that the benefits he will confer on humanity by consenting to this measure in the royal parks, will not be confined to those places, for the funds which are now expended by the Royal Humane Society in endeavouring to protect the parks will be transferred to the river Thames, where the accidents which the increase of steam navigation has so multiplied, require a superintendence, to which the means of the society are inadequate. And, Sir, when my hon. Friends on this side of the House shall be reinstated in power, as I am sure they are convinced they will be, some time or other, I should be delighted to hear an eulogy of the right hon. Baronet's administration in this department as well merited as Lord Duncannon's has been. Sir, deducting the suicides, for which I profess to offer no remedy, we have an average of about seven lives sacrificed annually at the shrine of amusement, in places sanctioned by authority—an effectual and practicable remedy is proposed. What can be the objections? if objections there are. I know of none, I can imagine none, but the expense—and will Parliament consent to the sacrifice of life which occurs annually, for the trifling outlay which this work would occasion. Sir, I cannot believe it, but if the remedy is refused, I think it is the duty of this House to take measures for absolutely prohibiting all access to those waters. The law inflicts a punishment on the attempts to commit suicide, and yet you allow the multitude, nay, you invite the multitude to an amusement which is certain death to some of them. I entreat and implore the right hon. Baronet to consent to the address on the grounds of humanity. For, Sir, if this motion be not acceded to, no inference can be drawn, other than that the lives of the public are valued at less than the unimportant sum which I pledge myself that this work would cost. I cannot sit down without expressing my thanks to the House for the patience with which they have listened to me. The hon. Member then moved the following address:—

"That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to direct her Commissioners of Land Revenues to take measures for rendering safer the recreations of bathing and skating on the ornamental waters of Hyde-park, St. James's, and the Regent's-park, by filling up the deep and dangerous places, so as not exceeding four feet depth of water, in any of the above-mentioned parks."

Mr. *Ewart* seconded the motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* trusted that the hon. Member opposite would not think he was derogating from his claims to merit, for the interest he took in the subject which he had introduced to the House, when he stated his intention to vote against it. It must afford gratification to all those who were interested in the exertions of the Royal Humane Society to hear testimony borne to the great exertions they had made to prevent those fatal occurrences. The hon. Member opposite had described the advantages which would result from the adoption of the plan to which he referred, but he hoped to be able satisfactorily to show some difficulties which would attend the carrying into effect of that proposal. In offering his opposition to the large expense which would attend it, he felt that he was justified upon that ground alone; however, he remembered that in the early part of his life, a great deal of money had been expended in deepening that water, which the hon. Member now sought to render of less depth. He was not able to say what amount of expenditure would be required to effect the object which the hon. Gentleman desired; but taking his own calculation, that it would be no more than for a railway embankment of the same extent, he did not think that he would be justified under the circumstances, in agreeing to that expenditure, for the purpose of lessening the depth of that water, in deepening which so much expense was incurred at a former period. Before these waters were deepened, in consequence of the deposits made in them, they were attended by an offensive smell, which was extremely injurious to health, and annoying, not only to those who went there to bathe, but to the inhabitants of London generally who went there to enjoy the recreation and fresh air which the open spaces in these parks afforded them. The hon. Member must take into account what injury would follow to the community at large, supposing that the filling up of these spaces would be attended with a recurrence of the same effects. With respect to the enjoyment of those who went there to enjoy the manly and invigorating exercise of swimming, if these waters were filled up so as to be made only four feet in depth, would it be practicable for these parties to continue to take that exercise. The consequence of filling up those places in the way sought for by the hon. Member would be, to compel those who resorted to those places to bathe, to go elsewhere, to the Thames, or other places, where the same provision was not made to ensure their safety, and the loss of life that would occur would, in all probability, be much greater. For these reasons, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would consent to withdraw his motion, and not place him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) in the situation of opposing it.

Mr. *Rennie* said, that the accumulation of mud which occurred formerly had been caused by a sewer, which had since been removed. However, as the motion was opposed, he would consent to withdraw it, but hoped that the subject would receive the attention of the Government, at a future time.

Motion withdrawn.

Continuance of Laws—Poor-law Commission.] Sir *R. Peel* said, I now rise to move for leave to introduce a bill, of which I have given notice, and the object of which is, to continue in force certain Acts which would expire, either on a certain day named, or at the end of the Session of Parliament, or after a certain period. Upon the whole, having taken into consideration that one part of the bill which I proposed to introduce is likely to undergo discussion, and that the other is not likely to meet with any objection, I believe that it would be more for the convenience of the House that I should introduce two bills, one for the purpose of continuing the present Poor-law commission, and another for the purpose of continuing in force, for a certain period, other expiring laws. I believe that this will better meet the views of those who may be desirous of separating the Poor-law Commission Renewal Bill separately from the other, which is not likely to meet with any discussion or objection. I think it right, however, to mention, that whichever course may be adopted, of introducing one or two acts, it will not be competent for hon. Members to move amendments in the ordinary mode, but whatever amendments they may wish to introduce, must be moved in the shape of an instruction to the committee. I think it righ t,therefore, to mention, that those who wish to propose amendments, must do so by previously moving an instruction to the committee. I now move for leave to bring in a bill, to continue the Poor-law commission to the 31st of July, 1842.

Motion agreed to.

Sir *R. Peel:* I now move for leave to introduce a Bill, to continue such laws as will expire within a certain limited period.

Motion agreed to.

Bills brought in, and read a first time.

Supply—Maynooth College—Explanation.] On the question that the report of the committee of supply be brought up,

Colonel *Acton:* I wish to say a few words to the House on a matter personal to myself. I am most anxious to explain that it was my intention to vote against the grant to the College of Maynooth, and I communicated to several friends about me in the House my fixed determination so to do, but having inadvertently gone into the old lobby, I did not discover my mistake until the door was closed. As soon as I was aware of my mistake I remonstrated in the strongest manner against being obliged to record my vote against my principles and my recently expressed intentions, but I was informed that having gone into the lobby my vote was, in fact, given, and could not be recalled. It is most painful to me to vote against her Majesty's present Government, from which we have reason to expect such inestimable benefits to the nation; but I never can conscientiously vote for the grant to Maynooth College. I never intended to vote for it, and I never will. I trust the House will pardon this intrusion, but I felt it due to my own character and that of the constituency I have the honour to represent, thus to explain the apparent inconsistency of my conduct.

Mr. *Plumptre* bore testimony to the fact that the hon. Gentleman had communicated to him his intention of voting as he had just stated.

Report brought up.

Supply—National Gallery.] On the vote for the National Gallery.

Sir *C. Burrell* said, he wished to call the attention of his right hon. Friend to an alledged fact which, if it were well founded, showed that pictures were admitted to the National Gallery which were a disgrace to it. It was said, that a work of Perugino, sold to Mr. Beckford originally for 40*l.* or 50*l.*, had been bought for the National Gallery out of that gentleman's collection for 800*l.* If what had been stated to him were true, the picture would be a disgrace to it. The picture had been so much altered that it had been nearly repainted, and a *bandeau*, which was formerly on the forehead of one of the figures, had been entirely removed. If, indeed, his information were correct a very indifferent painting had been palmed off on the public at a very large price. His only object in mentioning this was to call the attention of the right hon. Baronet to the subject, that care might be observed in future in purchasing pictures for the National Gallery.

Resolution agreed to.

Seamen's Pay Abroad.] On the third reading of the Navy Pay Bill,

Captain *Berkeley* said, that by the rate of exchange in the Mediterranean, seamen serving there and paid abroad had been deprived of 4*d.* on the dollar. He could instance his own ship, the seamen of which when paid at Gibraltar, were charged for every dollar 4*d.* more than it passed for, He had called the attention of the former Secretary of the Admiralty, to the subject, and he hoped it would not be lost sight of by the present.

Bill read a third time.

Lunatics.] On the motion of Lord Ashley, the House went into Committee on the Lunatics Bill.

On the first clause being read,

Mr. *Wakley* said, that the subject of the treatment of lunatics had been much discussed of late, and it seemed to be a general impression that some alteration should be made in the existing law, and that without delay. In the late Session several notices had been given on the subject; amongst these that of the hon. Member for Lambeth, was foremost, but having many other matters to attend to, the hon. Gentleman had abandoned it. Subsequently the hon. Member for Dumfries, gave a notice on the subject, but he did not persevere in calling for an investigation. That which was proposed by the present bill was to continue the existing state of the law for four years. Considering that this question was now much publicly discussed, and that it must be considered at no distant day, the term proposed he thought too long, and that it should be shortened to two years. Though he admitted the existing commission had done essential service to the public and to the cause of humanity, it had fallen short in its effects of what the public had a right to expect. He had yet to learn whether they had furnished all the information that was looked for in the shape of reports, and whether the public had received any great information from their labours. In fact, he only knew of their presenting one report the year after their appointment. He did not think the noble Lord who introduced this bill (Lord Ashley), could say, that full and adequate justice was yet done to patients by the care taken by the commissioners, and the control exercised by them in Lunatic Asylums. No doubt the noble Lord could state truly that the restraint imposed on insane persons was much diminished. At the same time, an outrageous system of restraint was still imposed on lunatics. The powers of the commission only extended to a few miles beyond the metropolis, and had little or no effect in the country at large. He should like to know why one system should be adopted in the metropolis, and another in the country districts. Why should a licence to keep in custody insane persons be granted by commissioners in one place, and by justices of the peace in another? There was one regulation under the existing law so obnoxious to common sense, and so objectionable in point of principle, that it ought not to be sanctioned for a single moment. Suppose one was desirous to keep a lunatic asylum for two persons, he must apply to the commissioners before he could do so; but if he were anxious to take only one under his charge, neither the noble Lord nor his colleagues had any power of visitation as to that patient. So that, in point of fact, in one town fifty persons might be unjustly confined separately, through the atrocious conduct of their relatives, and the commissioners could not visit one of those fifty. He had heard of a case of a lady of family and distinction, which he would mention to the House. A friend of that lady tried to obtain an interview with her, but could not succeed; he tried to communicate by means of writing, but could not succeed; nay, he even endeavoured to find out where she was confined, but could not obtain a knowledge of the place of her concealment. Was such a system to be sanctioned in an intelligent and christian land? It was fraught with injustice and inhumanity. He was convinced there were hundreds confined in the lunatic asylums of this country, who were as sane as any who sat in that House—indeed more so, in some instances. In the metropolitan districts, the commissioners might liberate persons when unjustly confined, but not until three visits had been paid, and six weeks might elapse before these visits were made. This was a monstrous state of things, and all the circumstances demanded investigation. He did not mean to say that that investigation could take place now, but another Session ought not to be allowed to pass without inquiry, seeing the disclosures that had recently taken place regarding the unwarrantable treatment of patients. The system throughout the country ought to be uniform, and no favour should be shown to the metropolitan districts. He thought the noble Lord could not at least object to that principle. It had been shown within a brief period, that an enormous number of patients in one asylum might exist almost without restraint—that the chains and manacles which used to be hung upon the limbs of these unfortunate persons, might be entirely laid aside, merely by the appointment of an additional number of keepers and intelligent and humane superintendants. He alluded to the treatment of lunatics in the asylum of that county (Middlesex), where the magistrates had so conducted themselves as to deserve the admiration of every one. In that asylum there were nearly a thousand patients, yet not one was fastened to his bed or had a chain upon his limbs. He entreated the House to observe the operation of the law as regarded lunatics. Suppose he had a relation who was possessed of a large fortune—he perceived certain eccentricities in the conduct of that individual. From the great affection he had for that relative, and the still greater affection he had for his property, he causes a commission of lunacy to be issued out, and discovering him to be insane, places him in confinement. Then what motive of action was given, under the present system, to the person under whose charge the lunatic was placed? Why, it called into operation that principle of selfishness common to human nature. The proprietor of the asylum would argue that he got 400*l.* a year for the charge of the gentleman so long as he remained under that roof; and if he recovered, then he (the proprietor) would lose that annual amount. Suppose a gentleman was to go to a doctor, and say, "My liver is diseased, and so long as it remains so I will give you 100*l.* a year." What motive of action in such a case would be given to the doctor? The House ought to set about to discover means of remedy for these things, and a system of investigation and control should be instituted which would prevent the possibility of such atrocious practices being continued. The law which the noble Lord sought to prolong had certainly in some respects its merits, but they fell short of what the public had a right to expect, and common sense—the common principles of justice—dictated the necessity for some effectual remedy for the existing evils. He asked the House to prolong the law only for one year, because in that case he was sure that the hon. Member for Lambeth, or the hon. Member for Dumfries, would next Session move for a Committee of inquiry; whereas if the law were to be prolonged for so long a period as that proposed, it would be a clog upon investigation. The hon. Member concluded by moving, that the words "one year," be substituted for "three years."

Mr. *Hawes* seconded the amendment. He agreed with his hon. Friend, that there were great abuses and vices in the present system, that the lunatic asylums of the country were very imperfect, and that the public had a very insufficient knowledge of the manner in which they were conducted. There was no proper check upon them. The details that were brought to light some time ago, relative to the management of the Hereford Lunatic asylum, were perfectly disgusting. He wished to direct the attention of the House to that part of the act which enabled the keeper of an asylum to receive lunatics as patients. Under special circumstances, a single apothecary might consign a man to confinement for ever. [*No, no.*] It was so; and if that man were a pauper, not even the intervention of an apothecary was necessary, but a justice of the peace could, by his certificate, consign him to a lunatic asylum, under certain circumstances. The noble Lord said not for ever, and he admitted that the noble Lord was right as regarded the metropolitan districts, but that did not apply to the provinces. Let a man be once sent to a lunatic asylum, and suppose him to be of a nervous temperament, and unable to stand those formidable examinations he had to undergo before medical men, who were generally, and not unnaturally, prepossessed with the conviction that a patient confined in the asylum must necessarily be insane, and his chances for emancipation were rather remote. He did not wish to refer unnecessarily to the case of the Hereford Asylum, but he was bound to say, that the scenes disclosed there, were such as to shock every humane mind, and they called loudly for an amendment in the system. All that the hon. Member for Finsbury sought was a diminution of the term for which the law was to be renewed. He did not think that a Committee of that House was the best instrument to effect the object desired; but he conceived it was a case peculiarly belonging to the executive Government. If the noble Lord would turn his mind seriously to the whole subject before next Session, he would have the opportunity of working out an inestimable benefit. He trusted, however, that the Government would take up the subject, for it was too complicated for any single Member of that House.

Lord *Ashley* had not thought, that a discussion would have arisen upon the subject, or he would have come down to the House better prepared to bear his part in it. The commissioners had done all that could be reasonably expected of them, and he begged to observe, that the act under which they derived their powers was not an act directing the methods to be employed in the cure of patients; but it was an act for the purpose of controlling those enormous abuses which, from time to time, had been laid before Committees of that House—abuses under which persons were very easily confined in lunatic asylums, but which rendered it almost impossible for them to obtain their liberty. Such was the state of the law when the present act was introduced. He wished to inform the House that the commissioners had made periodical reports to the Lord Chancellor, and it was not long ago that it was determined by the commission that he (Lord Ashley) should be called upon to lay those reports from the year 1835 upon the table of that House, that the country might see the progress that had been made, and pass an opinion upon the merits of the commission. The powers of the commission were very limited, they were powers of control, and no more; and a great deal that had been done, had been effected by advice and suggestion, and not by authority. The commissioners, indeed, possessed two powers, one of which was the right of refusing licences, but those powers were only to be resorted to in extreme cases, and there had been only one, or at the most, two instances, in which those powers had been exercised. If he thought, that the renewal of the act for the time that he sought precluded all consideration for the amendment of the law, then he should be ready to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member for Finsbury, but he assured the House that the commissioners had great difficulty in keeping the lunatic asylums within due bounds and in proper order; and if the existence of the commission was to be terminated within twelve months, and the proprietors of those houses were aware of that fact, the difficulties already experienced would be greatly aggravated. The commissioners had agreed that it would be desirable to meet before the next Session of Parliament, to consult as to what amendments in the system might be proposed. Within the metropolis and seven miles around, the commissioners had, he would venture to say, brought the asylums into a most complete state of order. It was a rule with the commissioners, when they visited these asylums, to omit none where a single human being was confined. The provincial asylums had no visitation whatever that was worthy the name, and the best proof of that was, that, whereas the commissioners ought to be supplied with a correct return of all those asylums—the fact was, there were many in the country of which they had no knowledge at all. It was almost impossible, under the present system, to carry out the intentions of the act with respect to those provincial asylums. There was a defect in the present system of the treatment of lunatics to which he wished to allude, while, at the same time, he confessed he did not know how to remedy it by any legislative enactment. But it showed the necessity for some amendment in the system. No sooner was a person confined in a lunatic asylum—he spoke, of course, not without exceptions, but yet as a pretty general rule—than from that hour it appeared as though all the relatives, even the nearest, of that unfortunate individual, thought themselves discharged from the solemn duty of watching over him. It appeared, indeed, as if insanity was a visitation of Providence, so awful and overwhelming, that it produced a withering and deadly effect upon the minds, not only of the unhappy patient, but of all who were connected with him, so as to incline them not only to get rid of his society, but to wipe out, if possible, all memory of him. That was an additional reason why not only in the metropolitan districts, but in the provinces, there should be instituted a strict, vigorous, and most searching investigation, that should compel relatives to come forward and take upon themselves that solemn duty, of the extended neglect of which he could convey to the House no accurate notion. He believed all parties concurred in the opinion that no blame was chargeable upon the commissioners. The only question, however, before the House was, as regarded the term for which the Act was to be renewed; and, he assured the House, so far as he was concerned, that if they thought proper to sanction the renewal of the commission for three years, which he considered absolutely necessary, all the energies and abilities he could command, should be freely and readily devoted to the subject. He thought the commissioners would be enabled to propound to the House a scheme whereby the management of lunatics throughout the country should be put upon one general and uniform footing; and, above all, by which a complete and effective system of visitation should be established over all private asylums.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, he had listened to the speech just delivered with the deepest attention, marked as it was at once with that simple clearness, and that sincerity of feeling, which characterized his noble Friend's addresses on such subjects. The only observation he had to make was, that he trusted the country visitations were not altogether and universally mockeries. He felt great pleasure in declaring, that his noble Friend had earned one title more honourable than all others—that of the friend to the friendless—the sympathizer with every sufferer.

Lord *Ashley* briefly explained, that there were exceptions in the country visitations.

Mr. *Wakley* said, he for one bore warm and willing testimony to the zeal and energy which the noble Lord had manifested in this cause. It was one thing, however, to admire the noble Lord's character, and another to approve of his propositions. The noble Lord's speech had throughout indicated a deficiency of authority and power in the commissioners. The noble Lord no doubt would be disposed to fulfil his promise to give the whole subject careful consideration, and to propose a general plan. But the fact of the act being renewed only for one year would have this effect—it would stimulate he would not say the noble Lord, for he required no stimulus, but those with whom he was associated, of whom he confessed he had some distrust, though of the noble Lord he had none. The very fact of the act having again speedily to come before Parliament would serve to keep up their attention and their energies on the subject, and prevent their sympathies from sleeping supposing they were disposed to allow them. Let the House well recollect what the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government said when the noble Lord the Member for the city had proposed the renewal of the Poor-law commission for ten years. The right hon. Baronet said, "No; when we have such a commission as this, the oftener it is brought under the revision of Parliament the better; it will be wiser to renew it for a shorter period." So said he as to this lunacy commission. He had made no attack upon that commission; he might have said things which he chose to withhold for the present, but, at all events, it was an amazingly well paid commission. The professional men received one guinea per hour for the time they devoted themselves to their duty, exclusive of all travelling expenses, and he thought that was remarkably good pay. But it was questionable whether a body of not more than twenty, nor less than fifteen, was one properly constituted to conduct such proceedings as those which were imposed upon the lunatic commission. He thought something much better than such a board might be constituted. He believed if there was but one person appointed who should be obliged to devote the whole of his time to these particular duties, receiving a sufficient salary, and alone responsible to that House and to the public, that much more efficient services would be rendered, and that the unfortunate lunatics would receive milder, kinder, and more generous treatment in the asylums. He contended that the noble Lord had, by his speech, completely made out a case for the shorter period of renewal, and had proved beyond a doubt, that the case could not too soon come before Parliament. The right hon. Secretary for the Home Department would at once see the necessity for doing something, and he (Mr. Wakley) trusted the whole case would soon be brought under the searching investigation of that right hon. Gentleman. Upon a matter of this kind there could be no party feeling, and the amendment he had proposed had been submitted to the House without any local or private spirit or interest, and he trusted the House would decide in favour of the shorter term of renewal.

Lord *Ashley* wished it to be understood that he received no remuneration for his services.

Mr. *Wakley* explained that he had spoken of the professional persons only—the physicians and barristers. Those persons, he repeated, received one guinea per hour, besides travelling expenses, for the time they devoted to an inquiry, and he believed the act put no limitation on the time they might occupy.

Sir *James Graham* having been appealed to, would offer a very few words to the notice of the committee. The subject was of the gravest character, and the discussion must touch deeply the feelings and sympathies of every humane man. He agreed most cordially with the hon. Baronet, the Member for Oxford, that amidst the many claims which his noble Friend had established upon the gratitude of the nation, there was none that had better earned for him the title of the friend of the afflicted and the unprotected, than the active part he had taken in the distressing duty with which he had associated himself. The point immediately before the committee was in itself, however, very narrow. It was simply, whether the term of the renewal of the act should be for a greater or a less period. He perfectly agreed with the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, that a very salutary effect was produced in bringing the conduct of commissioners, and indeed, all other public servants, frequently under the revision of that House. But in the present instance, the only question was, what limitation of time should be taken as rendering the revision sufficiently frequent. He certainly thought, that an annual revision would be more frequent than was necessary. If it should be deemed requisite to come to Parliament for an extension of power, he, after carefully considering the subject, and availing himself of the advice of his noble Friend (Lord Ashley), and the experience of the commission under which his noble Friend acted, should be prepared to accede to any proposition that the humanity of the subject might seem to demand. After the assurance that had been given by his noble Friend, he thought there could be no impropriety in now renewing the operation of the act for three years.

Amendment negatived.

Bill went through the committee.

House resumed.—Report to be received.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, September 22, 1841.

Minutes.] New Members. Hon. O. Duncombe, for North Riding, Yorkshire; Sir E. Knatchbull, for East Kent.

Bill. Read first time:—Population Payments Bill.—Read second time:—Administration of Justice (No. 2).; Expiring Laws; Poor-law Commission.—Read third time:—Foreign Bishops.

Petitions presented. By Captain Rous, from Inhabitants of Westminster, and by Mr. Masterman, from Somers Town, for Redemption of Tolls on Metropolitan Bridges.—By Mr. Oldham, from East-India Society, for Inquiry into the case of the Rajah of Sattara.—By Mr. Mackinnon, from Henry Inglis, for Inquiry into the Projected Low Water Harbours on the Coasts of Sussex and Kent.

Royal Gardens, Kensington.] On the motion for going into committee on the Royal Gardens Bill,

Mr. *Protheroe* said, that his objections to this bill had not been removed by anything he had heard in the way of explanation. He considered it calculated to injure both Kensington Palace and the gardens; because, if it should hereafter turn out, as was very probable, that the Crown should wish to remove the present dilapidated palace, and build another, the occupation of this space of ground let out on leases to private individuals might be found exceedingly inconvenient and prejudicial. There was certainly one advantage connected with the plan which he was ready to give credit for, namely, the opening of a new road from Kensington to Bayswater, but in other respects the measure seemed to be very objectionable.

Sir *R. Inglis* quite agreed with the hon. Member that they ought not to deprive any future possessors of the Crown of this piece of ground; and, under the circumstance referred to by the hon. Member, it might be found exceedingly difficult to repurchase it or to find another sufficiently convenient for the erection of a new palace.

The bill went through committee, as did the Frogmore Lodge Bill.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ANNUITY.] The House in committee on the Administration of Justice (Retired Annuity to Vice-Chancellor) Bill.

The *Attorney-General* moved a clause, empowering her Majesty to grant to any person who shall vacate the office of Vice-Chancellor under the provisions of the bill an annuity of 3,500*l.*, to be paid out of the consolidated fund.

The clause agreed to—the House resumed—Bill to be reported.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.] The Order of the Day for the second reading of the Poor-law Commission Continuance Bill having been read,

Dr. *Bowring* expressed his regret that the question of the Corn-laws was not to be considered before next Session; but as regarded the Poor-law question, he had no objection that the right hon. Baronet should take time to consider it, so that he might be able to bring forward such modifications as would be the most likely to conciliate all parties. Sure he was, that all parties would concur in a measure having for its object the rejection of the claims of the worthless and the improvident, and the relief of distress where that distress ought in reason to be relieved. He thought that the measure of the right hon. Baronet ought to be made the instrument of removing as much misery as it was possible, and creating as much happiness as could be created consistently with that control which it was necessary to observe. He had no objection to offer to the present bill. He should allow the question toremain in the hands of the right hon. Baronet unmolested by any opposition on his part, persuaded that such a course afforded the greatest prospect of a fair and satisfactory adjustment of the whole question.

Mr. *Wortley* said, that although it was not his intention to offer any obstacle to the passing of this bill, as it was indispensably necessary, yet he thought it desirable that the right hon. Baronet should suggest to the House the arrangement which he might consider the most convenient for affording to such hon. Members as were desirous of expressing their opinions on the subject an opportunity of so doing. He himself was one of that number. He had been absent from the House of Commons during the entire period within which the discussions upon the subject were comprised; and he felt extremely unwilling to allow this bill to pass, unobjectionable as it was, under the circumstances, without putting the House in possession of the views he entertained in reference to the Poor-law question. He therefore hoped that some arrangement would be made for the purpose of affording him, in common with other hon. Members, the opportunity which he sought.

Sir *R. Peel* thought it was understood, that any discussion which might be desired should take place on the question, that the House resolve itself into a committee. Having been led to believe that the object of the bill, namely, the renewal of the commission, met with, under the circumstances, the general approval of the House, but, at the same time, that there was a wish on the part of several Members to express their opinions upon different parts of the bill, he stated that the most effectual way of doing so would be to give notice of an instruction to the committee to make enactments corresponding with the views which they entertained upon the subject. He thought that the discussion should not take place now, but at a more distant day—Friday next he conceived would be the most proper and convenient time, when it was intended to move that the House go into committee on the bill. He might take this opportunity of correcting an erroneous impression which he was surprised to hear existed in some parts of Ireland, to this effect—that in consequence of the change in the Government, alterations to a material extent would be made in the Irish Poor-law. He had been told also, that that impression not only existed, but that it counteracted the beneficial operation of the Irish Poor-law in some parts of Ireland. As he supported that bill, he was rather at a loss to conceive how such an impression could have arisen; but for the purpose of preventing any prejudice which might stand in the way of the practical operation of the bill, he begged leave to state that there was no intention whatever, on the part of her Majesty's Government, of proposing any change in the Irish Poor-law.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that if the House was desirous that the discussion should take place on Friday, he had no wish to disturb the arrangement. But, assuredly, if there was to be an alteration of the law, it was extremely desirable that those hon. Members who had watched its operation, and who were anxious to effect in it very material changes, should have an opportunity of addressing the House, and admonishing the right hon. Baronet upon the subject of those changes, in order that he and his Colleagues might not be in the position of saying, at the opening of the next Session of Parliament, that they were unacquainted with the feelings and desires of the House on this important question. Hence the very great expediency of affording opportunity to hon. Members who entertained strong opinions upon the question of declaring their sentiments, and putting the Government in possession of the changes they were desirous of effecting. He never had expected that he should be called upon to vote for the continuance of the Poor-law Commission. He thought it the most unconstitutional authority the law had ever created in this country. His opinion on that subject remained entirely unchanged. The experience of every day, the conviction of every hour, assured him that a more unconstitutional authority, or one more dangerous to the well-being of the community, could not exist. The right hon. Baronet proposed to prolong that commission for six months beyond the period prescribed by law, and that proposition he (Mr. Wakley) cordially supported, because a more rational proposition, a proposition more imperatively called for by the circumstances of the case, could not, he conceived, be submitted for the consideration of that House; and if the right hon. Baronet did not defend his own character as connected with that proposition, he should feel himself compelled to endeavour to defend it for him, in order that, by so doing, he might establish a defence for his own conduct, in reference to the course pursued by the right hon. Baronet, which had been made the subject of attack. Under what circumstances had the right hon. Baronet made that proposition? They were too fresh in his memory to forget them. In 1834 the Poor-law Amendmendment Bill was enacted, and established the Poor-law Commission for five years. In 1839 the noble Lord, then the Member for Stroud, moved the prolongation of the commission for one year, and it was prolonged accordingly. Well, what was done in the last Session of Parliament? That party which professed so much deference and respect for the people, placing themselves in direct opposition to the public will, persisted in bringing forward a measure to continue the commission for ten years, thus doubling the period for which it was first established. Scouted and detested by the people for the manner in which they treated this question, they still, and in defiance of the loudly-expressed opinion of the people against it, persisted in their preposterous scheme. What did the right hon. Baronet, as leader of the Opposition? Deeming ten years too long a period for the continuance of the commission, he proposed that it should be reduced to five. "I think," said the right hon. Baronet, "that it is both wise and discreet, that you should bring such a body before Parliament oftener than you propose, and that Parliament should have an opportunity of discussing their acts." Another proposition was made for continuing the commission for two years, but that was lost on a division by a large majority. The right hon. Baronet was, therefore, pledged to the continuance of the commission for five years. A change of Administration takes place, and the right hon. Baronet becomes first Minister of the Crown. Might he not, so circumstanced, have come down to the House and said, that having, as leader of the Opposition, proposed the continuance of the Poor-law Commission for five years, he felt himself pledged in honour and consistency to maintain that proposition? The right hon. Baronet, however, did not so; but in deference to public opinion, and in deference to the loudly expressed voice of the people, he came to the House, not to propose the continuance of the commission for five years longer, but merely for six months, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of investigating all the circumstances of the case, and making that inquiry which the importance of the subject demanded, with the view of bringing the question forward in such a shape as to render it acceptable to the House, and agreeable to the public at large. He asserted, that no Minister of the Crown, whatever his political opinions might be, had ever shown greater deference or respect for public opinion than the right hon. Baronet had upon this subject. He therefore cordially supported the right hon. Baronet's proposition, and if the right hon. Baronet did not defend his own conduct in reference to it, he should feel himself obliged to defend it for him.

Mr. *Rice* thought that the right hon. Baronet was too straight-forward to accept the version of his conduct which had been just supplied by the hon. Member for Finsbury. He was one of those hon. Members who could not disconnect the Poor-law from the Corn-laws, and whenever they were to be considered, he hoped that the latter would have precedence; because he believed that the opinions of many hon. Members in that House would be considerably influenced upon the question of the Poor-law, by the situation in which the Legislature might think proper finally to settle that of the Corn-laws. He sincerely regretted that the consideration of the question of the Corn-laws was to be postponed until next year. He should certainly refuse to join in any factious opposition to the course which the right hon. Baronet, in the exercise of the discretion and responsibility which were vested in him, deemed it necessary to pursue in that respect; but knowing that the right hon. Baronet possessed the most extensive information upon the subject, and that he had taken a prominent part in the discussions which had arisen on it from time to time, he could not conceive it possible or probable that the right hon. Baronet had not yet made up his mind upon the subject. Considering, however, the position which the right hon. Baronet now occupied, with a large majority, had, by a recent appeal to the country, to support him, and responsible for the postponement of this question, he would not, while he could not but regret the postponement, offer any further objection to it. As regarded the Poor-law question, he thought the right hon. Baronet, since he was not prepared to state what course he considered to be best, ought not to invite any partial discussion, or any discussion, until he was prepared to allow the House to go into the whole question for the purpose of its final settlement. It was morally certain, that these notices could have no practical result.

Sir *Robert Peel:* Sir, I have already suggested that it would be more convenient to take any discussion in reference to the Poor-laws, when the bill gets into committee, and I can only now say, that if I had anticipated that there would be a discussion on the second reading, I would have taken care that my right hon. Friend should not have chosen so early a day after its introduction for the second reading. I thought there was a general understanding, that the bill should pass this stage, as a matter of course, and that whatever discussion was deemed necessary should take place when the bill got into committee. Sir, it would be ungrateful in me if I did not acknowlege the obligation I am under to the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, who has come forward so voluntarily in my defence—but at the same time I must confess, that I am more obliged to the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Dover, than to the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, for the defence which he has made for me. The hon. Gentleman, the Member for Dover says, the thinks the Poor-laws and the Corn-laws, should be settled together, and that immediately on accepting office, I should have brought forward a bill on the subject of the Corn-laws, and submitted to the consideration of the House all the modifications intended to be made by the Government in the Poor-laws. He wishes that both measures should be conjointly considered, but I appeal to the House whether it would be possible for the Government to do justice to the Poor-laws, without having an opportunity of considering the local operation and general bearings of those laws. Would it, I ask be possible for any Gentleman placed in the situations which we now fill, and who intend to consider the general operation of the Poor-laws, with a view to suggest modifications in them consistently with the principles of the Poor-law Act, especially under our peculiar circumstances, to introduce any measure on the subject at present? Would it, I ask, be possible for us, without availing ourselves of the information to be procured from the commissioners, who are employed to obtain information, to bring forward an important measure of this kind, and I will only ask hon. Gentlemen whether it would have been doing justice, or would be likely to conciliate the public mind, if within a week of our coming into office we had produced, not only a bill on the Corn-laws, but also one on the Poor-laws? I acknowledge the obligation I am under to the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, for the observations which he has made, although I disavow their intent. But, however this may be, I think that a more powerful justification of the course pursued by the Government could not have emanated from either side of the House. But, at the same time, I am afraid that I cannot, in common fairness, accept the hon. Gentleman's vindication of my conduct, even though that vindication has been voluntarily offered, and because, in proposing the continuance of the Poor-laws in reference to the commissioners for six months, I do so on the principle which I have avowed, namely, that it is not the intention of the Government, during the present sitting of the House, to transact any business which the public service does not require, or which would call for a definite opinion as to the period for which this commission ought to endure beyond the period which is absolutely necessary for the consideration of the whole subject. Sir, I have not proposed the period of six months, meaning to imply any reflection on the determination to which the House came at my suggestion in the last Session; but I have proposed it in conformity to the principle on which I have already acted, namely, that it is not desirable to call the House to the discussion of important matters, of a permanent and extensive bearing during the present Session. It is in conformity with this principle that I have proposed the period of six months; but in making that proposition, I do so reserving to myself and the Government the power of making hereafter in the perpetual measure, alterations of an extended character, and such as we may deem essential for the public interest. Sir, I thought it right to make this statement, for while I do not undervalue the intentions of the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Finsbury, or the ability of the defence which he has made for me, I am anxious, if possible, to prevent all misunderstanding or misconstruction on the subject.

Mr. *C. Wood* did not rise to prolong the debate, but to express the great satisfaction with which he had heard what had just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite. Yesterday the inconvenience of the interpretation which the hon. Member for Finsbury had chosen to put upon the conduct of the right hon. Baronet was felt on that (the Opposition) side of the House, and he had also felt sure that the defence of that conduct which the hon. Member for Finsbury had given on the present occasion, was one which the right hon. Baronet would feel it his bounden duty to repudiate. The right hon. Gentleman had said, that the statement of the change of feeling which had been understood to have been produced in Ireland, on the subject of the Poor-law, in consequence of the change of Administration, was totally and altogether unfounded, and he had no doubt it was so. But expressions had been used in that House that were calculated to throw some doubt as to whether it was not necessary now to introduce a new bill to continue the Poor-law Bill itself. That was an error, all that was necessary being, that a bill should be introduced to continue the commission. The Poor-law itself was one permanently in action, and it was not now necessary to introduce a bill to continue it. The mistake had arisen out of the course that had been pursued with reference to proposed alterations in the Poor-law Act itself, and a mistaken notion that amendments having for their object the alteration of that act could be engrafted upon a bill which was only for the continuance of the Poor-law Commission for a given period. Such a notion was contrary to all Parliamentary practice, and to all Parliamentary forms, but, at the same time it evidently existed, and unless at once contradicted, was calculated to produce the impression, that the Poor-law was not a permanent act. The measure now proposed by the right hon. Baronet and that measure were essentially different; and he hoped that it would be distinctly understood, that the right hon. Gentleman was proposing to the House only a temporary continuance of the Poor-law Commission, and that the interpretation put upon his course by the hon. Member for Finsbury was erroneous. But that interpretation had been received with loud cheers by some of those sitting on the same side of the House as the hon. Member who advocated a very extensive alteration, if not a total repeal, of the Poor-law, which inclined him to think that the intepretation was likely to have been adopted by those hon. Members who so cheered. He hoped, therefore, that the measure which the right hon. Gentleman now proposed would be distinctly understood as leaving the principle of the Poor-law untouched.

Mr. *Shaw* had heard, with great satisfaction, the statement of the right hon. Baronet, as to this bill in connexion with Ireland, as he had not been before aware of the course which Government proposed to take with respect to it. With regard to the working of the Poor-law in Ireland, he would not say that the introduction of the measure there had been attended with circumstances of much difficulty, but he believed, at the same time, that it had been, on the whole, successful, and that if it were continued to be judiciously administered, and met with a fair and reasonable general support, it would be found to conduce in a great degree to the advantage of the public without the least injury to the interests of the poor.

Sir *H. Fleetwood* had no intention of prolonging the discussion, but, being one who had always opposed the new Poor-law, and being still opposed to it, he also hoped it would be distinctly understood, that no hon. Member who gave his vote for the second reading of this bill for the continuance of the commission, would be understood as having agreed in the principle of the measure, which was to come on for discussion on Friday next, and to which many hon. Members were opposed.

Sir *R. Peel* thought, it must be well understood that the present measure afforded no opportunity for opposing the principle of the Poor-law itself. The Poor-law itself was an act in permanent operation. The present was a separate bill, to continue for a given period the Poor-law commission. If it would be any consolation to the hon. Gentleman opposite he would at once state that he meant to oppose any amendments that might be brought forward in the discussion upon the present measure which would affect the principle or the operation of the Poor-law itself. He had already said he would give hon. Gentlemen every opportunity of opposing the present measure, and he certainly could not prevent them from discussing amendments having for their object alterations in the Poor-law; but he certainly could not permit any amendments of the Poor-law to be introduced into the present bill, which was one merely for the continuance of the commission.

Lord *J. Russell* said, as this discussion had arisen, he would take the opportunity of observing, that the course pursued by the right hon. Gentleman was, in his opinion, a perfectly fair one, and, in accordance with that which he had himself thought it his duty to propose. It was one thing to consider the whole provisions of the Poor-law with a view to introduce into them any alteration or modification which the House might think fit, but quite a a different one to continue the Poor-law commission for a limited period, if Parliament was not inclined at the time to enter into the discussion of the general question, When, in like manner, last Session, there was not time to consider the details of the Poor-law, he had suggested a continuance of the commission, though for a longer period than was now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. The particular time to which the commission should be continued was not of so much essential importance, the principle of temporary continuance being admitted, and he should certainly be very sorry to hear of any intention on the part of any hon. Member to propose an instruction to the committee for any alteration in the Poor-law itself. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the Member for the University of Dublin, that he was of opinion, that on the whole, the working of the Poor-law in Ireland had been attended with success. He had never supposed the law could be introduced there without its being at first attended with a great deal of political excitement, and it appeared by report, that such had been the case; but he trusted, when the really beneficial effects of the Poor-law in that country were understood and felt, the political excitement would gradually subside, that the law would be used for the purpose for which it was intended, and that ultimately so far from its being considered to have inflicted a wrong on the people of Ireland, it would be found to have been a great benefit to the physical condition of the poor, and to have advanced the general, moral, and political condition of Ireland.

Mr. *Fielden* asked, why, when the effects of the Poor-law had been so baneful throughout the country the commission should be continued for another day? Did the House mean to decide that persons who resided on the spot where the poor required relief where not better judges of what ought to be done among the people than the commissioners? Did the House mean to say that those who lived in the midst of the people did not know better what they wanted than those who were at a distance? He maintained that it was utterly impossible for this law to be carried out. The longer it was persevered in the greater would be the danger to life and property. He did not rise for the purpose of obstructing the second reading of the bill, but to tell the House that in a subsequent stage it was his intention to take a division on the question, and he should then afford an opportunity of ascertaining whether hon. Gentlemen opposite in changing their side had also changed their opinions. Hon. Gentlemen were sent to that House for the performance of their duty. He had always done what he believed was his duty, and sometimes that duty had been to him a painful one. But he could assure the House that he had never been actuated by a desire to obstruct any measure that was likely to lead to the good of the people. But to this Poor-law he was entirely opposed. It was a measure, the spirit of which was lowering the wages of the labourer, and he fearlessly declared his conviction that it was one of the most mischievous acts that had ever passed any House of Commons that had ever sat in England. He repeated, that his only reason for not now opposing the present bill was, that he expected the opportunity of taking the sense of the House on a future occasion.

Mr. *Escott* felt bound to state, in a few words, why he should not oppose the second reading of this bill. He could assure the noble Lord, who seemed to take this bill so much as a matter of course, that he felt that he did owe some apology and excuse to the country for the vote which he should give, for nine-tenths of the educated people of this country held a totally different view of the Poor-law from the noble Lord, the only excuse which he could offer for now giving his vote for the continuance of the commission was, that up to the present moment there was no sufficient information before the House, or the country on which Parliament could honestly and fairly legislate with regard to this important question. He had read within the last few days the annual report of the Poor-law commissioners, and he believed he did not exceed the bounds of the strictest truth when he said, that in that report there was no material evidence whatever to induce the House to make up their minds what the alterations in the measure should be. He had also been in the country, and from the inquiries he had made he knew that it was a matter of the greatest difficulty, in the conflicting statements that were made and the prejudiced views that were taken on the one side and the other on the subject, to obtain that information on which alone an unprejudiced and independent Member could make up his mind how he ought to vote. But whose fault was it that there was this want of information? It was certainly not the fault of the right hon. Baronet at the head of affairs. Nor certainly was it the fault of the present House of Commons. But it was the fault of the late House of Commons, or rather of those who dissolved that House, at the very time when they ought to have been deliberating and passing a law for the better provision for the poor of this country. He did not mean to say anything that would amount to an imputation on the motives of hon. Members; but when he had heard speeches from the noble Lord opposite, and the hon. Member for Halifax, in which they seemed to treat this subject as a trifle, he certainly did think that he ought to rise and say one word for the poor. He repeated, that he considered that he owed to himself some justification for the course which he was about to pursue. He wanted also to know this. How did it happen that precisely at the moment when the subject of the Poor-law Commission was last year thrown up and abandoned until the next year by the noble Lord opposite, he chose to commence the Government agitation on the subject of the Corn-laws? How was that? How was it that hon. Members opposite were now to be found night after night complaining of the scarcity of corn and the dearness of bread, and the starvation of the people, all of which evils they attributed to the laws for the protection of agriculture,—why was it? He would tell the House why. The agitation on the subject of the Corn-laws had been got up in order to draw the public attention from the more important question of the Poor-law. He denied that there was a scarcity of bread. At the present moment, under the very laws complained of, there was flowing into this country a supply of corn amply sufficient for the people. Yet there existed internal distress no doubt. It was natural there should exist distress after ten years of misrule; but one element of that distress, indeed a great cause of it, was this very Poor-law. The sooner it was altered the better; but, in the mean time, it was necessary to agree to the continuance of the commission. Were they to patch up in haste a measure on such a great question as this? or should they, on the other hand, wait until they had the necessary information to enable them to pass another and a better law for the maintenance of the poor? He entirely coincided in the feeling which led the hon. Member for Oldham to regret being called upon to vote for the continuance of the commission, but at the same time he must remind the House and those who agreed with him, that the necessity for so doing had not been caused by the right hon. Baronet, but by those who, when they had the power, had neglected to pass such a law, but had left to their successors the odium of doing so. One consolation, however, he felt—that whatever might be the character of the ensuing winter, to which allusion had been made, and however much he might entertain apprehensions as to the Poor-law, yet he was quite sure the character of the administration of relief to the poor would not be one of cruelty and oppression. Why did he say this? Because the very first act of the right hon. Gentleman's Administration had been one of care and attention to an alleged case of poverty and distress. He honoured the right hon. Gentleman for it; however long the right hon. Gentleman might live, he would never have cause to regret it; and that at this moment there was not a single victim of poverty, nor the possessor of a feeling heart, who did not honour the right hon. Baronet for the feeling with which he had acted on the occasion in question. He repeated his opinion, that for the sake of the poor themselves, as well as for the credit of that House, they ought not to pass a crude measure, or to harass the public mind on a question on which perhaps it was more excited than on any other, but that they ought to wait until they were in possession of that information which would enable them to pass an effective bill.

Mr. *Ward* said, the hon. Member for Winchester really seemed to have entered the House in a complete state of ignorance on this particular subject. The hon. Member maintained that the House were without the facts which would enable them to legislate upon the subject, that there was no information before the House on which they could proceed to act; whereas, there never was a measure in the history of the country as to which such ample details had been received by the House. Every possible fact connected with the question had been laid before them, and he only wished the hon. Member for Winchester had read the evidence already in their possession before he stated that the great majority of the educated part of the population was hostile to the law. He could tell the hon. Member, on the contrary, that the great mass of the intelligence of the country was favourable to the principle of the law, without reference to political opinions; and he could also tell the hon. Member, that with very few exceptions the great majority of his own party had taken part in the onerous duty of working out the law—they had acted in cordial co-operation, without reference to those party distinctions which, he must say, the hon. Member for Winchester had most injudiciously introduced on the present occasion. The leading Members, too, on both sides of the House, including the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, and the noble Lord the Member for Stroud, made themselves responsible for the introduction of the measure. And the leading Members of both parties co-operated out of doors in the discharge of those duties which the bill prescribed. As he had risen, he could not help adding that he now supported the present bill of the right hon. Baronet, not on the principle on which the hon. Member for Winchester supported it, but because he did believe that ultimately the Poor-law itself would be modified in certain parts which had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Dover, and because he considered that the question would be looked at with reference to the ultimate settlement of the Corn-law question. The Poor-law as it stood, and the Corn-laws as they were, could never work together. But in the main, the Poor-law had been most useful in the correction of abuses in the local administration of the old law, and he believed that if they did not retain the central check they would relapse into those abuses. He should vote for the present measure whenever the hon. Member for Oldham divided the House, and he must say he hoped that when the whole measure came to be discussed next Session they would have got rid of some of those private and personal considerations which the hon. Member for Winchester, had introduced into the present discussion, and that they would be prepared to discuss the subject without mixing up in it any of their political or personal squabbles.

Mr. *Ferrand* wished to know, if nine-tenths of the educated classes were in favour of the Poor-law, what hon. Gentlemen opposite, meant by saying that that law had been made a party cry throughout the country? He differed from the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, and agreed with the hon. Member for Winchester, that nine-tenths of the educated classes in the country were diametrically opposed to the harsh and cruel clauses of the Poor-law Act. He was himself sent to Parliament by a constituency strongly opposed to them; and he came there to oppose those clauses to the utmost of his power. Indeed, his constituents must have felt very strongly on the subject when, to enable them to send him to that House, they had burst asunder the bonds of the Duke of Devonshire in Knaresborough — bonds which had enchained them during 150 years. He was very much surprised at the commencment of this Parliament to hear the noble Lord the Member for the city of London charge, not the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, but those who sat immediately behind him, with having gained their seats by agitating the country upon this question. If the noble Lord meant to imply that they had held insincere language, or told falsehoods throughout the country in order to gain the favour of their constituents, he would only reply to such insinuations by stating that he had read in the debates of that House, before he had the honour of being a Member of it, that the late Government, of which the noble Lord was himself the leading representative, had existed for years by "enormous lying." [*Order, order.*]

The *Speaker* said, he was quite sure the hon. Member, when he had had a little more experience in the House would see, that the language he had last used was unbecoming the dignity of debate, which should always be conducted in such a manner as to command public respect.

Mr. *Ferrand* was ready to apologize to the House. He had thought, that he was not out of order in referring to an expression which had certainly been used in debate upon a former occasion, but if it were considered at all offensive he should at once retract it. Before the New Poor-law was enacted, he had—feeling it to be unconstitutional and unjust — adopted every lawful means of opposing it. In the county of York he had presided over meetings of 100,000 people, who were then, and still were, determinedly hostile to its main provisions. When it became the law of the land he continued to give it every opposition to which he could legally and peacefully resort, but when he found that the Government of the country were indirectly using the Chartist influence to put down those gentlemen in the country who were constitutionally opposing the New Poor-law, he felt it his duty to retire from the conflict, and leave public opinion to work its own way, feeling strongly convinced, that no Government in this country could long subsist which identified itself with that odious and most unjust law. The late Government did identify itself with this law, and it had fallen. The right hon. Baronet below him had now been placed at the head of affairs by an immense majority of those who as candidates had pledged themselves to repeal the harsh clauses of that law; and, anxious as he was to see the right hon. Gentleman continue long at the head of the Administration, believing he was the only man in England who could save the country, he would still fearlessly assert, that if he did not repeal the more obnoxious clauses of this bill, his Government would become unpopular throughout the country, and, like his predecessors, be obliged soon to give way to public opinion.

Mr. *Bodkin* was not inclined to adopt or encourage the mischievous and unfounded suggestions of those who imputed to the founders of the measure heartless indifference to the sufferings of the people, or a desire to promote their own private objects. He believed that any person, however, who looked at that law with an unbiassed mind, must feel the deepest regret at the absence of discrimination and distinction between applicants for relief, as to the causes which might have led to their distress. That want of discrimination which was capable of great mischief as regarded private charity, was productive also of great evil in the administration of public relief, for by such means the idle and the industrious were confounded. Perhaps the profligate, and those who produced their own distress, had not much right to complain of inconveniences in the union workhouses, but there was no distinction made between them and the industrious persons whose distress was attributable to no fault of their own, and who were equally subject, when seeking relief, to be obliged to dispose of their little property, which, though small, they might be unable to get together again; and submit to occupy separate apartments from their wives and children in these workhouses, although their distress might only be of a temporary nature. To remove those objections did not, however, require a separate legislation, for they arose from the regulations of the Poor-law commissioners themselves. The additional period proposed by the right hon. Baronet would, however, give a full opportunity for any experiment in the way of relaxation of those regulations.

Bill read a second time.

Sir *R. Peel* proposed, that it should be committed on Friday next.

Mr. *Wakley* felt it absolutely necessary, after what had been said, that some discussion should take place before going into committee on this odious and detestable law, and therefore he hoped that stage of the bill would be postponed till some day next week.

Sir *R. Peel* did not think it at all an unreasonable proposition, that the House should go into committee on this bill on Friday next. Indeed, he felt, that any postponement beyond that day would imply an assent to opinions on his part which he certainly did not entertain. He could not prevent discussion undoubtedly, but really in committee on a mere continuing bill he thought all discussion on the principle and provisions of the New Poor-law irrevalent. Next week there would probably arise some discussion relative to financial measures, and if at that period of the Session, when it appeared to be the general opinion, that no business of great importance should be discussed; he proposed, that this bill should be postponed beyond Friday, it might very well be said, that he did so in the hope of proceeding with it when there were very few Members present.

Bill to be committed on Friday.

Census — Payment of Enumerators.] Sir *James Graham* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to provide for the payment of persons employed in taking the census of the population of England and Wales. A very large number of persons had been employed for that purpose, and as the Act of Parliament for securing payment to those persons now stood, considerable trouble would attend it. The Act of 1831, under which payment was awarded to them, had reference to a state of things different from that which at present prevailed. In 1831 the poor-rates were under the management of vestries and overseers, but they were now under the direction of boards of guardians, and relieving officers. Another change had taken place since 1831 with regard to large towns where there were corporations, and in which justices attended the quarter sessions, but they were now presided over by recorders. The act of 1831 referred to justices and not to recorders. The sum granted was only 5,000*l*., and now in England and Wales alone there were 38,000 enumerators. It was to remedy those defects, which were merely technical, that the bill was intended.

Leave given, and bill read a first time.

Adjournment.] Sir *R. Peel:* As there is notice of business for Thursday, perhaps I shall meet the general wishes of the House by moving, that the House at its rising do adjourn to Friday.

Motion agreed to.

Adjourned to Friday.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, September 23, 1841.

Minutes.] Petitions presented. By the Earl of Radnor, from Montreal (Canada), for the Repeal of the Duties on Canada Produce.—By Lord Brougham, from Inhabitants of Dublin, for an Inquiry into the case of the Rajah of Sattara.

The Jesuits—Compulsory Attendance at Church.] Lord *Brougham* presented a petition from the rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, Bart., of Blackrock, near Dublin, complaining of the conduct of the Jesuit priests in Ireland, and charging them with having entered into a conspiracy for the separation of that country from England, and the overturning the British Constitution and the Protestant establishments; and praying the House, that after hearing evidence at the bar in support of these allegations, it would address her Majesty for the expulsion of all Jesuit priests from Ireland. He (Lord Brougham) need hardly state that he did not concur in the prayer of the petition. Indeed, even if their Lordships should adopt the suggestion of the petitioner, and address the Throne on the subject, the Sovereign had no power of expelling from this country either Jesuits, or any other portion of the subjects of the realm. Previous to 1791 Roman Catholic priests were liable to many extreme penalties, which were removed in that year, but it was possible that they might be subject to penalties under some of the obsolete acts. While he was on this subject he would merely observe, that since he had alluded the other night to the most obnoxious way in which certain acts relative to attending worship in the parish church had recently been enforced, he had looked into other acts of a like nature, containing the most severe enactments. He was greatly astonished to find that some of the magistrates who had put in force the laws respecting the attending the parish church had not only openly avowed their conduct, but in the most public manner defended their proceedings in a way which was perfectly inexplicable to him. He trusted, that the attention of his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack would be paid to this subject, and that he would be induced to adopt steps to set this question of obsolete laws at rest, and remove from the statute book acts the existence of which was hardly known. At the present time there was a law on the statute book of a most monstrous character, and with reference to the interpretation of which hardly two lawyers would agree. It was enacted in this obsolete statute, that if any captain of any vessel should take beyond the sea any woman or any child, or any person under the age of twenty-one, he should be liable to the forfeiture of his ship and all his goods, and be subject to perpetual imprisonment. This act was passed in the reign of James 1st, and its object was to prevent Catholic females being sent abroad to convents, or children of Catholic parents being sent abroad for the purpose of education. The words of the act were general, and were not confined to time or place, but directly enacted, that such should be the penalties for taking any woman or child under the age of twenty-one abroad. This was an extremely severe penal enactment, and the punishment it imposed was little short of capital. This act had not, as he could find, ever been repealed. On this subject, as well as many other topics connected with obsolete laws, the House would find much extremely valuable information in the last report of the commissioners on the criminal laws, which contained an able digest of those laws.

Petition laid on the Table.

OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES IN BANKRUPTCY.] The Earl of *Devon* presented a petition from Mr. Adam Murray, the land-agent, of Parliament-street, complaining of the loss he had incurred by the failure of Mr. Abbott, the official assignee to Messrs. Remington, Stephenson, and Co. He believed, if the creditors and assignees had exercised a due degree of vigilance, so large an amount would not have been suffered to remain in the hands of the official assignee. The subject, however, was worthy the immediate and earnest consideration of their Lordships. It might be a matter for consideration whether a larger amount of security might not be required from the official assignees, and also, whether the balances in their hands should not be paid up at fixed periods.

Lord *Brougham* entirely concurred in the observations of the noble Earl, and he thought the statement he had made would be worthy of consideration in the event of any contemplated alteration in the law. For himself, personally, he had nothing to do with the appointment of the official assignees under the bill which he had introduced. The selection was made, in the first instance, by a board composed of the governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England, the governor and deputy governor of the East India Company, some of the principal merchants of the city, and two or three judges of the Bankruptcy Court. When the appointments were making, there were not less than 1,500 candidates for the different situations, and, therefore, so far as the field of choice was concerned, it was ample enough. This board, after carefully investigating the subject, made a report in the course of six weeks. They had carefully examined into the merits of the several candidates, and the first eighteen persons on their list had been appointed exactly in the order in which their names stood. It only showed how futile, after all, the most strict and searching investigation into character was, for, at the time of the appointment of Mr. Abbott, no one could receive a higher character for integrity and business habits. Unhappily the result did not justify this opinion. Notwithstanding, however, the objections of the petitioners, he would venture to say that there was no power under the New Bankruptcy Act which had given more general satisfaction than the appointment of official assignees. It appeared to him that the allowing so large a balance to remain in the hands of the official assignee was extremely injudicious, and argued a great neglect of the interests of the creditors.

Lord *Cottenham* observed that previously to resigning the seals he had directed an inquiry to be instituted with the view of learning how it happened that such large balances were allowed to accumulate in the hands of the official assignees, and to prevent the recurrence of such a circumstance. The report, however, had not yet been received.

Petition laid on the Table.

THE CORN-LAWS.] The Earl of *Ducie* presented petitions from the Dissenters of Ebenezer Chapel, London, Wootton-under-Edge, and other places, praying a repeal of the Corn-laws. The noble Earl also presented a petition from the ministers meeting at the Conference of Ministers held at Manchester, on the subject of the Corn-laws. He begged to call the attention of their Lordships to the petition, as he looked upon it as well worthy of their consideration, not only on account of the number of signatures attached to it, upwards of 650, but that it also represented the feelings of upwards of 700 more ministers of religion who were unable to attend this conference. This large number of ministers of all religious denominations, after the most ample deliberation, had come to the conclusion that the Corn-laws were religiously wrong, because they were opposed to the letter and spirit of the Bible. The present petition was the first of a series of movements on the part of the country, which would either be for good or for evil, according to the mode in which they were met by the executive Government. The petition was drawn up in much better and more forcible language than he could use; he, therefore, would read it to the House, and earnestly claimed their attention to it. The noble Earl then read the petition, as follows:—

"That your petitioners are ministers of the God of love and mercy, who have assembled to consider the laws which restrict the food of the people.

"That your petitioners, dwelling in the midst of their respective charges, and by habits of frequent and pastoral intercourse, familiar with their actual condition, and still further informed by the evidence submitted to this conference by unimpeachable witnesses; it is most unquestionable that evils the most serious are preying on the very vitals of the country, and that the labouring classes throughout the kingdom are sinking into the lowest condition of physical suffering, and pining away under a wasting destitution of the necessaries of life.

"That your petitioners would feel themselves most unworthy of the office they sustain, and the master they serve, were they to view such a state of things with indifference, or to allow it to become daily more and more aggravated, without directing their attention to its cause, and seeking the means of alleviation.

"That to your petitioners it appears obvious, beyond all doubt, that whatever other causes may have contributed to the frightful amount of misery which they deplore, the principal has been the provision laws, which make the very necessaries of life scarce and dear, and by their mischievous operation have at the same time enhanced the price of food and diminished the ability to purchase it; and that as obviously the remedy for this evil is the abrogation of the laws which produced it.

"That to your petitioners it is manifest that any law tending to produce a scarcity of the food necessary to sustain the life of man, or to increase its price, and so to throw difficulties in the way of procuring it, is a wrong done to society at large, and a direct and glaring violation of the will and law of the universal parent of mankind.

"That your petitioners are only acting in the spirit of their office, when they remind your honourable House that laws of human legislatures should be framed in strict accordance with the declared will of God, and the beneficent designs of his providence; and that all laws which contradict his will, and counteract his bounty, must of necessity be wrong in principle and injurious in their tendency; and that it is the deliberate aud solemn conviction of this assembly, that this is the unrighteous character of the operation of the provision laws of this kingdom, under whose baneful influence our beloved country is severed from profitable intercourse with other countries which are ready to exchange their products for our manufactures—the skill and labour of the industrious classes of our countrymen are rendered of less and less avail to their own subsistence, whilst immense numbers of them from day to day are thrown out of employment, and reduced to a state of utter destitution, or cast upon the rapidly decreasing resources of the humane and charitable, who, in their turn, are sinking down into the abject condition of paupers; and famine, disease, and death are spreading with fearful desolation throughout the length and breadth of this once prosperous and happy land.

"Your petitioners, therefore, convinced of the sinfulness of these laws, which violate the paramount law of God, and restrict the bounty of his providence; of their injurious operation on the domestic comforts, and the social, moral, and religious condition of the people of these realms; of the vast amount of evil they have already produced; and of the fearful rapidity with which they are driving on their injured and suffering victims to despondency or desperation, and threatening the peace and safety of the empire—implore your honourable House, as you fear that God who is the friend and avenger of the poor,—as you love that country whose interests are committed into your hands—to take into your early and most serious consideration the provision laws, and especially the Corn-laws, which have wrought this enormous amount of evil and misery, for the purpose of devising such means as to your honourable House may seem meet for their abolition."

The noble Earl proceeded to say, that before he sat down he could not help expressing his deep regret that her Majesty's Ministers had determined to postpone all inquiry into the distressed state of the country till next year. He could hardly have expected such conduct from any body of men, and he could not help saying, that it appeared to him very like heartlessness to pursue such a course, when it was known that an immense mass of the population of the country would be exposed to the want of food and fuel, in the coming winter months. According to the evidence of many medical men, it was an undoubted fact, that hundreds and hundreds, during the last year, had fallen into an untimely grave, in consequence of the operation of these laws, and he felt convinced that before they met again, thousands would have been added to those hundreds. He thought such a postponement a great responsibility for any Government to undertake, and one, which he must confess, he thought would not have been undertaken by a Conservative Government. He could not help feeling that no little fraud had been practised on the people by the course pursued on this subject, for the noble Earl who moved the amendment to the Address, stated, that when they had a Government possessing the confidence of the Parliament and the country, it would be time to enter on a discussion of those laws, and to engage in inquiry. This, he contended, was either a fraud on the people, or the noble Lords opposite had not the confidence of the House. He could hardly suppose that the noble Earl intended a fraud, or that the noble Earl had no confidence in himself; or that the noble Duke had no confidence in those who were marshalled around him; or that another noble Duke, a Member of the Government, who had put himself forward very prominently as the defender of the agricultural interests, had no confidence in his Colleagues. The result, however, would almost appear that no confidence in each other was the principle of the Cabinet. Before he sat down, he would put a question to the noble Duke opposite, to which, however, he had no right to expect an answer. The noble Duke had been described as being peculiarly the farmer's friend, and it was reported that he had stated at a public dinner, a short time since, that he would not consent to any alteration whatever of the Corn-laws. Now it would satisfy the minds of farmers in many parts of the country, if the noble Duke would state whether he really said so or not.

No answer was returned. Petition then laid on the Table.

CATHOLICS IN INDIA.] Lord *Clifford*, (of Chudleigh), moved for—

Copies of any official communications made in the year 1835 to the British Government at home by the Governor-General of Hindostan, relative to a correspondence between the Governor-General and the governor of Goa, upon a claim advanced by that governor, on the part of the crown of Portugal, to the right of authorising the residence for the exercise of spiritual functions of any Roman Catholic missionary in Hindostan; also copies of any official communiations made in 1839 by the Governor of Madras to the British Government at home, relative to two decrees, dated the first, December the 18th, 1838, and the second decree very soon afterwards of the collector and magistrate of the [Madura district, which gave rise to an order in council of the Madras Presidency, dated June 7th, 1839, and to another order in council, dated July 9, 1839."

In submitting this motion to their Lordships he had no wish or intention to embarrass the Government on this subject, although he sat on the opposition benches. The grievances and disabilities under which the Catholics laboured in some parts of India, were of a most harrassing nature, and they found that they could not get redress from any inferior court, and that the proper mode of proceeding was an Address from both Houses of Parliament to her Majesty. The matter had been under the consideration of the board of directors of the East-India Company, and either a most unfair report had been made by the directors, or the directors had no power of granting redress. It was possible that objection might be made to the production of these papers, and that it might be termed merely a petty squabble between some Jesuits and Portuguese priests, who the more they quarrelled the better, as it might end in their being converted to the Protestant faith. He trusted, however, their Lordships would not take such a view of the matter, but would grant the papers he had moved for. He would say a few words with regard to a petition which had been presented to their Lordships in the course of the evening from a rev. Gentleman—Sir Harcourt Lees. That gentleman was not, perhaps, aware, that in applying the name of Jesuit to the class of persons to whom his petition referred, he was making use of nick names. Dr. Johnson being asked to give the definition of the term "Jesuit," his answer was, "A man who is rather more clever than the man who called him so." His friend, the rev. Mr. Kenny, to whom he should have occasion to refer, was a Jesuit, and had been so called by Sir Harcourt Lees, who, however was not a Jesuit himself. Some evidence had been adduced before their Lordships in the year 1825, when a select committee had been appointed to inquire into the subject of Catholicism in Ireland, the effect of which had been entirely to do away with any charges of disloyalty which might be brought against the Jesuits. A question was asked of one of the witnesses whether there was not a body of friars in existence in Ireland, called Jesuits, and the answer was, that there was no body so called of a purely ecclesiastical character, but that there were some persons of that denomination who had established a seminary in Ireland. The object of a seminary was to afford domestic instruction in opposition to foreign education, and where such was the object of a body of persons, he conceived that they must be looked upon as a loyal body of the subjects of her Majesty, and the most likely of all persons to be useful to the state. From another portion of the evidence given, it appeared that the Roman Catholic hierarchy did not countenance an active interference by the clergy in political matters. At a general meeting of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, in 1832, an exhortation, signed by all those bishops, to all the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, thenceforth to abstain from being chairmen or secretaries of political meetings, from moving or seconding resolutions at such meetings, or from being members of any secret societies, was drawn up and published; and no instance had occurred, before or since 1832, of any of the Irish Jesuits having done what all the Irish Roman Catholic clergy were there exhorted not to do henceforward. It was expressly stated by Mr. D. O'Connell, in his examination, that no single instance had as yet occurred of the infringement of this rule. But to proceed to the subject to which his motion more particularly had reference; he was not surprised on his returning to England, in 1833, to find that advices had been received in this country, of meetings having been held in Calcutta, at which resolutions had been agreed to, and opinions expressed condemnatory of the existing state of things in our Indian colonies. It appeared that there were at that time in India several of our Irish regiments, composed, in a very great measure, of members of the Roman Catholic Church, whose discipline and proper demeanour, their Lordships were aware, were in a great measure dependent upon the moral influence exercised over them by the priests of their religion. The only Roman Catholic priests at that time there, were of Portuguese education, and those not the *élite* of the Portuguese colleges, and were connected with the convent of Goa, and possessing a strong feeling also in accordance with the principles of those of Lisbon. These persons were in a great measure unacquainted with the English language, and ill-qualified, therefore, to discharge the duties imposed upon them by their position. Under these circumstances, application was made to the Government of this country, and with a view of supplying the obvious want which existed, they caused inquiries to be made in Ireland for persons to go out to Calcutta, and an Irish priest belonging to Clougowes College, a particular friend of his (Lord Clifford), whom he had known from boyhood, who had been with him in Sicily in 1811, when Lord William Bentinck was in command there, had been accordingly sent out by the Rev. Mr. Kenny, superior of that college, in 1833, to Rome, and had there been appointed by Pope Gregory XVI. his vicar apostolic for Bengal, whether he had proceeded. His name was Robert St. Leger. After he had arrived, a letter was sent to the Governor-General by the Portuguese priests, demanding, on the part of the crown of Portugal, the exclusive right of introducing priests of the Roman Catholic church into our Indian possessions at Madras. This was the first letter he wished to be produced. The second letter which he required was the answer of the Governor-General to this application. He did not know whether their Lordships would be disposed to recognise an act of the Pope, but he wished to know whether, after Mr. St. Leger had received the authority of the Sovereign of this country to proceed to Hindostan, as the superior of the Catholic body there, and after his character had been recognised by the Pope, and by our local government in India, it was found out by the House, that these Portuguese priests should be considered to be the only priests, because they said so? He was sure that their Lordships would agree to no such proposition. But his information, in reference to this matter went much farther, and he sincerely trusted, that in this respect it would turn out to be false. It appeared, that certain trustees, or persons acting as such (but not priests), of churches or chapels built by certain Roman Catholic congregations with their own money, on their own ground, for which churches or chapels those persons acted as trustees, with the obligation of providing Roman Catholic pastors for the said churches or chapels in the Madura district, had been imprisoned by the collector and magistrate of that district for refusing to deliver up the keys of the said churches to certain Portuguese priests belonging to a party whom the right rev. Dr. O'Connor (who is not a Jesuit, nor had a single Jesuit in his district, nor brought out with him a single Jesuit), but a Roman Catholic Bishop, recognised in the Madras presidency as superior of the Roman Catholic missions in the Madras district, and Dr. St. Leger, who being a Jesuit, could not be a bishop, but was recognised in 1834 by the Bengal presidency as superior of the Roman Catholic missions in that district, had declared by public pastoral letters to be out of the communion of the Roman Catholic church, and who had not contributed one farthing to the building of those churches. He stated that to their Lordships upon the authority of the hon. and rev. Walter Clifford, his own brother, a Roman Catholic missioner at Trichinopoly in the Madura district. A report, he must further inform their Lordships, founded on the authority of a foreigner of distinction, was current in the Madura district, and was doing much harm there. The report in question was, that some of these imprisoned persons had been tortured *(soumis aux tourments)* to oblige them to deliver up the keys. He considered it his duty to disbelieve such a report till it was confirmed; but equally his duty to state the existence of such a report to the House, as a report that ought to be inquired into. But he must also state to their Lordships, that he had not been informed, that those persons had been tortured by order of the magistrate, or of any magistrate. He must add, that the Roman Catholics in the Madura district had been officially informed, that the Court of Directors, or 'the Government in London,' to use the words of his information, had approved the proceedings of the collector and magistrate in the Madura district, as reported to that Government from the Madras presidency; and that the foreigner of distinction above mentioned, had repeated a conversation between himself and one of the superior judges of the district, which was calculated, in his opinion, to do incomparably more mischief than the act of the collector and magistrate, inasmuch as it imputed to Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, principles which were the very reverse of those of that Cabinet, on the authority of that superior judge. The noble Lord concluded by submitting his motion.

Lord *Ellenborough* wished the noble Lord to state any authority on which he accused a servant of the Government in India of administering torture.

Lord *Clifford* had stated it as a report which had gone abroad, and had done much mischief, that such an act had been perpetrated, and he said that he would not believe any such acts. When the Irish Catholics, who were in possession of the churches, refused to give them up, a party of soldiers turned them out by force, and then reported that they had only kept in possession those who already had it.

Lord *Ellenborough* had never heard a noble Lord express himself so ambiguously when he thus accused a servant of the Government of England acting in India. As the noble Lord had not answered the first question, would the noble Lord say whether any Englishman whatever had used the word torture?

Lord *Clifford:* No Englishman had used the word torture.

Lord *Ellenborough:* Would the noble Lord state what foreign word he so translated?

Lord *Clifford* said, as the report went, these parties were put into prison and were there tortured, whether by order of the magistrate or not did not appear.

Lord *Ellenborough:* Will the noble Lord read the words?

Lord *Clifford:* The words were "*Ils ont eté saumis aux tourments.*"

Lord *Ellenborough* had but a very few words to say in reply to the statement of the noble Lord. He should not follow the noble Lord into his defence of the Jesuits, for whatever might be his (Lord Ellenborough's) opinion with regard to that able and learned body, it could not be denied that Parliament had at various times entertained very great jealousy of them. Neither should he follow the noble Lord in his attack on the Portuguese priests, of whom he knew nothing except that they had conducted themselves in India very peaceably, and had discharged their religious duties in that country with zeal and assiduity. It might, however, be convenient to their Lordships that he should state, as the noble Lord had not done so, what was the origin of the transactions out of which the difference to which the noble Lord had alluded had arisen. For more than 200 years the Portuguese priests, acting under the Bishop of St. Toma, and under the sanction of a bull issued by the Pope, and been in the habit of administering religious rites to the whole of the Roman Catholic population in that part of the world, amounting, as the noble Lord had said, to about a million of souls. Some years ago a person of British extraction was sent out to Madras, with the title of vicar-apostolic, and this person was accompanied by some eighteen or twenty Jesuits from Ireland. Subsequently, another gentleman went out from Ireland (Dr. O'Connor) to Calcutta with a similar title, accompanied by ten or twelve Jesuits. The Government of India had thought it right to acknowledge the vicars apostolic as the channel through whom all communications between the Government and the Roman Catholic body should be made. Now, the vicar having thus conceded to him the spiritual authority, proceeded to lay claim to the temporalities of the Church. And out of this difference about the temporalities of the Roman Catholic Church in India between the Irish Jesuits and the Portuguese priests had arisen the complaint of the noble Lord. The course which the Governments of India had taken in the matter when applied to on the subject was simple and correct. They said that it was their desire to interfere as little as possible with the religious feelings of the people under their Government, or to give any opinion as to the temporalities belonging to the various churches; but that if questions of property connected with those temporalities arose, the parties must go to the courts of law for redress. These parties had done so, and in one case, in a question relating to a Capuchin convent, the decision had been given in favour of the Portuguese priests who were in possession. The only other case which had arisen was that to which the noble Lord had alluded, and which was the cause of this charge against the collector. But it was not in the power of the collector to give possession. He had only authority in preserving the peace, a jurisdiction, in fact, similar to that of a civil magistrate. If he had acted wrongly the parties aggrieved had an appeal, first to the state court, then to the provincial court, and again to the supreme court, where they would have an opportunity of proving their case. It was unnecessary for him (Lord Ellenborough) to inform their lordships that no magistrate could presume to administer the torture, and if it could be proved that the magistrate to whom the noble Lord had referred had done so, he would be immediately dismissed; and he was quite sure that it would be found, when the case should be investigated, that the enthusiastic foreigner who had written to the noble Lord had totally misrepresented what had actually taken place. He thought it was wrong in the noble Lord to bring forward a charge of this nature against a magistrate, and that without stating any name, but indicating pretty distinctly to whom he alluded. The noble Lord had brought forward a grave accusation against one of of the judges of the supreme court of India on the authority of a person unknown, and whose name even he had not given; and he must say that it was a most unfair proceeding to circulate such charges in that House without giving to the accused party an opportunity of defending himself. He regretted much that the noble Lord had mentioned the subject. He did not think the noble Lord had done good service to his co-religionists by so doing; for what the noble Lord had said could not but tend to increase that exasperation which already existed between the flocks who adhered respectively to those priests who were quarrelling for those temporal possessions of the Church. It would have been far better to have left the matter in silence now, as the noble Lord had done during the period when his own political Friends were in office —than thus, by alluding to it, to add to that ill feeling which already existed between those religious bodies. Nothing which the noble Lord had said—nothing which he was likely to say, could embarrass the Government here; but if by the course he took he should create exasperation more than already existed amongst the religious bodies in Madras, he would, without doubt increase the difficulties of the Government there, while he would fail in doing good service to those to whom he was desirous of rendering assistance. The papers for which the noble Lord had moved were so described that the India Board had been unable to find them. Whether they existed or not he (Lord Ellenborough) did not know. With regard to the first of these papers—the letter of the Governor of Goa and the answer of Lord Bentinck—he could have no objection to produce them; and he should, at the same time, move for and lay upon the table some other papers connected with the same subject, including a letter from the Governor of Goa to Lord Bentinck, and the answer thereto by the President of the Council of Calcutta; also a petition transmitted by the vicar apostolic of Madras to the governor of that province, and the answer thereto; in which documents it would be seen that the priests to whom allusion had been made were, notwithstanding what the noble Lord had said, distinctly described as Jesuits. He would only repeat that if any magistrate had exceeded his powers in administering the law, there could be no doubt whatever, if proof of such illegal acts were forthcoming, that the government at Madras would be ready and willing to punish the parties who had committed them.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

Papers laid on the Table.

Distress of the Country.] The Marquess of *Lansdowne*, in presenting a petition from protestant dissenters of Hackney, praying the House, without additional delay to relieve the distress of the manufacturing districts and stop what the petitioners believed to be impending national misery and irretrievable ruin, observed that he had seen with great concern that her Majesty's Ministers had not requested the attention of the House to that important inquiry which the people of this country had a right to expect, and for which the address lately agreed to by their Lordships had prepared them; because he believed that it was the duty of Parliament to go into the inquiry, if it had been proposed. As it had not been proposed, however, by her Majesty's Ministers, it was not his intention or the intention of any other noble Lord near him, to press the subject upon Parliament, but they would wait earnestly and anxiously for that declaration of opinion which must, sooner or later, proceed from her Majesty's Government.

The Duke of *Wellington* thought that if the noble Lord had reflected he would have been of opinion that it was impossible to enter upon any inquiry that could have been brought to a close between this and the probable termination of the Session.

Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, September 24, 1841.

Minutes.] New Members. Lord Stanley, for North Lancashire; Hon. W. Gordon, Aberdeenshire; Al. Pringle, Esq., Selkirkshire.

New Writ. For East Retford, in room of Hon. A. Duncombe, Groom in Waiting.

Bills. Read first time:—Clayton's Name.—Read second time:—Population Payment.—Read third time:—Royal Gardens; Frogmore Lodge; Lunatics.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Thornely, from Presbyterians of Chester, by Mr. Wigney, from Brighton, by Mr. Phillips, from Hand-loom Weavers of Manchester, by Mr. Cobden, from Long Preston, and Lenton, and a Public Meeting at Holborn, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. Wakley, from J. J. Stockdale, for an Alteration in the Poor-law; and from W. H. Fyles, for Inquiry into the state of the Low Water Harbours on the Coast of Kent.—By Mr. Wilbraham, from G. W. Buller, for a Tax on Property.—By an hon. Member from Ranelagh, for Redemption of Tolls of Waterloo, &c. Bridges.

CORN IN RUSSIA.] On Sir T. Freemantle's moving the Order of the Day for the third reading of the Royal Gardens Bill,

Mr. *V. Harcourt* said he wished to put a question, or rather make some suggestion to the right hon. Baronet the First Lord of the Treasury. After hearing a statement which had been made on a former occasion in that House, on the authority of papers before Parliament respecting the large amount of grain said to be grown one year in the Russian province of Tamboff, he had taken the liberty of asking the noble Lord, the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whether, from the information he had had within his means, he could give any explanation of what seemed to him the very extraordinary statement; but the noble Lord, while concurring with him, that the amount of corn grown appeared to be something very unusual, assured him that the papers, as laid before the House, were correct copies of the official papers. Upon inquiring further at the Foreign-Office, yesterday, he found, from a communication with the Under Secretary, not only that there was no mistake of the transcript whence the papers had been printed, but that a letter had since been received from our consul at St. Petersburgh, the author of the former statement, re-affirming that statement, namely, that more than thirty-eight millions of quarters were grown every year in the province of Tamboff. He could not, however, but still imagine, that there must be some great error in this matter. Upon another point, the price of this corn, he had also stated to the noble Lord opposite his conviction that there must be an entire mistake in the return made to the House; and had affirmed his full belief that, whereas the consul at St. Petersburgh stated, that this corn could be brought to the market at St. Petersburg for from 13*s.* to 14*s.* a quarter, the real fact would be found to be, that the calculations given in Russian money and Russian measures would, when turned into English money and English measures, show that instead of 13*s.* to 14*s.*, the real price of grain in St. Petersburg would be from 27*s.* to 28*s.* Upon asking the Under-Secretary of State also as to this point, it now turned out that, although the consul re-affirmed his former statement as to the quantity grown, he admitted that he had been incorrect as to the price, and that, in point of fact, the real price was from 27*s.* to 28*s.* Now, in order to remove any delusive impression upon this subject, it was essential that no mistakes —

The *Speaker* begged to remind the hon. Member, that the question before the House was the Order of the day for the third reading of the Royal Gardens Bill.

Mr. *V. Harcourt* said he would no longer detain the House, but simply ask the right hon. Baronet whether, before the House was called upon to decide as to the corn question, it was not desirable that more inquiry should be made on the subject?

Sir *R. Peel* said, he thought the best arrangement he could make on this point would be, to lay before the House the subsequent information received from the consul at St. Petersburg, and any further information which might be obtained. It was quite certain that there had been no mistake as to the matter in the Foreign-Office. The statement of the consul was distinctly this,—that 38,500,000 quarters were grown in 1835 in the province of Tamboff, and the authority he gave was that of Mr. Calley, a large corn dealer, and one of the principal British residents at St. Petersburg. The consul, however, had not, as the hon. Gentleman imagined, re-affirmed his statement as to the quantity grown, but said he would make further inquiries on the subject.

Conversation dropped.

MANNING THE ROYAL NAVY.] Captain *Berkeley* begged to call the attention of the hon. Secretary to the Admiralty to a resolution of which he had given notice with respect to the efficient manning of the navy. He wished to know whether it were the intention of the present Board of Admiralty to issue orders, that in future none of her Majesty's ships of war should be sent to sea without a fixed and full complement of men?

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* said, the subject was at present under the consideration of the Board of Admiralty. The principle of having a full and efficient complement of men on board vessels of war, was one of which he entirely approved; at the same time the hon. and gallant Member must see, that, consistently with the public service, it was impossible for him to pledge himself to the extent to which that principle would be applied.

Captain *Berkeley* then begged to withdraw the motion of which he had given notice upon that subject.

Capture of Acre.] The hon. and gallant Member begged also to ask, whether the hon. Baronet was aware that Admiral Stopford had made application to the late Board of Admiralty to revive the system of giving prize money to the seamen and marines employed at Acre as at Algiers and Navarino—whether any answer had been returned, and whether it were intended to give effect to that application?

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* said the application had been referred to the present Board of Admiralty, and was under its consideration.

Captain *Berkeley* under these circumstances would withdraw the notices of motion he had given on these subjects.

The Royal Gardens Bill was then read a third time and passed.

Retired Annuity to Vice-Chancellors.] On the motion that the report from the committee of the whole House, authorising her Majesty to grant a retiring allowance of 3,500*l.* to the new Vice-Chancellors, be received,

Colonel *Sibthorp* objected to the amount of retiring allowance. He thought it much too great, but would not divide the House on the question.

Mr. *Ewart* also thought the sum too great, and proposed that the amount be reduced from 3,500*l.* to 3,000*l.*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* objected to the proposition. The duties of the Vice-Chancellors were not inferior to those of the other judges, and it would be extremely dangerous, by fixing a lower retiring salary than those of the judges, to produce the impression that their employment was inferior or of less importance.

Mr. *Wakley* should like to know when they were to begin to act upon a different principle, because it might be said in all cases it was inexpedient to reduce the emolument, lest it might be inferred that the office was not of importance. Considering the state of the finances of the country, that they had no money to bestow, but rather wanted money to borrow, he thought that the retiring salary proposed to be paid to Vice-Chancellors was preposterously high, and he regretted that his hon. Friend opposite had not moved a much greater reduction. He conceived that 2,000*l.* a year would be quite sufficient as a retiring allowance. They ought to show some consideration for the bankrupt condition of the finances of the country, and he was very sorry that the present Administration had not made a beginning in that direction. As in the last Session of Parliament they had been committed to the proposed sum, the present Administration were no more to blame for it than the last; but if both Administrations were thus to run on in couples, the public would be placed in the difficult position of not being able to find out which was the worse of the two. It was said, that "if you don't offer a high reward, you won't get valuable services, or be able to command the best talent at the bar." For his part, he found great difficulty in meeting with a lawyer who was worth 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l* a year, although he had searched for one again and again. There were certainly men in the profession of great talent, and there was no doubt that judges ought to be men of the highest capacity and honour; because, by putting men of inferior abilities into such a position, they would be risking the rights and liberties of the people, injuring the administration of justice, and endangering the public service to a vast extent. He was, therefore, for amply rewarding the services of judges, but he considered that the amount now proposed was much too high. There was a very strong feeling in the public mind against the amount of salaries paid to public functionaries in general. The public considered them to be too high, and would not believe that that House was sincere in its professed regard for econony, if it continued to propose such exorbitant annuities by way of remuneration. The Lord Chancellor was paid a salary of 14,000*l.*, and a retiring allowance of 5,000*l.*, which was preposterously high, considering the miserable condition of the working classes, and considering also that the very necessaries of life were taxed to pay those enormous salaries. It was a disgrace to that House, and a reflection upon the justice of Parliament, that such things should be. He hoped, although he did not expect, that the House would adopt the proposition of his hon. Friend, and strike off the trifling sum which he suggested, if only as an indication of their desire to do something towards lessening the burdens of the people. It was only 500*l.*, but let them be able to say, that they had made a beginning in this Session of Parliament, as a pledge of their intention to go a great deal farther by and by.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that the House was well aware of the circumstances under which this bill had been proposed by her Majesty's late Administration. It was for the purpose of providing some remedy for the enormous evils which had arisen from the accumulation of business in the Court of Chancery. The evils accompanying the denial of justice, arising not from neglect on the part of the judicial authorities, who it was admitted were most competent to the discharge of their duties, but from the impossibility of transacting the immense and complicated business of the Court of Chancery, had led to the proposal of this bill as a remedy. He was quite sure of this, that the worst economy would be to make incompetent appointments, and the present measure would fail in its object, unless they could procure from the bar two men of great eminence for the discharge of the judicial duties to which it would give rise. The hon. Member for Finsbury said, he never knew a lawyer whose services were worth 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year, but at the same time he admitted that it was of the utmost importance to the public interests that men of high authority, great learning, and unblemished integrity should be induced to accept judicial offices. It was upon the latter principle that the proposal before the House had been made by the late Government. If judges were appointed, inferior in learning or ability to the advocates who pleaded before them, it was impossible that their decisions could carry with them due weight. In such a case, the temptations to appeal would be multiplied, and procrastination greatly increased. The retiring allowances proposed in this case were the same with those of the *puisne* judges, 3,500*l.* a year, and he had often heard complaints in that House of judges retaining their judicial situations at a time when they were incompetent for the discharge of the duties connected with them. He had heard it frequently stated, that it was the truest economy to appropriate such an amount of retiring salary as should induce judges to volunteer to retire from the judicial bench before they were incapacitated for the discharge of its duties. It was difficult upon a question of some particular reduction of expenditure, of three or four hundred a year, always to show a sufficient reason for the precise amount fixed, but, on the whole, he believed this subject to have been well considered. He had heard it stated, that the salaries attached to the new judicial offices would be hardly sufficient to ensure men of the first eminence —that there was a great probability of their not getting men of the first talent to relinquish their professional emoluments for the purpose of accepting the offices with these salaries. He had refused, however, to make any increase in the salaries proposed by the late Government. He believed the amount was just, and he trusted it would be found sufficient to ensure the object of the bill. He was quite sure that it was not wise to make a disproportionate retiring allowance, and so induce those who were placed in judicial seats to remain to the last, when their strength was failing, because there was not a sufficient inducement to retire. He trusted that these considerations would be sufficient to lead the House to affirm this proposal, which was made by the late Government and adopted by the present Government, not out of deference to their predecessors, but, because they thought it reasonable and just and conducive to the interests of the people.

Sir *John Easthope* said, that possibly there was no Member of the House who was more deeply impressed with the suffering of his constituents, or more anxious to consult every species of economy than himself. Representing constituents who were suffering under distress that would defy description, he felt it his duty to take a line of rigid economy; but he might safely say for those constituents, piercing as was their misery, that they would discard such paltry economy as this. It was not by rendering less efficient the courts of justice, or by excluding from the judicial bench individuals of high talent, that distress such as theirs was to be remedied.

Their real complaint was that they were not allowed the free use of their industry, that they were under a species of taxation which aggravated their sufferings, which, whilst it conferred no benefit on the State, pressed heavily on their daily bread. He (Sir John Easthope) would be no party to an economy which, doing no good to the country, might do much damage to the administration of justice. But he did most sincerely deplore, when they talked of economy, that they did not go to that grand source of the distresses of the people, which was viewed throughout the country with the greatest possible dismay.

House divided on the question that 3,500*l.* stand part of the resolution—Ayes 150; Noes 36: Majority 114.

List of the AYES.

Acland, T. D.
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Aldam, W.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnot, hon. H.
Ashley, Lord
Baillie, Colonel
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Barrington, Viscount
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Beresford, Major
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruce, Lord
Buck, L. W.
Campbell, A.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Clements, Viscount
Clerk, Sir G.
Cole, hn. A. H.
Collet, W. R.
Colville, C. R.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Cresswell, C.
Crosse, T. B.
Dawnay, hn. W. H.
Dawson, hn. T. V.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Duncombe, hn. O.
Easthope, Sir J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, W. T.
Elphinstone, H.
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Fellowes, E.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forester, hn. G. C. W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, C. R.
Fuller, A. E.
Gordon, hon. Captain
Gore, M.
Goulburn, rt. hn. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Grant, Sir A. C.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grey, rt. hn. Sir G.
Grimsditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hardy, J.
Harford, S.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Hollond, R.
Hope, hon. C.
Hornby, J.
Hoskins, K.
Hughes, W. B.
Irton, S.
Irving, J.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
MacGeachy, F. A.
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Marton, G.
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murphy, F. S.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, rt. hn. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Connell, M. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Paget, Lord W.
Pakington, J. S.
Parker, J.
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Planta, rt. hon. J.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rolleston, Colonel
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Captain
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Scarlett, hon. R. L.
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Smith, A.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, rt. hn. R. V.
Smythe, hon. G.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Tennent, J. E.
Towneley, J.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Villiers, Viscount
Vyvyan, Sir R. R.
Waddington, H. S.
Welby, G. E.
Wigram, J.
Wood, C.
Wood, Colonel
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Yorke, hon. E. T.

TELLERS.

Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Bryan, G.
Busfeild, W.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Cobden, R.
Crawford, W. S.
Dennistoun, J.
Divett, E.
Duncan, G.
Ferguson, Colonel
Fielden, J.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Forster, M.
Gibson, T. M.
Granger, T. C.
Johnston, A.
Layard, Captain
Leader, J. T.
Morris, D.
Napier, Sir C.
Pechell, Captain
Philips, M.
Plumridge, Captain
Reade, W. M.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stanton, W. H.
Stewart, P. M.
Thornely, T.
Wakley, T.
Walker, R.
Ward, H. G.
Watson, W. H.
Williams, W.
Wrightson, W. B.

TELLERS.

Ewart, E.
Hawes, H.

Resolution agreed to.—Committee on the Administration of Justice Bill instructed to incorporate it with that bill.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.] On the motion of the *Attorney-General*, the House went into committee on the Administration of Justice (No. 2) Bill.

Clauses up to 16 were agreed to.

Upon clause 17,

Mr. *Watson* wished to know whether

any alteration was to be made in the appellant jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. As it at present existed, it was extremely inconvenient, as the appeal was now from one judge to the Lord Chancellor. Subjects of appeal were now decided by one judge. He (Mr. Watson) thought that three out of the five equity judges should be constituted a court of appeal, to which decisions would be from time to time referred. The great expense consequent on appeals to the House of Lords would be thus put an end to, or at least diminished. He trusted that his learned Friend would introduce a clause to that effect in the present bill.

The *Attorney-General* was by no means prepared to deny the importance of the alteration suggested by the hon. Gentleman, or that great and valuable changes might be made in the appellate jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery; but he did not hesitate to state that he had no intention whatever of introducing into this bill any such clause as that proposed by the hon. Gentleman. If he did so during the present Session, he would be fairly chargeable with crude and hasty legislation.

Clause agreed to.

On clause 56, which proposes compensation to certain officers of the Court of Exchequer,

Mr. *Ward* rose, and said this was the fit occasion for him to propose an amendment, for the purpase of bringing before the House a subject to which he was anxious to draw their attention. He alluded to the case of the hon. Mr. Scarlett, to whom it was proposed by this clause to give compensation for being deprived of an office—that of a Master of the Court of Exchequer, to which he had been appointed by Lord Abinger, the Lord Chief Baron. He had to beg pardon for renewing a question in which a Gentleman, now an hon. Member of that House, was concerned; but at the same time the case was one which he felt imperatively called upon to bring under the notice of the House. The effect of the amendment which he should propose, was, that the compensation proposed by the clause should not be granted to any officer of the Court of Exchequer who had been appointed to his official employment subsequent to the 14th of March, 1840, an amendment that would at once bear upon the appointment of the hon. Member for Horsham, which was made subsequently to that day. On the day in question, the 14th of March, 1840, a bill was proposed, with the concurrence of all parties, for the purpose of changing the constitution of the Court of Exchequer. Before the bill could be proceeded with, however, a life dropped, and an office became vacant that was in the gift of the Lord Chief Baron, which, although by the bill in question it was about to be abolished, he immediately filled up by the appointment of his son, the hon. Mr. Scarlett. Yet that Gentleman, after only having held the office since March, 1840, now came and claimed compensation for an office to which he had been appointed by his own father, after an announcement from the highest law officers in the country that it would be included in the proposed changes. And it further appeared, that the same Lord Chief Baron was, together with the Commissioners of the Treasury, the very person to whom the decision on the question of compensation was to be referred. Then, supposing the emoluments of the office to be about 1,800*l.* or 2,000*l.* a-year, it might fairly be expected that the public would be annually charged with a sum of at least 1,200*l.* or 1,400*l.* a-year. Now, after the House had taken the trouble to come to a division on the subject of the salary of the Vice-Chancellor, surely in a matter involving a much larger sum, and when the justice of the proceeding was much more doubtful, they would not refuse inquiry. It appeared, however, that by the 58th clause it was further provided, that when the hon. Gentleman should succeed to the peerage, the compensation should cease. But surely this made the whole subject still more remarkable, for if the hon. Mr. Scarlett was fairly entitled to receive the compensation now, he would be equally entitled to it should he succeed to the peerage. He might perhaps be told that this 58th clause had been inserted in consequence of a tacit understanding that had been come to in the late House of Commons on the subject. But even if such a compact existed, it was nothing at all to them in the present consideration of the matter. They were to take the case on its own merits as it came before them. He denied, however, that there existed any compact or understanding on the subject. On the contrary, it was only by a majority of three, on a division, that the question was carried. An hon. Member certainly did afterwards move a proposition to the effect, that the compensation should cease on Mr. Scarlett becoming a peer of Parliament, but that seemed to him only an additional reason why they should look most strictly at this clause before they again made themselves parties to so equivocal an arrangement. If the hon. Gentleman were entitled to the compensation, then let him have it for his whole life; but if he was not, then he thought the House would scarcely refuse to agree to a proviso to the effect, that the compensation clauses should only apply to those who were appointed to their offices prior to the 14th of March, 1840. The hon. Member concluded by moving, to insert the following words in the clause:—

"Who was appointed to his office prior to the 14th March, 1840."

The *Attorney-General*, (Sir Frederick Pollock), rose, in the first instance, to correct a misapprehension on the part of the hon. Member for Sheffield, when he had said, that clause 58 was the result of a compromise. That clause was not inserted as a compromise, but because it was considered that, on succeeding to the peerage, Mr. Scarlett would cease to hold the office, and that, therefore, as it had been by Lord Abinger himself, that the appointment had been made, it was only fair that the compensation should cease also. With regard to the question itself, he quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman, that, where feelings of personal friendship and kindness were mixed up, it was always unpleasant to enter upon discussions of this kind, but, at the same time, both the hon. Gentleman and himself must do their duty. Not having been present at the former discussion, he did not vote in the division to which the hon. Member referred; but, at the same time, he entertained a very distinct impression on the subject, which he would state to the House. Lord Abinger, at the time the bill was brought in, was Lord Chief Baron, and a vacancy occurred in the Court of Exchequer, which he filled up, before the bill for abolishing that court had been proceeded with in Parliament, though a bill to that effect had been brought in in a former Session of Parliament. This was quite true; but it was a mistake to suppose, as the hon. Gentleman had done, that the proposition to abolish the Court of Exchequer met with the entire concurrence and approbation of all parties concerned. Lord Abinger himself, for instance, had felt disposed to resist the abolition of the court until a period long after the appointment of his son, and many Members of the profession regretted the step. The complete severance of law and equity which that bill would create, was considered by many Members of Westminster-hall as a sort of professional grievance, though for his own part, he would at once admit the full benefit which the bill would produce, and he did not mean to say one word in favour of the continuance of the court. But the duty of Lord Abinger, under such circumstances, was clear. When a vacancy occurred in an office of considerable importance, requiring for the fulfilment of its duties a person of considerable experience and professional skill and knowledge, he could scarcely expect that the place would be accepted by one of fully competent powers, if his tenure of it was only to be temporary, and he certainly must say, he considered Lord Abinger was justified under such circumstances, in looking on the office as a part of his patronage as Lord Chief Baron; and, on the other hand, it would not have been consistent with what he owed the public service, to have appointed any other person who would have taken the office on less favourable terms than the hon. Member for Horsham. That Gentleman was at the time a member of the legal profession, and had given up one or two situations of considerable amount, for the purpose of accepting this; and he repeated, that he thought Lord Abinger had a perfect right to appoint him to the office. He did not see that Lord Abinger had any legal, political, or moral obligation, to consider the office condemned at the time. Relationship constituted no disqualification for an office under such circumstances. Why should Lord Abinger pass over his own relation, a person every way qualified, and one who would only hold the office during his (Lord Abinger's) life, and appoint a less efficient person, unless indeed he had appointed some person who would have claimed permanent compensation? He had had no communication with Lord Abinger on the subject, and, therefore, did not know the exact circumstances under which the appointment was made; but he certainly would say, that consistently with the public service, and a due regard to his own right of patronage, he could not have made, under the circumstances which he had alluded to, a more judicious appointment. He trusted the House would not alter the arrangement made last Session. If the question came to a division, he should certainly support the clause.

Mr. *Ward* admitted, that there was no legal or political obligation on Lord Abinger not to fill up the situation, but he thought the hon. Attorney-general went a little too far, when he said there was no moral obligation upon him. He thought there was upon him the moral obligation of consulting the public interest in preference to his own private interest, which seemed to have prevailed in the selection he had made. With reference to what the hon. Gentleman had said, as to the impossibility of Lord Abinger obtaining a successor to the office if his holding was to be only temporary, he (Mr. Ward) could only say, that the emolument of 2,000*l.* a-year would be quite sufficient to secure a competent person, even though his tenure of it might be short. The hon. Gentleman had also urged, that Mr. Scarlett had given up offices in order to take this appointment. No doubt he would have been very willing to give up those offices in order to secure a compensation of 1,400*l.* a-year until he should succeed to the peerage. But he put it to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who came into office with great claims on the public consideration, and disavowed all private and personal considerations in the preparation of the measures which he might recommend to the country, whether it was an auspicious commencement to his new career, in which they were told he would do so much when he had matured his views, and came to state his plans?

Sir *R. Peel* said, if he remembered rightly, the noble Lord opposite, when leader of the House, and the representative of the Government there, entertained considerable doubts as to the propriety of this compensation. The hon. Gentleman to whom the compensation was to be paid was not then in the House, and his brother stated the circumstances under which he had accepted the office, and there was at that time a claim for compensation.

Mr. *Ward* interrupted the right hon. Baronet, and observed, that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had brought forward the very motion which he now proposed.

Sir *G. Grey* said, that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed the bill with precisely the same words in it as those now embodied in the motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield.

Sir *R. Peel* had understood the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) to have acquiesced in the arrangement as being perfectly just.

Sir *G. Grey* said, that in the course of the discussion on the former bill the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) had spoken of the point as one on which two opinions might fairly be held, but that his own was against giving the compensation to Mr. Scarlett. The noble Lord accordingly voted against the compensation. But, after the division, his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Wells suggested, that at all events the compensation ought not to be continued after Mr. Scarlett had, by being raised to the peerage, ceased to hold the office, upon which the hon. and learned Member for Exeter at once said, the proposition was so reasonable, that although it had not struck those who called for the compensation, they could not object to it, and it was agreed to accordingly. But, in the first instance, his noble Friend had been against the compensation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* remembered it was at the close of the debate, and on it being stated, that the hon. Member for Horsham had given up other offices in order to accept this, that the noble Secretary for the Colonies said, that circumstance, of which he was not aware, very much altered the case.

The *Solicitor-General* (Sir W. Follett) said, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, after hearing that the hon. Member for Horsham had given up other offices in order to accept this, at once said he would be willing to give him compensation to the extent of those offices, and the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) then also thought, that the case was much altered by the fact of those offices having been given up. The right hon. Baronet opposite was quite right in saying, that the noble Lord had voted against the compensation in the division on that occasion.

Sir *R. Peel* continued by observing, that his only wish had been, that the bill should be now brought forward in the same state in which it had been dropped last year, and his impression certainly had been, that the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell), on hearing the statement of the brother of the hon. Member for Horsham, that he had given up other offices in order to accept this, had acquiesced in the reasonableness of the principle of compensation, and the House of Commons were of that opinion. He was at once ready to admit, that the decision of the late House was not necessarily obligatory on this, and that the decision of the present case ought to rest on its merits, but at the same time it did appear to him, that the present claim for compensation rested upon the same principle on which compensation in such cases had usually been granted. The hon. Gentleman opposite was clearly wrong in supposing, that any compromise had been entered into in limiting the compensation to the time at which the hon. Member for Horsham should succeed to the peerage; on the contrary, the office was not tenable by him after his elevation to the peerage., It had also been stated to the House, that at the time at which the appointment was made, it was necessary that the office should be filled, and the court could not do without an officer of the sort. That being so, and Lord Abinger being then in the possession of the legal rights and privileges of his office as Lord Chief Baron, the mere notice of an intention on the part of a Member of Parliament or of the Government to bring in a bill to deprive the officer in question of the emoluments to which he was entitled, ought not to be considered equivalent to a dismissal of him from them. Notice of an intention to bring in such a bill had certainly been given, but no act of the Legislature had passed affecting the legal privileges of the court—privileges which had, no doubt, always been considered as part and parcel of the remuneration of the judicial office, and so looked upon in estimating the amount of salary to be attached to it, as affording the means of providing for members of the family. In the present case, what had been affirmed to be a fitting and necessary appointment had been made, and the choice of the judge had fallen on a member of his own family, who had relinquished his profession and other lucrative situations in order to accept this appointment. He submitted, that no political considerations ought to interfere with a just view of the case, or ought to be suffered to violate the principles which had regulated retiring pensions; and the present case was also analogous to those other cases where compensation had been granted with limitations. With reference to the bill of last year, he had certainly entertained a strong impression that the noble Lord had felt that the principle of compensation (after the explanation of Major Scarlett) applied to the case of the hon. Member for Horsham; but he certainly must now repeat, that on the very reason of the thing, the justice of giving some compensation being admitted on all hands, no personal nor political considerations ought to be allowed to interfere. It certainly would be a most dangerous principle to establish, should a mere notice of an alteration in the law be sufficient to disentitle an individual from the exercise of privileges of which he was then in the enjoyment.

Mr. *Aglionby* quite agreed with the right hon. Baronet, that nothing could be more unjust than to allow personal or political considerations to interfere with the just settlement of this question. He hoped, that hon. Members would guard themselves against the great danger of being influenced in the vote they should give by motives of personal kindness and affection towards those who might have a strong pecuniary interest in this question. It had been stated, that Mr. Scarlett had given up other offices, the retention of which was incompatible with a a mastership in the Exchequer; he should be glad to know what those offices were; he did not think they could be fairly called offices. One, he believed, was an appointment as counsel to the Mint. In that capacity he might take on himself to say Mr. Scarlett had most efficiently performed his duties; indeed, he knew no man who was more respected in the profession, or who was accustomed to perform the duties which fell to his lot in a more creditable manner, than his hon. Friend the Member for Horsham. But, apart from all such feelings, he (Mr. Aglionby) must be guided, on a question of this nature, by a sense of public duty. Mr. Scarlett must have taken this office with his eyes open, well knowing that it must soon be abolished, and having then made the necessary calculations of profit and loss, he could not fairly be considered entitled to compensation under this bill. At all events, the arrangement which he understood was suggested in the last Parliament, limiting the compensation to the loss sustained by resigning the previous appointments, was a much more reasonable proposition, and he hoped the Solicitor-general would see the propriety of adopting it as an equitable compromise. With respect to the 58th clause of the bill, he could not help regarding it as alike derogatory to the dignity of the House, and the station of his hon. and learned Friend.

The *Solicitor-General* begged the hon. and learned Gentleman to remember, that in referring to the arrangement suggested last Parliament of a compensation restricted to the loss which Mr. Scarlett sustained by resigning the offices previously held, he the (Solicitor-general) had given no opinion whatever favourable to such a proposition; nor had he alluded to it as any reason why he should not receive compensation under this bill. The ground on which he had put the matter before, and that on which he rested the claim now, was this: Mr. Scarlett was in justice entitled to compensation, not with reference to anything he had given up, but because he was holding now an office in the Court of Exchequer which was to be abolished by the bill now before the House. The hon. Member for Sheffield had expressed an opinion, that the Lord Chief Baron was not, in justice to the public, called upon to fill up the vacancy which had occurred. The hon. Member should have been aware, that by act of Parliament the Lord Chief Baron was bound to fill it up. But even if no statute applied to the case, it was quite impossible that the Lord Chief Baron could allow one of the offices of Master in the Court of Exchequer to remain vacant. The performance of the regular business of the court, in which every suitor had an interest, required that the vacancy should be supplied. The hon. Member for Sheffield was also mistaken in supposing, that when the bill was brought into the House of Lords there was a general concurrence of opinion as to the propriety of abolishing the office. It was quite essential, he repeated, that the Lord Chief Baron should fill up the vacancy. That being so, some practising barrister, some one taken from the bar, must have been appointed; and whether he held the office of counsel to the Mint or not, he must give up some practice and some emolument; why, then, should he not be entitled to compensation when the office he held was abolished by Parliament? In no single instance where compensation had been awarded by the House, had the principle been laid down or acted upon which was now contended for by the hon. Member opposite. The invariable practice had been to give compensation to persons actually in possession of the offices to be abolished. Having, therefore, shown, that not only was there no moral obligation on the Lord Chief Baron not to fill up the vacancy, but that he was bound by act of Parliament and in justice to the public to make the appointment, he would only refer to the observations upon this point made last Parliament by two hon. and learned Gentlemen, who were certainly not agreed in politics with Mr. Scarlett—the one was the hon. and learned Member for Chester (Mr. Jervis) the other his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. C. Buller). Mr. Jervis said,

> "That he meant to vote for the amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Exeter, on the ground that Lord Abinger had a right to appoint a person to the office, and that the individual so appointed, had therefore a right to compensation on being deprived of it."*

The other hon. and learned Gentleman said,

> "He thought that the House ought to act liberally in compensating persons deprived of any office in consequence of improvements in the law. They ought to do so, not only in justice but in policy, because the slightest disposition on the part of Parliament to act illiberally towards persons so situated would make the passing of any measure of reform matter of great difficulty. What was the worth of these two-penny-half-penny questions compared with the great good which would be gained by a reform like the one now proposed? He thought, that the Court of Exchequer had behaved admirably on this occasion, as Lord Abinger had offered no opposition to a bill which would strip him of a great deal of patronage."

With respect to the 58th clause, he had only to say, that Mr. Scarlett had himself stated to him, that as he could not with propriety hold the office of master in the Exchequer when he should have succeeded to the dignity of a peer of the realm, he felt that the compensation should not extend beyond the time during which he should continue to hold the office. That was the ground on which the proposition then made was acceded to by the friends of Mr. Scarlett. He had only further to state, that the amendment, if adopted, would not merely affect Mr. Scarlett, but deprive other officers of compensation who had purchased their situations in the Exchequer at the usual rate. He therefore hoped the hon. Member would not press his amendment to a division; if he persisted in doing so, he had no doubt the House would adhere to the decision it had formerly pronounced upon this matter, and thus do justice to all parties.

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* See Hansard, Vol. lvii (Third Series,) p. 1052.

Mr. *Hawes* thought the question narrowed itself to this—whether, at the time of this vacancy, it would not have been quite possible to make a provisional appointment? He had no doubt that Gentlemen could be found who were fully competent, and who would be quite willing to take the office on such conditions. The right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel), seemed to think that this office should be looked on as patronage, going in the shape of just emolument to the judge. Was not 7,000*l.* a-year sufficient? And were we to understand that family jobs were necessary to make this large salary still larger? If this were so, what became of the recommendations of this Gentleman, and of the professional skill said to be so essential to the office? If it were a mere instrument for the aggrandisement of the judge, a man who was no lawyer could be appointed to the office just as well as one who was. They should be careful not to lose sight in that House of the principle of a just economy, and he should therefore support the amendment.

Mr. *Watson* believed, it was generally understood that the Court of Exchequer, as at present constituted, would be abolished when this situation was filled up. Now, what was the course taken in a case precisely similar? In 1830, it was proposed to abolish the Welch judicature, but it was found necessary to appoint judges after this notification, and those so nominated were deemed not entitled to compensation though the others were. And not only the judges, but the officers appointed after the announcement of a determination to do away with the tribunal, distinctly understood that no compensation was to be given for their services. If the principle contended for on the other side were a just one, a man might be appointed to an office in the Court of Exchequer this very day, and yet claim full and entire compensation for the loss of a situation which he knew he could not hold for a month.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished to state to the House, exactly what was the history of this clause. The bill, as it originally stood, had not a clause limiting the compensation to those who held offices in the Court of Exchequer, prior to the 14th of March, 1840; but his predecessor, the right hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. F. Baring), introduced one to that effect as an amendment. The hon. Member for the county of Waterford, towards the end of the discussion stated, that,

> "Mr. Scarlett had actually given up a situation worth 500*l.* a-year, in order that he might be able to attend to the duties of his new situation."

Upon which Major Scarlett observed, that the situation which Mr. Scarlett so resigned, was that of counsel to the Mint and to the Post-office. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer then said, he thought that the fact of Mr. Scarlett having resigned another situation ought to come under the consideration of the Treasury. He hoped that the clause would be so altered as to give the Treasury a discretionary power to grant a limited compensation. His hon. and learned Friend (Sir W. Follett), however, did not feel justified in assenting to the proposition. Mr. Scarlett, he said, had certainly given up the situation referred to; but he rested the claim to compensation on other grounds.

Sir *R. Peel* said, the doctrine he held upon this subject was at any rate not a novel one—namely, that in the abolition of patronage attached to judicial offices it was but right to consider its amount in estimating the compensation. There were two or three reports of committees which recognised the means of appointing members of a family, duly qualified of course, as a very valuable piece of patronage, and the principle for which he contended was, in fact, recognised by the statute law of the land. The right hon. Baronet read the preamble of an act passed in 1825, which made a provision for the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in lieu of certain valuable patronage which was taken away by the act.

Sir *G. Grey:* But these were saleable offices.

Mr. *Ward:* Is the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer prepared to act on the grounds which he attributes to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, as forming the reason why the latter assented to some compensation, and to say, that he will confine the amount of compensation to the loss sustained by Mr. Scarlett, in giving up the situations which he held previous to his appointment of Master in the Court of Exchequer?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer:* The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Baring) seemed to conclude that Mr. Scarlett was entitled to compensation for the office of Master, which has been abolished in consequence of having given up the situations which he previously held.

Mr. *C. Wood:* His right hon. Friend (Mr. Baring), never admitted that a positive right to compensation was made out on the part of Mr. Scarlett. All he said was, that a discretionary power should be given to the Government as to what allowance should be granted, the plain meaning of which was, that Mr. Scarlett should receive a recompense for the offices which he had abandoned on being nominated to the Exchequer. That this was the determination of his right hon. Friend, was plainly shown by the fact, that he voted against the amendment of the hon. and learned Solicitor-general (Sir W. Follett), for giving full compensation for the loss of the Mastership.

Viscount *Palmerston:* His hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, had asked a question to which no distinct answer had been given. His hon. Friend had asked, whether the Government would agree to limit the compensation to be given to Mr. Scarlett, to the value of those offices stated to be abandoned by him when he accepted the situation in the Exchequer? That was a plain, simple question, and it would be satisfactory to have it replied to one way or the other.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer:* I am quite ready to say, that, having well considered the grounds of my vote on a former occasion, I am not prepared, for the sake of any temporary or apparent popularity, to swerve from the opinion then acted upon. I believe that Lord Abinger had a perfectly legal right to make the appointment; that Mr. Scarlett was properly nominated to it; that the business of the court could not have gone on without filling up the vacancy; and that no inducement being held out to any individual to resign, and all imputation of jobbing being therefore groundless, it will only be in accordance with all former procedure, that the clause should pass in its present shape.

The committee divided on the question that the words proposed by Mr. Wood be inserted in the clause:—Ayes 81; Noes 140:—Majority 59.

List of the AYES.

Aldam, W.
Berkeley, hn. Captain
Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Bryan, G.
Busfeild, W.
Cave, hon. R. O.
Clements, Viscount
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Crawford, W. S.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
Dennistoun, J.
Divett, E.
Duncan, G.
Dundas, Capt. D.
Easthope, Sir J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Ellis, W.
Elphinstone, H.
Ewart, W.
Ferguson, Colonel
Fielden, J.
Ferrand, W. B.
Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
Gill, T.
Granger, T. C.
Grey, rt. hn. Sir G.
Harris, J. Q.
Hawes, B.
Heathcoat, J.
Hollond, R.
Hoskins, K.
Howard, Lord
Howard, hon. H.
Humphery, Mr. Ald.
Jardine, W.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Layard, Captain
Leader, J. T.
Martin, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Murphy, F. S.
Napier, Sir C.
O'Connell, M. J.
Paget, Colonel
Palmerston, Viscount
Parker, J.
Pechell, Captain
Philips, M.
Pinney, W.
Plumridge, Captain
Protheroe, E.
Ramsbottom, J.
Rawdon, Colonel
Reade, W. M.
Rennie, G.
Seale, Sir J. H.
Seymour, Lord
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Somers, J. P.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stanton, W. H.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, Lord J.
Thornley, T.
Towneley, J.
Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Tufnell, H.
Wakley, T.
Walker, R.
Watson, W. H.
Wigney, I. N.
Williams, W.
Wood, C.
Wrightson, W. B.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Ward, H.
Aglionby, H. A.

List of the NOES.

Acland, T. D.
Ackers, J.
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Baillie, Colonel
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Beresford, Major
Blakemore, R.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Broadley, H.

Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Buck, L. W.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Campbell, A.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Chapman, A.
Chelsea, Viscount
Chetwode, Sir J.
Clerk, Sir G.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Collett, W. R.
Colville, C. R.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Courtenay, Viscount
Cresswell, C.
Crosse, T. B.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Egerton, W. T.
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forester, hon. G. C. W.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gordon, hn. Captain
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Grant, Sir A. C.
Greenall, P.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Viscount
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hughes, W. B.
Irton, S.
Irving, J.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Knatchbull, rt. hn. Sir E.
Knight, H. G.
Lawson, A.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Maclean, D.
MacGeachy, F. A.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Martyn, C. C.
Masterman, J.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murray, C. R. S.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
Paget, Lord W.
Pakington, J. S.
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pemberton, T.
Polhill, F.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rolleston, Colonel
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Round, J.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sandon, Viscount
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Smythe, hon. G.
Stanley, Lord
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Tennent, J. E.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Villiers, Viscount
Waddington, H. S.
Welby, G. E.
Wigram, J.
Wood, Colonel
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel

TELLERS.

Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

Remaining clauses agreed to.

The House resumed. Report to be received.

SUPPLY — DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.] Sir George Clerk moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee of supply.

Mr. *P. Stewart* rose to call the attention of the House to a petition which he presented on Tuesday last, from the county of Renfrew. He felt bound to take this course in discharge of the duty which he owed not only to his own constituency, but to the country generally, and, under these circumstances, he trusted that he should be acquitted of trespassing unnecessarily upon the time of the House, or of offering a factious opposition to the Government. The county which he had the honour to represent, was, like other manufacturing districts, in a state of deep and increasing distress. His constituents had forwarded a memorial to her Majesty, setting forth the deep distress under which they laboured, and praying her Majesty not to consent to the prorogation of Parliament until some means had been devised for alleviating their sufferings. Another memorial, to the same effect, had been sent to the right hon. Member for Tamworth. The petition which he presented on Tuesday, referring to Paisley, stated, that within the last two months several of the leading manufacturing and commercial houses in that town had failed, involving losses to the extent of upwards of 700,000*l.* The petitioners ascribed these failures to the fact of the markets being closed against the manufacturers, and they complained that they had been deprived of the remedy held out to them by the late Government, by the operations and results of a political contest. It was further represented, that, at the present moment there were 650 heads of families out of employment in Paisley. Suffering and disease were increasing to an appalling amount, and a medical authority declared that it was mainly attributable to the want of sufficient food, and to the use of it in an adulterated form. The attention of the House was also called to the fact, that there were at present 1,200 loomsteads untenanted in Paisley. In this deplorable state of things, private charity had been resorted to over and over again; but that source of relief was now exhausted, and the suffering population had no resource but to appeal to the House of Commons, and to beseech it to take their case into consideration before the doors of Parliament were closed for an indefinite period.

He would read to the House two extracts from letters he had received respecting the state of Paisley and Johnstone. First, as regarded Paisley:—

> "Unless it were the effects of war or pestilence, it is almost impossible to conceive any state of things which could create such a complete disruption of society as is going on here, arising wholly from the grievous monopolies, and other burdens, to which the trade of the country is subjected. The effect of this state of things is, that our best tradesmen are transporting themselves to America in great numbers, while houses and shops stand unoccupied, and in many parts of this formerly busy town the proprietors are actually allowing their houses to go to ruin. The friendly societies, those invaluable institutions, are fast going to wreck; and thus our most spirited tradesmen will have nothing left when attacked by infirmity or disease, but to sink to the wretched condition of paupers."

The account respecting Johnstone was as follows:—

> "As a proof of the melancholy depression prevalent in Johnstone, it will be sufficient to state the fact, that, at the present moment, of the sixteen cotton mills in the town, only four are in operation. In the machine-shops not one-fourth of the hands are employed; and in the collieries, where two years ago 400 hands were employed, now we have only 108, and these not in full employ. The wages of labour, even to those who are fully employed, does not afford the means of healthy subsistence, and there is every reason to believe that one-half of the disease and death that have been in Johnstone for some months past have been the effects of destitution, either by the decay of nature accelerated, or of disease induced by scanty and unwholesome food. As regards cases of individual suffering, let the worst be imagined, and it cannot go beyond the truth. I could tell you of mothers dividing a farthing salt herring and a halfpenny-worth of potatoes among a family of seven; of others mixing sawdust with oatmeal in making their porridge, to enable each to have a mouthful; and of families living for ten days on beans and peas and ears of wheat stolen by the children from the neighbouring fields. This state of suffering is a reproach to a Christian country, and being beyond the reach of private beneficence to relieve, it becomes a duty, alike urged by the demands of humanity and the requirements of religion, that something be done promptly and efficiently by Government to remove this mountain mass of misery, by opening markets for the industry of the willing artisans. I hope that the memorial to her Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until they have entered upon a full consideration of the corn and provision laws, will be graciously received, and answered to the satisfaction of a starving people."

He could vouch for the accuracy of those statements. The petition from Paisley concluded with this prayer:—

> "As winter is now approaching your petitioners feel that they would be wanting in duty to the public, if they did not lay a statement of the case before Parliament, that they may be pleased to take the condition of this, and the other distressed manufacturing communities of the kingdom into their early and serious consideration. May it therefore please your honourable House, before adjourning, to take the present distressed state of the country into your immediate and most serious consideration, and to devise such speedy means of relief as to your honourable House may seem meet."

It appeared to him that such a petition, presented under such circumstances, was entitled to more consideration from the House than it could obtain from being merely laid upon the Table. It was not fair to make the late Government chargeable with the distressed condition of the country, because the best Government could not always prevent the occurrence of such a state of things. But, the existence of the distress being admitted, any Government which deserved to hold the reins of power for a single hour was bound to make some effort to alleviate it. What surprised those whom he represented, as well, he believed, as the country generally, to a considerable extent, was the silent system observed by the present Government. It had been stated, in conversation by a noble Lord, not more facetiously than truly, that the late Government had been strangled by mutes. When, the other day, the noble Lord the Member for London addressed the House, protesting against the prorogation of Parliament until something had been devised to relieve the distresses of the people, though the right hon. Member for Tamworth himself spoke able and forcibly on the question, it was remarkable that not another member of the Government raised his voice upon the occasion. The right hon. Baronet would pardon him for observing that, although he spoke much in reply to the noble Lord the Member for London, he said little that was of importance to the public at the present juncture of affairs; he contented himself with merely declaring that he would not disclose his secret—he would not reveal the policy by which the country was to be extricated from its embarrassments. The recent change of Government had not taken place under ordinary circumstances. The late Government was not removed merely in consequence of having had a majority against them on an unimportant question. The case was not parallel to that of two former Governments, one of which resigned in consequence of being out-voted on a question respecting the civil list, and the other on account of being in a minority upon a still more abstract question, namely, the principle of the Appropriation Clause. The late change had taken place upon the great and intelligible principle of fiscal and commercial reform. The distress which pervaded the country was admitted on both sides, and there ought to be no unnecessary delay in devising and applying a remedy. It would be remembered that at the close of last Session Gentlemen opposite protested against the Corn-law question being allowed to remain unsettled even for a month. It was represented that the question of a change in the Corn-laws having been mooted, the best interests of the country would be endangered by leaving it unsettled only for a month. Now, however, those who made that objection were content to leave that and other great questions unsettled until the next meeting of Parliament. The late Government had propounded principles which almost all practical men throughout the country approved of [*Oh, oh.*]. He made that statement advisedly, notwithstanding the contradiction it might be supposed to receive from the state of parties in that House. He must be allowed to say, with all deference, that the majority in that House was a landlords' majority. [*Oh, oh.*] He believed that he was personally as well as politically the representative of as large a stake in the landed interest as any Member of that House, but nevertheless he would say, that the majority returned at the last election was, to all intents and purposes, a landlords' majority. [*No, no.*] Hon. Members opposite said no, but he could sustain his assertion by a reference to facts. The counties of England constituted the majority. Ireland returned a majority in favour of the measures announced by the late Government; Scotland did the same, and the English towns also supported a liberal commercial policy. He might be told that the representation of London was divided, whilst Liverpool was against the late Government. That, however, was easily accounted for. The two hon. Members opposite well knew that in London there was a batch of watermen, whose votes were purchaseable, whilst the old freemen formed a large portion of the constituency of Liverpool. When the Reform Bill was under discussion, he voted for preserving the electoral privileges of the old freemen, because he then represented a large body of them. [*Laughter*]. Hon. Gentlemen opposite might, if they pleased, visit him with their sneers, but he voted in favour of the freemen for that reason, having been returned by them four times; but, at the time he voted for them he thought it probable they would prove to be a rotten plank in the vessel of the constitution. He maintained, therefore, most respectfully, but decidedly, that the majority opposite was a landlords' majority. The whole country was on the tenter hooks of expectation to know the measures which it was intended to propose for their relief, but no information upon that point was vouchsafed them. The right hon. Member for Newark, in addressing his constituents on his re-election, summed up the merits of the new Government by declaring that they had done the good work of displacing the Whigs. But would the country be satisfied with that as an excuse for the neglect of its interests? He yesterday read a long and able speech delivered by the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, but was unable to derive any consolation from it. The noble Lord attributed the whole of the depression under which the country was suffering to over-production, but he never hinted at the mode in which the country was to be relieved from its depression. The noble Lord also justified the sliding scale, and spoke of the present system of Corn-laws in almost the same strain and spirit as a noble Duke in the House of Lords. When he saw the speech of the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary for the Home Department, to his constituents at Dorchester, he expected to obtain from it some information relative to the intentions of Government, but he was disappointed. The right hon. Baronet, in his able speech, seemed to point at some secret which existed in the Cabinet, but said that he must not disclose it. He said, "I must not violate the reserve under which I accepted office." The right hon. Baronet then touched upon the Corn-law, and whilst professing to vindicate the principle of protection, vindicated the principle of prohibition. The right hon. Baronet indulged his hearers with a simile, which however it might amuse, was not likely to satisfy them. He said that the instrument of the constitution was at last attuned to harmony under the present Government. He stated, that the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons, were in harmony, in consequence of the accession of his party to power; and, following up his simile, said, that the right hon. Member for Tamworth—a master-hand at music—being placed at the instrument, would certainly charm the people by the felicity of his touch. He was not aware of the construction of the great constitutional pianoforte over which the right hon. Baronet presided, but he was certain of this, that unless two Dukes were its pedals, and placed under foot, the instrument would yield no harmony. The farmer had been listening in the hope of hearing the favourite strain of "Speed the Plough," from the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, who held a principal office in the harmonious Cabinet. But no such thing; the only tune he could hear was the mawkish melody of "Oh no, we never mention her." When the right hon. Baronet talked of the harmony of the Cabinet to which he belonged, he must have taken his idea from the poet, who said—

> ——— "the harmony of things,
> Like that of sounds, from discord springs."

It appeared to him that the Government was bound to make some exposition of its views. He could assure the right hon. Member for Tamworth, that if Parliament should be prorogued without an attempt being made to apply a remedy to the distresses of the people, it would be difficult to preserve peace in the manufacturing districts, over which clouds were thickening. The adoption of such a course on the part of the Government would be inhuman and unwise, and it would also be attended with danger.

Mr. *Gibson* observed, that the right hon. Member for Tamworth's position appeared to be analogous to that of a barrister, who, having a bad case, received instruction to hold his tongue. He disliked the course adopted by the Government. For what more useful pupose could the House of Commons assemble than to take into consideration the distresses of the people? The right hon. Baronet was next called upon to explain, upon the moment, his financial scheme. It might be urged very plausibly that, having been only a month in office, he had been unable to obtain access to the official documents necessary to enable him to produce a permanent financial plan. If, however, the access to official documents were a matter of so much importance, it was surprising that more deference was not paid to the financial scheme of the late Ministers. That scheme, however, was opposed with the most intemperate zeal, and defeated even before it was fully developed. As matters stood, seeing that it was, to all appearance, the intention of the right hon. Baronet to impose new taxes, he would not care how long his financial scheme was postponed, or indeed if it were not brought forward at all. That was a point of little importance, compared with the commercial distress which existed in the country. Whatever reasons might exist for postponing the announcement of a financial scheme, there was none for not taking the distresses of the people into consideration. The hon. Member who preceded him had read a most interesting statement concerning the distress of his constituents, and he could, if he were not unwilling to trouble the House, read statements of the distress existing at Manchester, which would even exceed those referred to by the hon. Member. In Manchester there were warehouses piled up with goods, for which no profitable sale could be found, insolvencies and bankruptcies were daily occurring, and thousands were actually suffering from the want of food. In the district of Manchester there were 8,000 persons living on the miserable pittance of 15*d.* per week. If he turned to the agricultural interest, did he witness the prosperity which high prices and the Corn-laws ought to give to the farmer now if they ever could give it him? No such thing. He saw the greatest competition for farms, and a general complaint that there was no getting them but as a favour from the landlords, and under conditions which reduced the occupants to the situation of serfs. The farmers complained, that in consequence of the blocking up of all channels of employment, they were unable to get their sons started in business. The agricultural labourers, too, were earning a miserable pittance. Where then, were the signs of agricultural prosperity? The agricultural associations, which were established for the encouragement of scientific improvements, had lapsed into mere Conservative associations. He would name the Agricultural Association of Saxmundham, which the other day exhibited all the symptoms of a political association. They began with passing the usual insult on the Queen. The toast was received with cold indifference and some hisses, whilst the health of the Queen Dowager was drunk with nine times nine cheers. At the same meeting some agricultural labourers were marched into the rooms to receive rewards —for what? For having been able to bring up a small family without having had recourse to parochial relief. This was an admission that the state of the agricultural labourers was such that it was a matter of wonder, for any of them to bring a small family of children up without obtaining parochial relief. Were not the landowners always striving to get ruin out of their districts, and applying to boards of guardians at Manchester, and other manufacturing districts, for that purpose? The other day the Duke of Buckingham actually subscribed a pound to get rid of a labourer and his six sons, all of whom were able to earn their livelihood, but could obtain no employment. The man was not got rid of because he was a bad character. On the contrary, the ratepayers subscribed to send him to the manufacturing districts, because he was a man of good character and could not obtain employment where he was. When these facts were known, it was impossible to suppose that the Corn-laws were producing prosperity in the agricultural districts. The wages of agricultural labourers in Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Buckinghamshire, were 6*s*., 7*s*., 8*s*. and 9*s*. a week. In Suffolk and Norfolk they were a little more, but in consequence of the high price of bread, after they had purchased their food they had scarcely anything left for rent, clothing, and the education of their children, and they could not themselves dress decently enough to attend a place of divine worship. He defied agricultural Gentlemen on the other side of the House to contradict that statement. When the distress of the people were spoken of, hon. Gentlemen opposite always referred to over production as the cause of it. The cause they assigned for the people wanting employment was, that they had always been employed too much. They recommended that manufacturers should commence the system of employing fewer hands, and then they said, their workmen would be much better off. Other hon. Gentlemen attributed the distress to joint-stock banks, fictitious capital, and a variety of things of that sort; but the important question was, what was to be the remedy for the distress, the existence of which was admitted? The hon. Gentlemen opposite confined themselves solely to a consideration of the causes of the distress, instead of immediately setting about to devise a remedy for it. Those on his side of the House contended that the best way to alleviate the pressure upon the manufacturing interest, and to find a market for the labourers, was to extend the foreign markets, and find fresh customers for the industry of our people. That was a natural course to pursue. The field for employment in the cultivation of land on an island must necessarily be limited, but it was impossible to set bounds to foreign trade. As long as the wants of the world should go on increasing, additional employment would be furnished to our labourers. Under these circumstances it would be acting contrary to the first principles of common sense, to encourage the application of labour to the land, instead of manufactures for foreign trade. Hon. Gentlemen opposite might say, "it is all very well for you to talk about free trade, but look how we, the advocates of protection are supported; we have the support of Members for London, Hull, Liverpool, and Leeds." Very true, but how had that support been obtained? Did not the studied reserve of the right hon. Baronet as to his future policy afford Conservative candidates an opportunity of playing fast and loose at the hustings about free trade? Did it not enable them to persuade Conservative manufacturers that the right hon. Baronet would give as much free trade as Lord Melbourne; that he would have the power as well as the will, whilst the late Government had only the will without the power. That was the way in which they cajoled the Conservative manufacturers. What happened at Manchester? A right hon. Gentleman, now a distinguished Member of the Government, was sent down to Manchester. What banner did he fight under? Was it protection? No; it was free trade: and the whole tone of his speeches, the spirit which pervaded every thing he said, went to induce a belief that the right hon. Member for Tamworth was, at heart, a free-trader. The right hon. Gentleman did not say that in so many words, but that was the inference which every one must have drawn from what fell from him. It appeared, from what that right hon. Gentleman said, as if the right hon. Member for Tamworth was only watching his opportunity to throw over the extreme landed party, and bring into operation the measures which were so much desired. The speeches which the right hon. Baronet made in the House were quoted over and over again, and one passage was pointed at to prove that he was actually opposed to the Corn-laws. The passage to which he alluded was one in which the right hon. Baronet declared that, manufactures were the main stay of the country's prosperity, and that the value of land depended on the prosperity of manufactures, and not on the Corn-law. That passage, which he believed he had quoted correctly, was frequently quoted on the hustings in order to cajole the Conservative manufacturers. It was also said, that Mr. Huskisson was a Conservative, and the first free trade minister, and that free trade principles were introduced by the Conservatives, and that the Whigs only adopted them in their last agonies. He did not mean to impute a knowledge of the proceeding to the right hon. Baronet; but it was certain that agents were industriously engaged in creating a belief throughout the manufacturing districts that he was a free trader. At Manchester, a placard was exhibited, bearing the inscription, " Free trade, cheap bread, high wages. Vote for Murray and Entwistle. No Whiggery and no Poor-law." It was an anonymous placard, but it was never disavowed, although it was alluded to over and over again, in different speeches. Indeed, there was no reason for disavowing the placard, because the speeches made were in strict accordance with it. After all these shifts, however, the moment the Government was safe and had a majority, the Duke of Buckingham declared that he had not changed an iota of his opinion, and that he was prepared to maintain the Corn-laws as they stood. It was quite evident that there had been some misunderstanding in the country upon this point. The right hon. Baronet had gone so far as to hold out a hope that he would alter some minor details of the existing law, but the motto of the Duke of Buckingham had always been " no surrender," and he had nailed his flag to the mast. He was at a loss to conceive how the conflicting views which different Members of the right hon. Baronet's Cabinet, entertained on this important subject could be reconciled. Did the right hon. Baronet mean to trust to the chapter of accidents, and rely upon the majority which surrounded him? He could hardly think that the right hon. Baronet and his colleagues, would find it safe to trust wholly to the upper classes. But did her Majesty's Government not think, after the efforts that had been made to increase the independence of the lower classes—after the efforts made to impress upon them a full sense of the degradation of living upon parochial relief, that by now postponing the consideration of the causes of existing distresses, they were in a very great measure counteracting the wholesome influence aimed at by the new Poor-law? Could they hope that trade would recover of its own accord, within any moderate period of time? He had no such hope. No one could have better expressed himself on this subject than the Rev. Baptist Noel; an authority to which he felt assured the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House would cheerfully submit, for that rev. Gentleman, it must be admitted, was among the most distinguished ornaments of the Established Church.

"To this hungry multitude," said the rev. Gentleman "already goaded by want, into rick-burning, and trades unions, into chartism, and every other expression of impatience at unendurable calamity—400,000 beings are added year after year. What is to be done for them? Soup kitchens, tickets for coals and potatoes, mendicity societies, night asylums, and charity balls, or charity sermons, will not fatten their lean visages, nor furnish their empty dwellings, nor make them bless God for plenty. And yet God has provided plenty for them all. The earth would grow a hundredfold more corn than they want; and they have strength, skill, and industry wherewith to purchase it. Only allow them the opportunity of labouring for the food with which Europe can supply them; only fix and reduce the duty on foreign corn, and they will be fed."

In a few words that rev. Gentleman expressed clearly the remedies by which the Liberal party, had proposed to meet the existing distresses. It was not safe, the House might rest assured, in the present advanced state of intelligence, to leave the country without any information as to whether the Corn-laws were or were not to be changed. The people were daily becoming more and more enlightened with respect to their true interests. The penny postage and other improved means of intercourse were sending information into every part of the country, and all classes were thereby enabled to make themselves acquainted with every bearing of this important question. All classes of the people, moreover, were now fully aware that even the Colleagues of the right hon. Baronet—the very Members of the Cabinet—were themselves persuaded of the injustice of these laws. In proof of this he would refer to what had taken place a few days ago, on the occasion of the re-election of the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, when Mr. James Acland was put forward to oppose the noble Lord. He had no knowledge of what then occurred, except such as he derived from the public papers, but he must say, that he saw nothing to laugh at in what had taken place on the occasion referred to. Mr. Acland had been proposed and seconded by freeholders, and the show of hands for him was equal to that presented on behalf of the noble Lord — though certainly he did not go to the poll but he was not talking of Mr. Acland. All he said was this—that this gentleman being brought forward, enabled the electors to put questions to the noble Lord, and that was a convenient mode, to say the least, of eliciting the opinions entertained by a member of the Government. Now, let the House hear. The first question put by a freeholder was—"Do the Corn-laws raise the price of bread?" The noble Lord frankly, fairly said, that the object of the Corn laws was to raise the price of bread above its natural level. Then the noble Lord went on to say, that the effect of this raising the price of bread above its natural level was to increase the rental of the landlords. That was proposition two, then. The noble Lord, to be sure, did not say that the object of the Legislature was to raise the rental of the landlords when they passed the present Corn-laws. Let it be assumed that such was the incidental effect—all that was necessary was, to establish the fact. Did the noble Lord admit that the result of raising the price of bread was to raise the rental of the landlords. Doubtless the noble Lord did admit it. Now, then, for the third proposition, and the most important of all—the noble Lord admitted fairly and distinctly that the price of bread had no effect upon the rise or fall of wages. Let it be remarked, that this was the very position for which the Anti-Corn-law League, and the political economists had always been contending—that the price of bread had no influence upon the rise or fall of wages. Now, he asked the noble Lord, what must any poor handloom weaver think, when he read this speech, and heard that the price of bread increased the rental of the land, and that this was the effect of the Corn-laws, and that they did not increase his wages? What would be the result of the artisan's deliberation, but that the dainties of the rich were purchased at the expense of the tears of the poor?—that the bread of the labourer was taxed to enable the landed proprietors to revel in a few surplus luxuries? Was it at all wonderful that the poor should come to such a conclusion? He by no means imputed these as the motives of the party opposite. He knew it would be said that there was an increased demand for labour in the agricultural districts, and therefore that indirectly, if not directly, the Corn-laws kept up wages. He answered that by facts. Had not the agriculturists been sending labourers away to the manufacturing districts? Were they not, at this moment, subscribing money in support of this system? Was it not manifest, that unless the people were allowed to exchange the fruits of their labour for the corn and the cattle of foreign countries, they must be in a state of constantly increasing distress? Under these circumstances, he asked again, was it wise to put off considering the question, when not only the poor, but the middle classes, and the capitalists, were making up their minds that they would no longer submit to a law based upon the principle, that food was to be dealt out to them only on conditions dictated by the jealous spirit, or the pecuniary exigencies of the landowners? What had the people to do with the pecuniary interests of the landowners? Let those who had no land introduce foreign wheat, just as those who had land produced it at home. If this corn could be produced cheaper than at home by the instrumentality of exchange with foreigners, why should it not be so? What possible justice was there in giving to the proprietors of land the exclusive right of producing bread and beef, and selling to their countrymen? What conceivable title had the landed proprietors to be considered the licensed victuallers of England? What peculiar privileges of such a nature did the possession of a few acres justly give? Why should the manufacturers and the men of commerce be content to consider themselves as a mere secondary class? What was there unfair in their demand, that they should be permitted the fair reward of their own enterprise, skill, and industry? Whether there was distress or not, was it unfair that they should be permitted to get as much of profit as they could? Had they not a right to call upon the Legislature to reform the law, so that the value of land should not be unduly enhanced? The people, they might rest assured, would not much longer submit to such a state of things, but would insist upon being allowed to turn their own industry to the best account. "You shall not make laws for the protection of particular interests," would be the cry of the people; and for my part, concluded the hon. Member, I see nothing revolutionary in the demand that all classes be secured in the enjoyment of their right to a fair reward for their exertions.

Mr. *J. Parker* was sorry that, after the speeches which had been delivered, no Member of the Government should have risen to reply to them. Under ordinary circumstances, he should have said that the right hon. Baronet was not to be called upon to give any exposition to Parliament of his views; but the Government of Lord Melbourne had fallen in consequence of many attacks on the part of the right hon. Baronet—*iterum iterumque*—assaults against the late Government were carried on after careful observance of the right hon, Baronet's injunction, "register, register, register." The right hon. Baronet, therefore, must have been aware, that if he succeeded, the country must expect from him an exposition of his views in respect to the all-important subject on which the country had been appealed to—that he would be expected to say a little more than that he would amend the averages, and make some slight change how large or how small he did not say. The country had certainly a right to expect a little further light from the new Government, as to their intentions with respect to the Corn-laws. Yet, at present, all that was known was, that the sliding scale was to be reformed. He would tell the right hon. Baronet that the country would not be satisfied with this; and would believe that so eminent a statesman, and one so experienced, could have hardly failed to form opinions on the great subject of free trade. Whatever other constituencies might have done, in his there was no division on the question; and they believed that a great part of the national distress was owing to the operation of the Corn-laws. They were not so absurd as to pretend that these laws formed the only cause—a variety of causes were associated with this—but he was convinced that this was the main cause. Therefore, it would not be deemed sufficient for the right hon. Baronet to say, that he had been suddenly called to office. It was with these feelings that he had given his vote the other night (which till now he had not had an opportunity of explaining) in support of the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham.

Sir *R. Peel* thought if he took the advice of the hon. Member for Sheffield, he should not give that satisfaction to the country which it was required he should give. For all that the hon. Member demanded was, that he should give a "little" development of his intentions. Now, he saw really no great practical advantage in a "little" explanation. It appeared to him, that the course he proposed to pursue, was a much more rational one than that which the hon. Member suggested. The course he adopted, on being called with his colleagues to the Administration of public affairs, to repair, if possible, some of the enormous embarrassments in which they found the country involved, so far as financial affairs were concerned, was to ask from the House confidence sufficient to enable them to take a comprehensive view of the whole position of the country, and after a short, a comparatively short, period (considering the importance of the questions to be discussed), to mature their plans and submit them to the consideration of Parliament: that really appeared to him to be a far more reasonable course than that he should make a "little explanation." What could this "little explanation" of his be upon the subject of the Corn-laws? Was there any alternative, if the Corn-laws were to be considered at all—was there any other alternative than that of fully stating the measure of the Government? And was it not infinitely better that nothing should be said, till the plan was maturely prepared and ready for the consideration of Parliament? What advantage would there be in merely hinting at details, and then postponing the consideration of them? It was only the other night that he was told from the other side of the House, that nothing would be so unwise as to bring forward the discussion upon the Corn-laws, without taking into account the question of the Poor-laws. He had been told from the other side of the House, that these two subjects were so intimately connected, that he should not develope the views of the Government with respect to one, without at the same time explaining them as to the other. Again, was he not told during the last Session, that the consideration of the Corn-laws was essential to any wise system of finance, and that finance also was so interwoven with the Corn-laws that they ought not to be separated—that they must never be distinctly considered? If, then, the opinions thus expressed on the other side were correct, was it not perfectly clear that he could not propose the plans of the Government with respect to all these great questions, pressing as they all were equally for consideration? He had stated last Session, that if the Opposition he conducted were successful, he would not be forced into a premature declaration of opinion. Since that, the opinion of the country had been taken, by the election, under the auspices of the late Government, and whatever might be said, by hon. Gentlemen opposite, the opinion of the country had been evinced in favour of the course he had pursued, and the reasonableness of the demand which he had made. He had nevertheless distinctly stated, that if his Opposition proved successful, he would not, on his assuming power, bring forward a temporary plan for supplying the presumed deficiencies, but he would wait till he had prepared a matured measure. He had said this, before the late election, the constituencies were well aware of it; yet the consequence of that election had been, that her Majesty's late Government had been forced to resign. The hon. Gentleman, the Member for Manchester, had said, that he had maintained a perfect reserve. Well, but the country knew of that reserve, and the country had demanded no more explicit declaration of opinion; and, notwithstanding that reserve, the late Government were forced to abdicate. [Mr. *Hawes*. The counties.] The counties! the constituencies of this empire, as left by the Reform Bill of the noble Lord opposite. But this was always the way when the party opposite was unsuccessful—a new Reform Bill was threatened. This was their refuge under every loss of public confidence—every declaration of opinion against them; and they would have it that the real opinion of the country was, after all, at variance with the result of the election. If that were so, how happened it that though by reason of the change of Government some thirty seats had been vacated, and the Members had been before their constituents, not one hitherto had been defeated? Nay, more, with the single exception of Mr. Acland, that formidable opponent who first came down against himself, and then against his noble Friend with that exception, none of the Members of the Government had met with opposition. Certainly, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Manchester should dwell upon the name of Acland with exultation — he had a right to make the most of him—for he was the only opponent the Government had met with on the re-elections. To be sure, this formidable opponent was formally proposed and seconded. [Mr. *Gibson*: And had the show of hands]. Oh, yes, the show of hands; but he had such small confidence in this popular demonstration that he did not go to the poll. Now, it was not from any disrespect to the two hon. Members who had commenced the discussion, nor from any indifference to their representations, that he had refrained from rising immediately after the hon. Member for Manchester. But he thought, after the discussion of the other night—not at all, however, questioning the full right of the hon. Members to take the course they had pursued, if they deemed it proper—yet he must say, it was not a usual course to interrupt the committee of supply with a discussion which could lead to no practical result. He had understood that the hon. Member for Renfrewshire wished to bring forward some statements of a peculiar character and importance affecting his constituents—statements, indeed, the hon. Member had made which could not be listened to without pain; but he had not understood that the hon. Member intended to provoke a discussion upon the subject debated the other night. Considering what the hon. Member had said of the distress of his constituents, he must own that he was surprised that notwithstanding all the sympathy the hon. Member had expressed, he should have found time to concoct that laboured series of exceedingly bad jokes, by which it seemed that he was desirous rather of the reputation of jocoseness and waggery than of the respect and gratitude of his constituents. The hon. Gentleman convinced him, also, that notwithstanding the prominent position he occupied, his counsel, as an adviser under the present difficult circumstances, was not altogether to be depended on, for the hon. Gentleman said, that he attributed a great part of the defectiveness of the existing constituencies to the retention of the old freemen in the boroughs; and that in the first instance he was resolved not to maintain the rights of those old freemen; and the hon. Gentleman had no better reason for justifying the course which he took against his own resolve than the personal obligation he felt to those people for having returned him to Parliament for four successive years. That clearly proved that whatever course the temporary interests of his constituents might require him to take, the opinions of his constituents would prevail over the enlarged views of his own mind. So far had the hon. Gentleman carried this principle, that having to repair any vessel—say the vessel of the state, for instance, which he said was endangered by the rottenness of some particular part, he consented to vote for the substitution of that which, according to his own words, was a rotten plank for a good one. That was the hon. Gentleman's description of his own policy as a legislator; owing obligations to certain freemen, he purposely inserted a rotten plank in the vessel of the constitution. The hon. Gentleman, therefore would permit him to detract considerably from his authority as a counsellor after that declaration of his past course in reference to the interests of his subjects. As he had said before, he deeply sympathised with the distressed portions of the population in certain parts of the country. He did not deny the existence of distress; he believed it to be most painful in some districts. But it was most important that those upon whom the duties were imposed of laying the foundation, if possible of a remedy for those distresses, should not be driven into hasty and precipitate measures in the hope of applying an immediately effectual remedy. He was certain that the deliberate sense of this country was, in favour of those who were now intrusted with the administration of public affairs having an opportunity of knowing to what causes the distress which prevailed in some quarters of the land was attributable before they attempted to devise measures to remove it. He had heard those who now were most actively engaged in anti-corn-law leagues attribute that distress mainly to the very causes for alluding to which her Majesty's Government was now ridiculed, namely, the artificial stimulus, which was applied to production, by means of the excessive issue of bank notes. That very Chamber of Commerce of the town which the hon. Gentleman represented distinctly stated, in reference to manufactures, and to the manufacture of cotton in particular, that they were in a state of prosperity up to the year 1836. That prosperity was coexistent with the present system of Corn-laws. But the Chamber of Commerce declared, that in consequence of the misconduct of the Bank of England, followed by the misconduct of the joint-stock banks, there was first, the most extravagant stimulus given to manufacturing speculations; advances were made by joint-stock banks to manufacturers and owners of cotton mills, machinery was placed in those cotton mills, the machinery and the buildings being assigned as a security for the advances. Then came a revulsion in trade, and then came a demand for money. The mills were stopped, and the security being of little value realized but a comparatively small sum. Those were said to be the causes of all the embarrassment and distresses of the manufacturers. But now it was alleged that the Corn-laws were the cause of all the mischief. He must declare, however, that he was morally certain that to other causes the evil was to be attributed. When, therefore, the hon. Gentleman, in making a reference to free trade, asked him to come forward and propose a new Corn-law, he would inquire of him in return, if he would be satisfied if now, when corn could be admitted at 1*s*., he should propose that it must be admitted not under 8*s*. He knew very well that her Majesty's late Ministers would allege, that had the 8*s*. duty been devised before, the distress might have been prevented. But he would not enter into a retrospective argument. He would keep to the business in hand. They asked him for a sudden proposition of remedial measures, and he asked in reply, whether they would be satisfied were he to propose the adoption of that remedy which had been heretofore propounded—namely, an 8*s.* duty instead of a 1*s.* duty? If they told him that they would not be satisfied with that proposition, and that the increased duty on the importation of corn would only aggravate and extend the distress, they must admit that some other course must be adopted to remedy the evil. The hon. Gentleman had asked him whether or no he denied the existence of the distress? Certainly he did not. He feared that in the manufacturing districts it had been very general, and that it had been most severe in some places, particularly in those connected with the cotton manufactures; but while he expressed feelings of the deepest regret at its existence he must say, that he did not think it wise to take so desponding a view of it as some hon. Gentlemen were disposed to do. He did not believe generally speaking, that the condition of this country was such as to forbid all hope of returning prosperity. Among the many documents which any persons wishing to consider the position of this country would be naturally led to examine, even if from some of them no very lucid inference could possibly be drawn, there was one of great importance and value in regard to the kind of information it conveyed; and to such a document of course those who had the management of public affairs, and who must necessarily be impelled to ascertain the precise condition of the country, would direct their attention. The document to which he alluded was, "An account of the Principal Sums paid into the National Debt-office, and drawn for by the trustees of Savings' Banks and Friendly Societies, during the periods set down." The hon. Gentleman the Member for Renfrewshire had referred to the friendly societies' banks, and stated that there had been a universal withdrawal of the deposits from those banks; and the hon. Gentleman thereupon inferred that he must therefore calculate upon an universal system of private benevolence, for the purpose of supporting the poor, and relieving their distresses. He was at a loss to discover from what it was that the hon. Gentleman drew such a wide inference; and he trusted to be able to show that the hon. Gentleman was wrong with respect to the universal bankruptcy of which he had spoken. He knew how unsafe and unwise it was to lay one's self open to the charge of indifference to distress, and to attempt to correct mistakes of this kind. Yet, if misapprehensions and mistakes were set forth, it was right that they should be corrected. In the document which he held in his hand, the title of which he had read, he thought he saw indications which forbade the application of any instantaneous schemes for relieving the distress already alluded to. The account in question was of the principal sums lodged in the savings banks of the united kingdom, and from that account it appeared, that in the month of June, 1841, the sum of 66,422*l.* was paid in, while the amount drawn out was, 86,364*l.*, exhibiting this melancholy fact, that the sum drawn out exceeded the sum paid in by nearly 20,000*l.* In July, however, the sums paid into the savings' banks and friendly societies reached to 125,917*l.*, and the sums drawn out to 87,061*l.* only. That was a most satisfactory change of things. In the month of August the deposits altogether were 100,033*l.*, and the sums drawn out 50,004*l.* only. Let the House just observe that in June the sums withdrawn exceeded the sums paid in by nearly 20,000*l.*, and that in the month of August the sums paid in exceeded those drawn out by 50,000*l.*, doubling in fact the withdrawals. He would not presume to say whether this remarkable change was partly or chiefly owing to the confidence engendered through the country in consequence of the change in the Administration. The hon. Gentleman perhaps might think that he took rather an interested view of the matter, but he assured that hon. Gentleman that one of his reasons for hoping for improvement in public affairs was, the increased confidence of the country in the present Administration. In that hope he was confirmed by the fact, which might be considered, perhaps, as only simultaneous with the change of Ministry, and not in the nature of an effect resulting from that as a cause, that whereas in the month of June, it appeared that the sums drawn out were nearly 20,000*l.* more than those paid in, in the month of August following the deposits exceeded the draughts by 50,000*l.* He stated the fact only—he would make no comment. But he saw, in that fact a sound and constitutional reason for not taking any rash or too sudden a step. Again, the sums paid in from the 28th of August, up to the 11th of the present month amounted to 32,325*l.*, and the sums drawn out to 20,850*l.*, showing another increase in the deposits. The hon. Gentleman might say, that these were not satisfactory indications of the condition of the working classes. He would agree in such an opinion; but, at the same time, the argument always had been, that the state of the working classes was pretty well demonstrated by the manner in which the small retail dealers found themselves affected by passing circumstances; and, perhaps, there could not be a more satisfactory test of the state of the small retailers than the state of the savings-banks, particularly in manufacturing districts. He had, therefore, procured a return of the deposits paid into the savings-banks in the manufacturing districts, embracing Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Glasgow, Birmingham, Coventry, Nottingham, and Paisley, for the last three months, and the result was, that the gross total of the sums paid in was 123,329*l.*, while the amount drawn out was 114,378*l.*; still showing, even in the manufacturing districts, an increase in the deposits. He was quite aware that there was great distress in parts of Lancashire, but still he asserted that a view of the question must be taken upon the general results, rather than upon particular features. Within the last three months, however, even in Manchester the amount of deposits was 25,555*l.*, while that of sums drawn out was but 22,725*l.* It was of great importance that time should be allowed to ascertain where the pressure was, and to make inquiry as to the cause of that pressure. He thought the Government had shown that they were not indifferent to the distress that existed; the production of the present document might be taken as a proof of that. But they were attempting to ascertain the position of the country for the purpose of considering, and not of denying the distress. At the same time he deprecated that exaggeration which would demand immediate and precipitate, and he must say, as a consequence, delusive measures for removing it. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Manchester, speaking of the reserve with which he charged him, mentioned a single instance in which, according to that hon. Gentleman, he, or rather some of his supporters, had departed from that reserve. The hon. Gentleman was not very fortunate in his selection of an exception. He had stated, that in the town of Manchester a candidate had come forward to represent the place, having inscribed upon his banners, "Cheap bread and no Corn-laws," "High wages and no Poor-laws," "Vote for Murray and Entwistle," "No Whiggery." The cry, then, of "Cheap bread, no Corn-laws," and "No Poor-laws," was not, it would seem the highway to success for a candidate. Those appeals were fruitless in the case cited by the hon. Gentleman, and it would appear that the candidates had failed for not copying him in his reserve; while in other instances, where the language of candidates had been, "We will make no rash and precipitate declarations; have confidence in us, and give us full opportunity for maturing proper measures, and not for the purpose of avoiding discussion"—in those cases candidates had been successful. But the unfortunate candidate in the manufacturing district, who put forth "No Poor-laws," and "No Corn-laws," and "Cheap bread," was rejected. He would not pretend to say, whether the addition of the words "No Whiggery" had tended to produce that effect; he knew not, but it had been said, that possibly it did tend to his downfall. The hon. Gentleman, however, in speaking of that instance of failure, rather proved to him that the country was content with the reasonableness of the proposition which he had made heretofore, and that they did approve of that reserve of his, and that due attention should be paid to the state of the country, before attempts were made to remove the existing evils. "It is impossible to deny (continued the right hon. Baronet), that we are familiar with the subjects of finance, the Corn-laws, and the Poor-laws; yet my firm belief is, that the intelligent and thinking part of the community in the three kingdoms are of opinion that, on the constitution of a new Government, under the auspices of one who has been excluded from power for more than ten years, it is a rational and just proposal, as conducive to mature deliberation and the adoption of wise measures, that we should take time to make inquiries, and avail ourselves of the opportunities and sources of information which official power affords us; and having inquired, and given all attention to the measures we have to propose, we should then leave it to Parliament to determine whether those measures are founded on just and wise principles, or not, and whether or not they are likely to conduce to the permanent welfare of the country."

Mr. *M. Phillips* said, that the right hon. Baronet ought, upon his admissions of the extent and severity of the distress in the country, to proceed without further delay to the adoption of remedial measures. Indeed, so heavy and pressing was that distress, that he was convinced, unless the House would prescribe immediate relief, they would have to witness and deplore that want of order and those scenes of mischief, which he thought it was the duty of all those who entertained his opinions to take timely steps to prevent. It had been his good fortune to support an Address from that House to the Throne, praying, that her Majesty, having called together her Parliament, would direct the distressed state of the country to be taken into immediate consideration. He held in his hand a speech which the right hon. Baronet made in that House on the 7th of June last, which had led him to hope, that Parliament would be re-assembled, not for the purpose of having a great and pressing question of this nature postponed, but of devising an immediate and effectual remedy for the distresses which afflicted the country. On the 7th of June last, the right hon. Baronet said:—

> "According to all usage, and under circumstance of all the cases that were analogous to the present, the new Parliament ought to be convoked immediately. He said this not only with reference to the important questions to which the public mind was alive—not only with reference to the immense advantage which it must be to all persons engaged in commercial speculations or enterprise of any kind, to know what was to be the state of the law affecting the importation of corn—not only with reference to these considerations, but also with reference to the position of the executive government, which manifestly stood before the people as not possessing the confidence of the House of Commons. The combined force of these considerations compelled him to conclude that the interval ought to be as short as possible between the dissolution of the present Parliament, and the calling together a new Parliament. No considerations of private or personal convenience of Members ought in the slightest degree to interfere."

Perfectly concurring in those sentiments of the right hon. Baronet, as he did, he must say, that his disappointment was the greater, hearing the right hon. Baronet, now that Parliament had been assembled without delay, propose to postpone all the great and pressing questions to which the public mind was alive, and which were of immense consequence to all persons engaged in commercial enterprise and speculations. All that the House had to expect from the right hon. Baronet until next February, was, it seemed, the document he had just quoted with respect to the amounts of deposits and withdrawments of deposits. He would ask nothing unreasonable of the right hon. Baronet. He implored him not to allow Parliament to be prorogued until something was done to relieve the distresses of the people; let him take a fortnight, or even a month, for the consideration of proper measures of relief, but let him not suffer the winter to pass over without taking some decisive step. He had presented a memorial from one of the most numerous meetings ever held at Manchester, uttering the same request, and he must say, that he saw nothing unreasonable in that request. If the Government were not prepared to make any alteration in the Corn-laws, let them say so at once, and put an end to the anxiety which now prevailed throughout the country. If he were to assume from what had fallen from certain Members of the Government and other hon. Members sitting on the same side of the House, that they were of opinion, that the Corn-laws had nothing to do with the distress of the country, let the Government unequivocally state that to be their opinion. It did not require a delay of weeks or months to allow them to make a simple declaration of that kind. Such an opinion had been expressed by the noble Lord, the Member for Liverpool, on the one hand, and by the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, on the other; and if the right hon. Baronet entertained the same views, let him come forward and avow them. He did not wish to enter into any details on the subject of the present distress; but he must repeat his solemn conviction that the industry of this country was paralyzed by the operation of the provision laws—that markets were wanted for the extension of the industry of the country, and that it was not unreasonable to ask for a decision on a question of such vital importance. He would urge upon the Government the impropriety of allowing Parliament to separate before Christmas without taking into their serious consideration a question to which the public mind had of late been directed with a degree of intensity never before known. The question had been taken up by the people, who considered it to be one of vital importance to their interests; and it was the duty of their representatives, when they saw the country plunged into such distress, to rise in their places and urge upon the Government the necessity of coming to some conclusion before the approach of winter, upon the most important question which ever occupied the attention of any Legislature.

Mr. *Ewart* thought the right hon. Baronet had rather injudiciously diverted the attention of the House from the main question to the metaphors of the hon. Member for Renfrewshire. The metaphors of the musical instrument on which it had pleased the hon. Gentleman for some time to play did not originate with his hon. Friend, but with the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester, to whom it ought in fairness to be awarded. The inference drawn by the right hon. Baronet from what took place at Manchester during the late election was rather unfortunate. The right hon. Baronet said, that although the words "free trade" were inscribed on the Conservative banners, yet they were unsuccessful; but the right hon. Baronet ought to recollect that on those banners were inscribed the names of Murray and Entwistle. The inference to be drawn from this fact was not that they did not put faith in free trade, but that they had no confidence in Murray and Entwistle. The right hon. Baronet appealed to the House for time. He was quite willing to afford him time, but the question was what length of time would he require? A delay of one or two months, perhaps, might not be objected to, but the right hon. Baronet would not give the least intimation of the probable period when he would favour the House with his opinion, and this would necessarily tend to aggravate the feelings of discontent which now prevailed in the country. The only inference which the public could draw from this prolonged silence of the right hon. Baronet must be unfavourable to any scheme which he might afterwards propose; and whilst he kept his remedy in abeyance, the exasperated feelings which had arisen between the manufacturing and agricultural interest would increase, and the trials of a long and severe winter might excite the people to such a degree, as to disturb even the prolonged silence of the right hon. Baronet. Knowing the feelings which prevailed in the manufacturing districts, he was quite certain that no greater source of danger could exist than the uncertainty which attended the measures of the Government; and he thought the right hon. Baronet would do well to consider whether the discontent produced by such means might not end in disorder. He could not reconcile it with the duty of a Minister to conceal for so long a time the remedy which he intended to propose for the relief of the public distress. An anticipated time, now approaching, was shown in the memorable speech delivered by Mr. Huskisson ten years ago. He adverted to the time when the competition of foreign countries might endanger the safety of our manufactures, and to the necessity which might then arise of an alteration of the Corn-laws. He said,

> "The greatest of all follies on such an occasion would be to shut our eyes to the difficulties which, taken in time, we may perhaps overcome, but which by procrastination we cannot avoid. Our Corn-laws, however expedient to prevent other evils, in the present state of the country, are in themselves a burden and restraint upon its manufacturing and commercial industry; whilst the produce of that industry must descend to the level of the general markets of the world, the producers in this country, so far as food is concerned, are not upon that level. If the price of those products which we never export, and are frequently compelled to import, be materially higher here than elsewhere, that dearness cannot be counterbalanced in the articles which we export; it must fall either in the way of reduction upon the wages of the labourer or upon the profits of those who find him employment."

The time was now come when the operation of the Corn-laws was felt both upon the wages and comforts of the labourer and the profits of his employer. He did not imagine that measures of free trade would be an immediate panacea for the existing evils of the country, but he certainly thought such measures would secure its lasting prosperity; and, if ever there was a time when it was necessary to carry them into operation, it was when distress was so prevalent, and the manufacturing industry at so low an ebb. He trusted that the right hon. Baronet would not keep the country longer in that state of suspense, which was beginning to have such a serious effect on the manufacturing districts. If this prolonged silence were to remain undisturbed, it would aggravate the discontent which now prevailed, and make the distresses of the people more keenly felt. He trusted the right hon. Baronet would not present the country with a picture of what had been so happily described by the Roman poet—

> "Jurantem me scire nihil, mirantur, et unum
> "Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti."

Mr. *R. Walker* said, although he had been in business about forty years, he never saw greater distress than now existed in the manufacturing districts, and he believed the middle classes were fast verging towards poverty. The borough which he represented contained 25,000 inhabitants, and the annual rental was about 60,000*l.* A larger sum than the amount of that rental had been taken from the working classes during the last twelve months. An establishment with which his family was connected would, in the course of the present year, pay 20,000*l.* less in wages than the average of the last four years. There were three other establishments of a similar nature in the town, in which he had no doubt a proportionate reduction had taken place. Some of the mills had been altogether stopped, and a great number of operatives had thus been deprived of employment. Although much difference of opinion prevailed as to the causes of the present distress, no one denied its existence, and it was therefore the duty of the House at once to endeavour to provide a remedy. The people certainly attributed their sufferings to the Corn-laws; and he wished the Government would take into consideration the interests of those classes who had hitherto been so much neglected.

Sir *J. Easthope* assured the House that it had not been from any insensibility to the distress that existed among the people at large, nor had it been from any impression that the position of the constituency he had the honour to represent less demanded the serious and attentive consideration of Parliament than any other portion of the country, that hitherto he had refrained from addressing the House upon those momentous questions which now agitated the public mind. Without troubling the House at any length with those details of distress which had already been so strongly brought under their notice, he begged permission to relate one fact as being painfully illustrative of the state of trade and manufactures in the town he represented. One of the most skilful and industrious manufacturers there, an individual possessed of capital, called upon him (Sir J. Easthope), and after representing the universal state of distress which surrounded him, stated that he had come to the determination of abandoning trade. For four consecutive years he had been a loser to a considerable amount, and in order to secure something upon which to retreat, he felt that his only course was to give up his trade. He (Sir J. Easthope) had then asked this gentleman what was to become of the artisans, who had found their subsistence in his employment, and the reply was, that, unhappily, he had no means of averting the evil, and that they must form an addition to the thousands who were already in a state of destitution. Now, he asked the right hon. Baronet if he expected, that, with augmented sufferings and an augmented number of those who suffered, a winter of severity could pass away without greatly aggravated wretchedness and misery—misery so deep, that, in spite of all that could be done, might endanger the peace and order of the manufacturing districts of the kingdom. Surely before Parliament separated, something ought to be done to show to the country their distresses were not unheeded and to prove that there was an earnest desire on the part of that House to stay the progress of the evil. Not a doubt existed as to the distress that prevailed in the country—distress, in a great measure, attributable to the Corn-laws; yet there was one Member of the Cabinet proclaiming in the midst of his tenantry, that he adhered to all the principles he had ever laid down, and all the determinations he had ever made, and that noble Duke was rightly considered the champion of the present Corn-law. Then there was the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, who, if rightly reported, had certainly not spoken in a way calculated to excite the hopes of the suffering people. Were such speeches as these, or that of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester, calculated to tranquillise those who took the same view of the subject which he did, to satisfy them, so as to induce their patience or to prevent their alarms? On the other hand, all that we were to hear from the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth was his often repeated admiration for the enterprising spirit of manufacture and commerce in this country, his mere expressions of sorrow for the distress that prevailed amongst the people, but at the same time his perfect determination to say nothing on the subject of the Corn-laws which should indicate the leading principles of his policy. With regard to minor details of his plan, he was not pressed to make communications, but in relation to those great and leading principles upon which his conduct in the Government would be regulated. That was what he desired to hear—that was what the failing manufacturers and starving artisans of the country desired to hear from the right hon. Baronet. They wished to know what were to be the grand and leading principles of that right hon. Gentleman—whether they were to be in strict conformity with the language held by a noble Duke in his own county, in unison with what had fallen from the noble Lord the Member for North Lancashire, and in harmony with the sentiments uttered by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester. The people sought to know whether the present abstinence from legislation was with a view to some effectual change in the present system of Corn-laws, or was merely preparatory to some trifling and insignificant regulation in the averages, which would still leave them amidst all their calamities in absolute despair. That was what the country wanted to know, and that was what his (Sir John Easthope's) constituents wanted to know, when they met yesterday in large numbers to demand that Parliament should not separate until the state of the people had been taken into consideration—a demand that was becoming general, and which, if not conceded, might be productive of most direful effects. And here he could not refrain from expressing his thanks to his hon. Friend, the Member for Manchester for his observations upon the joking pleasantry upon this subject in which the right hon. Baronet had this evening seen fit to indulge, for truly it was, as the right hon. Baronet had himself previously declared, no topic for a joke. Whatever levity might be exhibited at this time, levity would not be felt hereafter; whatever indifference might be felt now, would not be felt much longer; and whatever the delay that might be demanded now, it could not much longer be endured.

Mr. *Villiers* said, that as he had been one, who on a former occasion, had complained of the course intended to be taken by the Government, and as it might be presumed that they had heard this evening the ultimatum of the right hon. Baronet, he could not help referring to the precise ground upon which the people complained of that course. The people allege, that they have for many years past been suffering from certain restrictions upon the commerce of the country, which prevent full scope or adequate reward being given for their industry: they say they have complained of the restrictions, more or less, from the time when they were first imposed, that they have been supported in their view by some of the most excellent and enlightened statesmen who have taken part in public affairs; that though they have been engaged in a struggle to obtain their removal ever since their enactment, they have had peculiar occasion to complain of them of late years, and from many of the evils being now aggravated, they had become more urgent in their prayers to this House. They allege, that their increasing numbers, and increasing capacities for production, render it more than ever essential to their well-being, that trade should be extended, and that adequate markets should be opened for their products; for, unless this be done, the same cause would render their condition proportionably worse. All this they have pressed upon the attention of this House seeking to establish by evidence whatever might be in doubt on the subject, and thus leaving no doubt at least as to the nature of their case. They have just seen a Government displaced, that, it was said, had not the power to remove those restrictions, and another Government take its place with complete power to execute whatever it desired. Their case was well known to this Government, and if there had been doubt as to the object of those laws to which he, of course, chiefly referred, namely, those upon the commerce in food, the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, has by his admission, removed it; for he had heard, that upon the most public occasion lately he had candidly avowed, that the object of those laws was to raise the price of food, and thereby to raise the price of land. And now, the people ask the right hon. Baronet at the head of this Government what views, in his new position, he entertains on this subject, in order to learn whether he admits their grievance, or contemplates any remedy for it. The new House is assembled, and the people cannot understand why they should not learn through that channel the intentions entertained towards them. Now, what says the right hon. Baronet to the people who are so grievously oppressed, and who have turned to him and to this House with the hope, that these laws will be improved or repealed. He says, I declared before the dissolution, that if I was called to the councils of the Crown, I would maintain a reserve upon all important questions which at that time were in discussion, on which he was then expressing a confident opinion. He says now, upon that declaration, that a majority has been returned to the House who are willing to support him, and that they had, therefore, under these circumstances, no right to call upon him to express an opinion before he may find it convenient to do so. With respect to the distinctness with which this intended reserve was announced before the dissolution he entertained some doubt; but if it was made, the ground which they complained of would have been weaker, if this reserve had been strictly adhered to; for what justified him in complaining was, not that he had not made that little development of his policy, which, he says, would have been so inconvenient, but of his having developed a little too much or not enough. He has not, nor have his friends, been silent on this nice point of the Corn-laws. A most important and decided opinion has been expressed with regard to them, namely, that they have nothing to do with the distress now universally admitted to exist. They have thus suggested the obvious inference, that as they are not likely to be wanton Reformers, they would not think it necessary to make any change in the Corn-laws at all. But the large numbers who believed the contrary to be the case, asked the right hon. Baronet, with great reason, that as he admitted that they were in distress, and that he denied the cause they assigned for it, to go one step further and intimate to them what was the cause of their declining condition, or whether he had any remedy to propose for it. This, then, was their case, they reiterate to him their old complaint of the restraints which partial legislation imposes upon their industry, and of the suffering which they are now enduring, and he says that they are wrong, but he declines to give them any insight into what he considers to be true or advisable in the matter; but while he does this he certainly does cast a doubt upon the correctness of the statements that are made on the subject. He points to the probability of its quickly blowing over, and as some proof of the revival of better days, he tells us of the state of certain savings banks, which show, that the working class are recovering, and that trade was improving. [*No, no!*] What, then, were the statements respecting these banks made to show the reverse? [*No, no!*] Why, one way or the other it must be. He contended, that the right hon. Baronet referred to the document with great parade, alleging that that was the sort of document that any person should refer to who did not wish to take a partial or one-sided view of the matter and that it was such evidence that would tend to assist the judgment in coming to a just conclusion, and he showed that at this season more money had been deposited in these banks than there had been just previously, and while the last Government was in power; and from which the inference is fair that he does not give much credit to the details of distress, which appear to be known to and admitted by so many, and this was all the insight that he allowed the people to have into his future policy, denying their view of the mischiefs of the Corn-laws, and implying that they were not in such distress as they alleged. He should not forget, however, that there were certain vague and indefinite allusions to past proceedings of joint-stock banks thrown out as the cause of evil, though the peculiar connection of the accommodation given some years ago by joint-stock banks with the present distress he could not discover. This, then, was the case of the people. With all these doubts respecting their condition, they call for instant consideration and inquiry, and complain of the intended delay, and of opinions that have been expressed regarding them; and as this would probably be the last opportunity of discussing these questions this Session, as with the determination not to discuss any question on the other side, it would be useless for him to enter more at length into the matter, he had thought it right to relieve himself and those he represented from the charge of anything like factious opposition to the course pursued by the Government, by the reasons which he had assigned for it. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman might see that these objections did not come from those who hoped or who had anything to gain from removing the present Administration, nor did they spring from those who had been the mere dependents of the last Ministry, but from those whose advocacy had generally been directed to the common interests, and whose objects would be equally satisfied if the grievances of the people were redressed, whether by this Government, or by any other. He thought those who took this part in the House, had reason to be disappointed and dissatisfied at the prospect of the new Government, and for that reason he had expressed his opinion.

Mr. *Cobden* who rose amidst cries of "question," could readily understand, he said, the impatience with which the Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House listened to the remarks which fell from the opposition if they entertained the same opinions as those which the right hon. Baronet had that evening expressed, namely, that the subject of the Corn-laws and of the distress of the people ought not again to be obtruded on the consideration of Parliament, after the discussion which had already been taken upon it. But had nothing since transpired to render a revival of the question just and necessary? He thought that subsequent to the recent discussion, the suffering artisans of Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and Leicester, had met to remonstrate against Parliament's putting an end to the question. He thought that memorials had been sent up from those towns to the Queen's Ministers, and he imagined that those Ministers would have felt it their duty to give a reconsideration to the grievances of which the people complained, unless, indeed, they were disposed to have it go forth to the country, that they agreed with a noble Duke in the opinion that town meetings were farces. As he and his Friends entertained a more respectful regard for the opinion of the country legitimately, legally, and morally pronounced, he hoped they might be excused by the Gentlemen opposite for dwelling a little more upon it, and for claiming for the wishes of the people a little more attention than the supporters of the Government seemed to be disposed to accord to them. Had the right hon. Baronet been in his place, he (Mr. Cobden) should have called his attention to the answer he had that night made to the remonstrances of the people. Three years ago when petitions came up from the people complaining of distress, the right hon. Baronet had his statistics to refer to, to show the manufacturing interests must needs be in a state of prosperity. What did the right hon. Baronet do now? He referred to the accounts of the savings banks for three months to show that there was a progressive improvement in the condition of the country. How could the House judge of the state of the people from a three months' account of the sums deposited and drawn from the savings' banks. Why did not the right hon. Baronet extend his review, and state to the House the amount of deposits and drafts from the savings' banks, in the years 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839? Why did the right hon. Baronet limit his account to the three months commencing in June last. Had the right hon. Baronet gone back to the years he had mentioned, the House would then have been able to judge of the progress of the condition of the people even by his own test, fallacious as that test was. He hoped that the people would fill up the *hiatus* in the right hon. Baronet's statement, and look back to the accounts of the savings' banks themselves. The right hon. Baronet had also quoted a report of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. This was not a question between the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, or of any other town, and the right hon. Baronet; but when the right hon. Baronet did quote from the report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, he should at least do so correctly. The right hon. Baronet had quoted from the report of 1839, referring to the conduct of the joint-stock banks and the Bank of England; and asserted that the Chamber of Commerce attributed all the distress which at that time prevailed in the manufacturing interest to the inflation of the currency. In that assertion the right hon. Baronet had most entirely and most unjustifiably misrepresented the report from which he professed to quote, for in that report there was a special reference to the Corn-laws, in which they were deprecated as being the chief cause of those fluctuations in the currency from which such disastrous consequences ensued. But the right hon. Baronet in quoting the report, made no allusion whatever to that most important paragraph. The question, now, however, was not as to the state of the savings' banks, or joint-stock banks, in the opinions of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester—it was a question whether or not the people should be fed: and they never were fed by joint-stock banks yet, nor by chambers of commerce either. "The people," exclaimed the hon. Member, "the people want bread, and you who take upon yourselves the monopoly of feeding them, are called upon to administer to their necessity for food—all we ask is the right, the inalienable right of feeding ourselves." The trading people had never yet come to the agriculturists to ask a favour of them—had never yet begged to be fed at the cost of those by whom food was produced. On the contrary, two years ago, when great distress was experienced, the delegates of the manufacturing districts put forward an un nimous declaration, addressed to the world at large in which they stated that all they wanted was the right to exchange the product of their labour for the food which was the product of other countries; and, at the same time, they prayed the House of Commons to remove all protection from themselves, and to give to the agriculturists as well as to themselves, the free and unfettered liberty of exchanging the product of their labour how and where they pleased. That being refused, he had a right to lay at the door of the landowners all the distress and misery of those whom they had the privilege of feeding, but whom they would only consent to feed at a high and unnatural price. He told her Majesty's Ministers that the manufacturing and commercial interests would feed the labourers if the laws would let them—that they would employ them at good wages if the Legislature would let them; but if laws were passed which said that they should not exchange the produce of their labour for the food which other lands would supply, then how were they either to employ or feed them? "If," said the hon. Member, "you have stores of food in Norfolk, Lincoln, Kent, and Essex, bring it to Manchester, to Leeds, to Birmingham, and we will exchange our manufactures for it: if you cannot keep the people employed, we will. Do not play the part of the dog in the manger, and, being unable to employ and feed the people yourselves, refuse to allow others to do so." There appeared to be a great misapprehension on the part of her Majesty's Ministers, as to the capability of the manufacturers to supply themselves with food from other countries. What was the opinion in America upon that subject? A petition was presented to Congress in May last, from a person named Joshua Leavitt, setting forth the importance of an equitable and adequate market for American wheat.

"Let it be supposed for a moment," said the petitioner, "that the landowners of England would be satisfied with a fixed and moderate duty in lieu of the existing sliding scale, there would then be a constant market for our wheat in England, and the whole of the return would be required in British manufactured goods, generally of that kind which yield the highest profit; the consequence of which would be that every spindle, wheel, and hammer in the manufacturing districts of that country would immediately be set in motion."

This was the opinion expressed in a country containing 180,000,000 of acres of land, all capable of growing wheat, and which the Americans were most anxious to bring into immediate culture, for the purpose of supplying England with food, and taking her manufactures in exchange. The Americans said, "only consent to make this exchange with us, and for a hundred years England shall not know what it is to want plenty of wheat, plenty of pork, and plenty of beef." The noble Lord (Lord Stanley) the Member for North Lancashire, seemed to think that there could be no extension of trade without a considerable reduction of wages. But what did the Americans say?

> "We do not wish to reduce the wages of your labourers, we think they are already too low; only exchange with us at your present prices, and we will clear out your warehouses, and place your manufacturing districts in a state of activity and prosperity."

Was it unreasonable that the people of England should claim the right of making such an exchange? Suppose, continued the hon. Member, that it were but the Thames, instead of the Atlantic, which separated the two countries—suppose that the people on one side were mechanics and artizans, capable by their industry of producing a vast supply of manufactures; and that the people on the other side were agriculturists, producing infinitely more than they could themselves consume of corn, pork, and beef—fancy these two separate people anxious and willing to exchange with each other the produce of their common industry, and fancy a demon rising from the middle of the river—for I cannot imagine anything human in such a position and performing such an office—fancy a demon rising from the river, and holding in his hand an act of Parliament (if you please), and saying, "You shall not supply each others wants;" and then, in addition to that, let it be supposed that this demon said to his victim, with affected smiles and laughing, "This is for your benefit; I do this entirely for your protection." Where was the difference between the Thames and the Atlantic? Steam navigation had laid the great western continent of America alongside of England, and we should be setting at naught the beneficent designs of Providence by denying the one the right of benefitting the other. Wherever he went—whether along the banks of the Rhine, or over the plains of France in search of wine—nay, even if he spoke of the luxurious Grueyere cheese of Switzerland, he found that the best of every thing was brought to England, not, however, for the benefit or advantage of the poor, but to add to the enjoyments and luxuries of the rich. The wine-producing countries of the continent had the advantage of an exchange with England—the produce of their vineyards was eagerly sought for and consumed in this country; but go to other countries where the staple produce was wheat—go to Poland or to Prussia, where the soil was redundant of that which would feed the poor, and it would be seen that the grain that if imported here would carry gladness into the heart of our manufacturing districts, was left for the want of a market, to perish in the field, or to be trampled under foot, and devoured by swine. If the corn-growers in those countries were asked, why this redundant produce was not sent to England, the sliding-scale was at once pointed at as an insuperable barrier. The markets of the whole world were open to supply the luxuries of the rich, but a special law was provided to prevent the poor man from profiting by the laws of nature, and freely exchanging the produce of his labour for food. Yes, the laws of nature were set at naught when it became a question whether the people should be fed. "Let me ask," exclaimed the hon. Member, "what is it that you send abroad in exchange for the luxuries you derive from other countries? Is it not the products of the manufacturers? And when you send their products abroad, you pass a law which says, 'nothing shall be brought back in exchange which can benefit the labouring and industrious classes—nothing but what administers to our own gorged luxury.' Is there justice in this? Is it consistent with the laws of nature? And can you set at nought the laws of nature, and hope to prosper as a nation? When I go down to the manufacturing districts, I know that I shall be returning to a gloomy scene. I know that starvation is stalking through the land, and that men are perishing for want of the merest necessaries of life. When I witness this, and recollect that there is a law which especially provides for keeping our population in absolute want. I cannot help attributing murder to the Legislature of this country—and wherever I stand, whether here or out of doors, I will denounce that system as legislative murder which denies to the people of the land food in exchange for the produce of their industry. The noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire (Lord Stanley), has explicitly declared, that the object of the Corn-laws is to keep up the price of corn—in other words, to make it scarce and dear. This makes out the whole of our case; and we need no better agitator than the noble Lord, whilst he makes such candid avowals. I call upon you, the House of Commons, to consider the question as it affects the whole people, especially the poor; and when I see in some quarters a disposition to trade upon a reputation for humanity—I think I see at this moment in his place the hon. Baronet (Sir E. Wilmot) the Member for North Warwickshire, who is a great friend to the negro slave at the Antipodes—I think I see also another hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis), who is a great friend of the Church Establishment, and who, the other night, complimented a noble Lord (Lord Ashley) for his great humanity as the friend of the unprotected generally, and of the factory children in particular—when I see a disposition amongst you to trade in humanity, I will not question your motives, I will not deny that it is really felt; but this I tell you, that if you would give force and grace to your professions of humanity, it must not be confined to the negro at the Antipodes, nor to the building of churches, nor the extension of the Church Establishment, nor to occasional visits to factories to talk sentiment over factory children—you must untax the people's bread. Whilst you retain that law, which raises rents but does not raise wages, you may be humane, kind and beneficent, but your benevolence and humanity, more showy than substantial, will soon become a mockery and a bye-word."

Captain *Carnegie* said, he could not but complain of the course adopted by the hon. Members for Manchester, Stockport and Bolton, in getting up and stating their opinions, without having the least prospect of carrying any measure which they might propose. He deprecated the practice of encouraging peripatetic orators to perambulate from town to town for the purpose of arousing the passions of the working men. The hon. Member for Stockport having shifted the responsibility of not bringing forward anything for the relief of the people, had turned round and blamed her Majesty's Ministers for not having stated what they intended to do, although the Government had only been a few weeks in office. The hon. Member for Stockport had addressed a meeting the other day of what was termed the "Anti-monopoly Young Men's Association," and in his address he had greatly abused the system of education which then prevailed. He (Captain Carnegie) thought, of course, the hon. Member would have brought forward a better system, but the hon. Member made an end of his speech by informing the meeting, that in the course of his travels he had seen some Grecian women washing in the river Illyssus. The hon. Member further said, that while he was speaking of the distress which existed, that the other Members would be found following their sporting amusements in the country. Some years ago, he (Captain Carnegie) recollected, at a dinner at Manchester, it had been boasted that the manufacturers were able to buy up the landed aristocracy ten times over. Now, if the manufacturers possessed this enormous wealth, how could they pretend to profess sympathy for the sufferings of the poor, and yet let 102 families pawn their beds each morning to redeem their clothes. The hon. Member had further said, that the Corn-laws were upheld by the bayonet and baptised in blood, or something of the sort, and that he hoped the struggle would not end in blood. He would tell the hon. Member the best way to prevent violence was to abstain from using such expressions as he was pleased to indulge in. He gave his vote to the right hon. Baronet because he had confidence in his ability and integrity. The right hon. Baronet had not stumbled on power, but he had been borne into power by the people, and he was backed by the country. He for one, had no hesitation in saying, that he trusted soon to see England in a state of commercial prosperity beyond what she had yet experienced. But if his anticipations did not unfortunately prove true, and if the right hon. Baronet could not carry on the Government with satisfaction to himself and the country, the right hon. Baronet himself stated what course he would pursue. Should such a contingency arise, he would not on that account abstain from supporting any Minister who should endeavour to effect the greatest good for the greatest number; and if her Majesty should call to her Councils the hon. Members for Stockport and Bolton, he should offer them no factious opposition. He should say to them, "We have tried and failed; come you and try;" and, in the language which the hon. Member for Bolton thought so inapplicable to the discussion of a question like the present—

> "Immature perii, sed tu felicior annos,
> Frater, vive tuos, optime, meos."

Mr. *Thornely* rose to offer an observation on what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, when he asked whether hon. Members opposite would now accept a duty of 8*s.*, the present duty being 1*s.* The right hon. Baronet did not, perhaps, recollect, that though the duty was yesterday so low as 1*s.*, that to-day it had risen to 2*s.* 8*d.*; and from letters which he had received from persons in the corn trade, he was informed that there was every expectation of its being as high as 20*s.* 8*d.* before the end of October—so that the country would have been, on the whole, great gainers by a fixed duty of 8*s.*, and he would accept the offer of the right hon. Baronet with both hands. The operation of the sliding scale was most injurious, inasmuch as it caused great uncertainty in the transactions of the trade in corn. He knew a case of a gentleman largely interested in the trade with the United States, who had sent orders for a quantity of flour by the packet of the 4th August, but felt obliged to countermand the order, from the impossibility of its arriving in this country in sufficient time to be admitted at the low rate of duty. He knew of another instance, which still more strikingly illustrated the absurdity of the sliding scale. He was informed, in a letter which he had received from a commercial house in Liverpool, that the Margaret, a large steamer, had been chartered, and sailed on Wednesday, to return from France next week with a cargo of flour. Here was a great additional expense incurred to avoid the operation of the sliding scale, and he was convinced that the trade of the country could not go on in this way.

Mr. *Brotherton* always rose with great reluctance. He had presented a petition from his constituents, calling on the House to inquire into the cause of the distress, in the prayer of which petition he entirely agreed. He could state it as a fact, that the distress which existed in the manufacturing districts pervaded all classes of the community. It was felt in a great degree by the capitalist in the diminution of his profits; it was felt by the tradesman in his want of business, and in the bad debts caused by the numerous bankruptcies that were daily taking place; it was felt by the manufacturer in his inability to dispose of his manufactures; but, above all, it was felt most severely by the working classes; for he took on himself to say, that thousands and tens of thousands of industrious families were in a state of destitution in consequence of the want of employment. These were facts with which the House ought to be acquainted. It was for them to propose a remedy. The other night he had stated the condition of the borough of Salford in regard to the number of untenanted houses. He believed he had understated the number. In the memorial which he had had the honour to present to the Secretary of State, it was stated that there were in that borough seventy-four mills, dye-houses, and workshops of various descriptions untenanted. Instead of 1,500 houses—the number which he had stated as untenanted—there were no less than 2,030 in that condition, which, if occupied, would yield a rental of upwards of 27,000*l.* a year. The poor-rates were double what they were in 1836. He believed this was also the case in Manchester, where during the last year, upwards of ten thousand families had been relieved by subscription. Cases of distress had been mentioned to him which would harrow up the feelings of any one obliged to witness them. It was for this reason that he was so earnestly desirous that something should be done to alleviate the distress. He only stated the effects of the distress. It was the duty of Parliament to endeavour to find out the cause. In regard to the depreciation of property he had that morning received a letter which stated that a mill, with its machinery, had this week been offered for sale. The property, a few years ago, cost 50,000*l.*, and when offered for sale at public auction only 4,500*l.* was bid. He understood that the assignees of the person to whom it belonged were willing to accept of 10,000*l.* for a property which, a few years ago, cost upwards of five times that sum. Even property in houses had depreciated forty per cent.; and from these facts the House might well suppose how great was the distress which prevailed in the manufacturing districts. Four years ago they were in a state of prosperity. A gentleman connected with the trade had made a calculation to show that at that time there were worked up weekly 24,000 bags of cotton, giving employment, in one shape or another, to about 2,000,000 persons, at an expenditure of 22,000,000*l.*, annually. He found that the consumption of cotton had since then been reduced to 19,000 bags; and if the population employed were reduced in the same proportion, there would be 400,000 persons out of employment, or not receiving the same rate of wages which they did four years ago. Instead of the expenditure in wages being 22,000,000*l*, it would not now be more than 16,000,000*l.* Could there, then, be any doubt of the existence of the distress? Take the silk, the woollen, the iron, or any other trade, they would find that they were equally depressed. It was admitted on all hands that the distress was spreading. It could not be without a cause, and Parliament ought to lose no time in endeavouring to ascertain it. Some might say that it was impossible things could be improved by legislation and that the distress was caused by over-trading and over-production. That might be so. Others might say that it was occacasioned by the operations of the joint-stock banks and the currency. He was ready to admit that at one period there had been great issues of paper, which, in a certain degree, might create the prosperity they had beheld, but they ought to recollect that the contraction of these issues could not do otherwise than produce distress. He was informed that at the present time the circulation was contracted to a greater degree than it had been for a great number of years; but although he was ready to admit that the distress might be caused by the contraction of the currency, he begged to ask what had been the cause of that contraction, but the present Corn-laws. Owing to the operation of the sliding scale, the bullion had been taken out of the country, and the Bank of England had been compelled to put on the screw, as it was called, in order to bring the gold back. It might be said, how were they to know that other countries would take the manufactures of this country in exchange for their corn? How were they to know this when they had never tried them? He wished to give them the opportunity, and he condemned the present Corn-law, because it obliged them to send the gold out of this country, and consequently was the cause of those fluctuations in the currency of which so much complaint had been made. It had been said that they could not expect the evil to be remedied by legislation. He said they could. They had the power to legislate, and to repeal the Corn-law, which, in his opinion, ought to be repealed, because it was unjust. It might be said, that the manufactures had been prosperous in spite of the Corn-laws. Be it so. In 1833, 1834, and 1835, they were in a state of prosperity, but then bread was cheap, whereas it was now dear. He had no hesitation in saying that, in his opinion, bread, taking the present state of the country into consideration, was dearer now than it was when wheat was 110*s*. a quarter. Knowing that some remedy must be proposed, he trusted Parliament would institute some inquiry into the cause of the distress. If the present Corn-laws were repealed, if the sugar duties were reduced, if they legislated for all equally and not for a particular class, then no blame would attach to Parliament; but as the people conceived the distress was brought about by the present Corn-law, he implored the House to take it into their consideration without the least delay.

Mr. *Aglionby* rose to offer his testimony to the extreme distress which existed in the manufacturing towns in Cumberland. In the town of Cockermouth, which he represented, there were many hundreds of families in the greatest distress, and they had hitherto endured it with the greatest patience and forbearance. Many willing to work had not been able to procure employment, and many had been compelled to subsist and to support their families on 6*s*. a week. In Carlisle he had seen a deputation from the suffering weavers, and had hon. Members seen and heard them they would have felt for their condition. He wished to call the attention of the right hon. Baronet opposite to this fact, and no doubt he was aware, from the report of the hand-loom weavers' committee, of the nature of the sufferings of the hand-loom weavers. He called the attention of the right hon. Baronet to the fact, that since the investigation had taken place—since Mr. Muggridge had visited Carlisle—the wages of this class of operatives had been reduced 35 per cent. He was not going into the cause of this, but he merely rose to say that if the House were not prepared with a remedy, they ought, at all events, to express their sympathy for the distress that existed.

Captain *Fitzroy* said that he would only occupy the attention of the House for a minute in consequence of the assertion of the hon. Member for Stockport as to certain districts which would produce corn in sufficient abundance to supply the wants of our population. The hon. Member in the course of his travels had no doubt seen many wonderful things—he had told them he had seen cheese on the summits of the Alps—that he had met with negroes at the Antipodes, and that sufficient corn might be brought by steam, amply to supply the wants of the manufacturers; but he begged to ask the hon. Member whether he was aware that the 180 millions of acres to which he had referred had not yet been put into cultivation? And he wished therefore to know how those acres out of cultivation could be of any possible service to the present distressed condition of this country. It was to a remedy for the present distress that they looked, and though they had been accused by the hon. Member for Dumfries of being mutes, he might say, without fear of contradiction, that there was as much and as deep feeling for that distress on that side of the House as the other; but they were loth to waste time, when business of importance was waiting, by rising one after another without any motion before the House, and expressing opinions which had been stated over and over again long ago.

House resolved itself into a committee of Supply.

Ordnance Estimates.] Captain *Boldero* said that the present ordnance estimates which he rose to move had been prepared by the late Board of Ordnance, and authorised by the late Master-general. It was a legacy which had been left to them by their predecessors, and they had thought it their duty neither to augment nor decrease them. Under the first head of ordnance works and repairs in the United Kingdom, there was an item of 2,000*l*. for a steam-engine of twelve-horse power, which was to be erected at Woolwich for the purpose of boring the brass cannon in the foundry there, which had been hitherto done by horse power. The application of a steam-engine had been the idea of an ingenious and talented man, bearing the same name as the gallant and distinguished hero opposite (Sir C. Napier), and he had the satisfaction of informing the House that it would effect a saving to the country of 400*l.* a year. Another item, it would be seen, was for repairs at the powder mills at Waltham Abbey. Some time since the works had given way, and the manner in which the works were being repaired was such as would effect a great saving, would enable them to manufacture a superior powder, and what was most important of all, would diminish the liability to loss of life. There was likewise an item of two thousand pounds for storekeeper's expenditure, that was occasioned by the pressure of labour in the Royal Arsenal, owing to the shipment of heavy stores to China, the Mediterranean, and Canada; but a portion of the extra men employed had been already discharged, and the remainder would be in the course of a few months. The next head of expenditure was for services in Canada; and the different items of expense had been incurred by order of the commander of the provinces for the purpose of affording additional accommodation for the troops, and of repairing barracks rendered necessary by the late rebellion. The hon. and gallant Member concluded by moving a vote of 24,772*l.* for ordnance works and repairs in the United Kingdom, which was carried.

On the vote of 39,198*l.* for defraying ordnance charges in the colonies,

Mr. *Williams* said, that he wished for some explanation as to an item of 25,000*l.* for the purchase of land, near Kingston. What was the land for? And what made it of such extraordinary value?

Captain *Boldero* said, that these votes had been sanctioned by the Lords of the Treasury. He believed that some time ago a committee had been appointed, composed of some of the most scientific officers in the service, to consider the best method of improving the military defence of our colonies; that committee had recommended that at Kingston certain redoubts should be constructed, and if the hon. Member turned to the ordnance estimates, he would find a sum of 270,000*l.* for the purpose of erecting batteries and redoubts at Kingston; already they had built one casemated redoubt, capable of holding 350 men, for 70,000*l.* In June last, there had been a further recommendation, sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, to purchase a certain portion of land, for the purpose of building fresh forts, and that had been done. Recently, by Act of Parliament, Kingston had been made the capital of the United Provinces, and land there had consequently increased very much in value, so that it had been found impossible to purchase it at a lower price.

Mr. *Williams* said, that he was quite satisfied that there was no land near Kingston which was worth anything like the price that had been paid for this.

Captain *Boldero* said, that the land in question was very desirable for building leases, and the proprietors of the soil would not sell it under the price that had been paid for it.

Mr. *Aglionby* said, this he supposed was one of the blessings of colonies—to have to pay 272,000*l.* for fortifying them. He thought it was paying extremely dear for such a blessing.

Mr. *Williams* had great reluctance in allowing this vote to pass without a division; and if the present Ministers had been at all responsible for those estimates, he certainly should have taken the sense of the House upon it.

Vote agreed to.

On the motion being put, that the sum of 3,184*l.* be granted on account of ordnance stores.

Sir *Charles Napier* said, that he shoul take this opportunity of again addressing the right hon. Baronet on the propriety of reconsidering the manner in which the Board of Ordnance was at present constructed. When he mentioned this subject on a former occasion, he was told that it was not customary always to appoint a naval officer on that Board; but of this he was convinced, that the duties of the Board could not be properly performed without an officer of the navy belonging to it; he therefore was anxious to press upon the right hon. Baronet the propriety of making such an appointment. He was not arguing this from any factious motive, but from a thorough conviction that the duties of the Board, so far as the navy was concerned, could not be properly discharged, nor the naval service be well-conducted, unless one of the members of the Board belonged to the navy. So long ago as the year 1830, he addressed a letter to a very distinguished naval officer relative to the manner in which the navy was equipped. It was just previous to his right hon. Friend, the Member for Dorchester (Sir James Graham), being made First Lord of the Admiralty. In that letter he stated, that the ordnance supplies made to the ships with which he had been professionally connected, were of the worst kind, that many of the muskets went off half-cocked, many would not go off at all, and that the comparison, "as bad as a ship's musket," was quite proverbial. Other things were quite as bad as the muskets, and he at that time stated, that as long as the present system stood, the evil he complained of could not be corrected; for, as the navy was not represented at the Board of Ordnance, everything relative to that branch of the public service was allowed to stand still. When Earl Grey came into office, he saw the impropriety of not having a naval officer constantly at the Board, and he appointed his late gallant friend, Captain Duncan, a member. No man could give a better description of Captain Duncan's ability to discharge his duty, and of the great benefit derived by the Board of Admiralty from that gallant officer's experience, than his right hon. Friend, the Member for Dorchester, who was at the head of the Admiralty at that time. When Lord Melbourne came into power, and formed his Administration, he committed a great error in not appointing a naval officer to the Board of Ordnance. He presumed it to have arisen from political causes, as in the present case; but Lord Melbourne soon saw and corrected his error, by appointing the gallant Member for Greenwich (Captain Dundas), and another gallant Officer, (Captain Berkeley), to the Board. But the Board has again been reconstructed, and at the present moment, no officer connected with the navy belonged to it. This gave him great reason to fear that all the improvements which had been brought forward by those gallant officers whom he had named, would fall into disuse, and that the Board would get back to the old and bad system. When he was employed on the coast of Syria, and it became necessary to use firearms, a great number of the muskets that were brought forward, were utterly unfit for service. The mountaineers themselves refused to take our arms, because they were so bad. He wished the right hon. Baronet, who had a son in the navy, would send for that youngster, who, he understood, was a very fine young man, and ask his opinion about the matter, and what he would think of having a useless musket put into his hands to face the enemy with. Some of the members of the present Board of Ordnance might make excellent lawyers, but he thought they were very unfit to be entrusted with the management of the navy,

Sir *R. Peel* felt great pleasure at having a son of his honoured by being noticed by so distinguished a member of his own profession as the gallant Officer. He should be exceedingly sorry to lay down any rule against the employment of naval officers, or to do anything that should have the appearance of under-rating the talent or the importance of the services of the members of that profession. But he confessed it did not appear to him that the reasoning of the gallant Officer supported the opinion he had expressed, because there actually was a naval officer on the Board of Ordnance at the very time when he addressed the letter representing the manner in which our ships were equipped.

Sir *Charles Napier* meant say, that it was extremely difficult to obtain a proper supply of ordnance, and he believed that the muskets applied for were only now, at the present moment ready.

Sir *R. Peel* should have thought, that a military man was as competent to take care that the muskets were good as a naval officer.

Sir *Charles Napier*: It never has been so.

Sir *R. Peel* assured the gallant Officer that he should be most unwilling to imply the slightest doubt of the capacity of any member of the profession of which he was so great an ornament; but the observation of the gallant Officer certainly did imply (without intention of course) a doubt of the capacity of the members of the military profession, when he stated that it was impossible for the navy to have good muskets, unless a naval officer were on the Board of Ordnance. He could easily believe that the assistance of a naval man would be beneficial at the Board, but he really did hope that there were men of sufficient acumen, and sufficient experience to take care that such muskets were supplied as did not go off at half-cock.

Sir *Charles Napier*: The right hon.

Baronet confined himself to muskets ;but there were many other things to be looked to, which none but naval men could understand. He should like to know what a military man knew about ship-gun-carriages, or how a gun should be fitted or elevated. It was well known that the guns with which the navy had been fitted through the ordnance department were of the very worst sort of any navy in the world, not even excepting Mehemet Ali's ships.

Mr. *Wakley* presumed, from the silence of hon. Members who were acquainted with the ordnance department, that the allegations of the gallant Officer were such as could not be contradicted. That gallant Officer had declared that the naval service of this country, which they ought to uphold above all others, had sustained an injury in consequence of there not being any naval officer on the Board of Ordnance. Was it right that a statement of that kind should be made on such high authority, without a hope being held out that means of redress would be immediately applied. He trusted, that if the Board of Ordnance were inefficient, some change would be made in the constitution of it. The public interests of the country demanded, and the reputation of the navy required it; for that reputation could not be maintained if such statements were to go forth to Europe. He wished to ask whether any inquiry had been instituted with respect to the inventions of Mr. Warner? He alluded to the destructive machine—experiments on which he understood the right hon. Gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge) had himself witnessed.

Sir *H. Hardinge* wished to observe, that having been for some time connected with the Board of Ordnance, the uniform practice was, that whenever any requisition was made by the Board of Admiralty for gun-carriages, or any new invention of the gun which it was thought advisable for the navy to adopt, it had been the invariable rule of the Ordnance Board to carry the wishes of the Admiralty into effect. He recollected, several years ago, in the case of the ship Caledonia, the inventions of Sir Thomas Hardy, General Miller, and Sir William Congreve, were all fairly brought forward and tried by a united Board. The Board of Ordnance merely gave its opinion as to what it thought to be most efficient, but it remained for the Board of Admiralty positively to determine what was the best gun to be adopted, and Sir George Cockburn and his brother officers of the board did actually decide that question. The Board of Ordnance, in fact, merely carried into execution the wishes of the Board of Admiralty. As to there being at present no naval officer a member of the Board of Ordnance, he could only state that nine-tenths of the business transacted by the Board was military and not naval business. There might be an advantage, he admitted, in having a naval officer on the board; but as to the necessity for it, he thought the fact he had just stated would not sustain any such proposition. Formerly, the Board consisted of a lieutenant-general, and four other officers; now it consisted only of three officers—two military officers and one civil officer, he being the store keeper. This was sufficient to create the difficulty of appointing a naval officer on the Board.

Captain *Berkeley* said, that he had belonged to two Boards of Admiralty, and in each of them there was a strong feeling that the Naval Ordnance ought to be under the direction of the Board of Admiralty. He was sure before he left the Admiralty that there was a strong feeling in favour of the adoption of new arms, and why they had not been adopted he knew not.

Major *Beresford* wished to inquire whether the vessel now building at Harwich had been contracted for, and if she was being built by contract, whether the lowest tender had been accepted?

Captain *Boldero* said, that the third contract had been accepted, because the two contracts below that had been clogged with stipulations to which it was not thought right to agree.

Major *Beresford* wished to know whether there would be any objection to produce the correspondence that had taken place on the subject.

Captain *Boldero* was understood to object to this.

Sir *Charles Napier* felt himself bound again to call attention to the subject of arms for the navy. He had been thirty-one years in the service, and he had never yet seen in the navy a good musket or a good cartouch-box, or even a good lock to a musket. He appealed to any naval officer who heard him to say whether or not he exaggerated. There were 600 captains in the navy, and 200 admirals; they were almost all Conservatives; surely the right hon. Baronet might have found one amongst the number whom he could have placed on the Board of Ordnance. He called on the right hon. Member for Dorchester to say, if the service had not derived great advantage from the circumstance of Captain Duncan belonging to the Board of Ordnance.

Sir *James Graham* should be sorry to utter one word in depreciation of the services of Captain Duncan. He had derived great satisfaction from having had that gallant officer as his colleague, and he was perfectly ready to say, that the service had derived the utmost benefit from the assistance which he gave in his official capacity, but he did not think, that it was indispensably necessary at all times to have a naval officer on the Board of Ordnance. There were civil details requiring the attention, knowledge, and habits of a civilian, and such a man, he thought, ought to fill the office of clerk of that Board. When he first came into office, Mr. Ward filled that situation. He was not prepared to say anything against the appointment of naval officers, but at the same time, he was not prepared to give any distinct pledge upon the subject.

Captain *Pechell* observed, that the testimony of the right hon. Member for Dorchester was of great importance upon an occasion such as the present. It was, he believed, the fact, that Captain Duncan had been placed on the Board of Ordnance with the full consent of the right hon. Baronet who spoke last, and he thought, that the objection urged by the gallant Member for Marylebone ought to meet with serious attention. The inefficiency of the arms supplied to the navy was universally admitted; the cutlasses were no better than so many iron hoops—they were only fit for barter on the coast of Africa. No one could deny, that the activity of Captain Duncan, while on the Board, had been productive of the best effects. He did not say, but that in the course of twenty years, improvements might be effected, without having naval officers connected with the Board of Ordnance; but of what value would such improvements be to the present generation? And he, therefore, hoped, that the right hon. Baronet, seeing the dissatisfaction which prevailed, would take measures for putting an end to the causes of discontent and apprehension. As one of the right hon. Baronet's relatives had obtained favourable notice in the navy, he hoped the appointment of another relative to the Ordnance, would be attended with benefit to the service, and prove deserving of similar approbation.

Sir *C. Napier* said, whether the House took any interest in the subject then before them was what he did not know. He should not say, that he did not care, for he cared a great deal; but this he would take upon himself to say, that if they did not pay more attention to the subject, disasters must occur, which would astonish them. He was grateful to the present Government for the addition made to the seamen, for our ships had not been manned as they ought to be; and on a recent occasion, if a large French fleet, well manned, had borne down upon them, no man could have told what the consequences might have been. Whatever party might be in power, whether Whigs or Tories, or his hon. Friends, the Radicals, he hoped, that means would be taken to prevent our being disgraced, as we had been in the American war.

Captain *Fitzroy* said, that the gallant Commodore had omitted to notice the great improvements which had taken place in the arrangement of the great guns, and of the powder on board ship, and of fitting the guns with Congreve sights by the Board of Ordnance. The muskets were the same for the navy as for the army. [Commodore *Napier*: No, no.] He could only say, that they were marked "Tower." Within the last year or two, improvements had been made in the muskets, which would be introduced into the navy as soon as they were found tobe worthy of introduction.

Lord *A. Lennox* said, a difference of opinion seemed to exist with reference to the muskets issued to the army and navy. As a military man, he could only say, if the same arms were issued to the navy as to the army, nothing could be worse than they were. He had been some twenty years in the service, and he would venture to say, that more wretched arms could not be put into the hands of a soldier, than were given to our army. He hoped, that this discussion would have the effect of placing better arms in the soldiers' hands; without doing so, it was cruel to place soldiers in situations of danger and responsibility.

Sir *C. Napier* said, that as to the improvements spoken of by Captain Fitzroy, the Americans were three years before us in those improvements.

Colonel *Peel* thought, that some of the Members of the late Board of Ordnance ought to have defended its previous conduct. He should give his whole time and attention to the improvements in the muskets and to the military part of the department.

Captain *Berkeley* said, the very admission just made by the gallant Colonel, that "He would devote himself to the military part of the ordnance department," showed that they ought to have persons to attend to the navy department. He recollected the navy having had to distribute a quantity of muskets to the Spaniards, and that they (the navy) much wished to take those muskets, and give the Spaniards their own instead of them.

Colonel *Fox* said, the new percussion gun had given great satisfaction.

Viscount *Palmerston* said, there was no subject which had more engrossed the attention of the late Master-general of the Ordnance than the quality of the muskets given to the British army. He had been long sensible that that arm was not such a one as ought to be put into the hands of British troops, and had devoted a great deal of time and attention to different experiments on the various improvements which had taken place, with the view of arriving at an opinion as to what was the best arm to be given to the army. It would be in the recollection of the House, that his noble Friend had proposed a vote for the purpose of supplying a large portion of the army with a musket of a new construction. It had been a subject of great anxiety to him, that circumstances had prevented him from supplying the army more generally with that musket; he had been anxious to do so as fast as Parliament would supply him with the means.

Lord *A. Lennox* had not alluded before to the new muskets, for, unfortunately, the army was not supplied with them. He had endeavoured to obtain them for his own regiment on the borders of Canada, but without effect; and that regiment was now supplied with arms that were not of any use.

Vote agreed to.

On the vote of 590*l.*, for defraying the charge of military superannuation.

Mr. *Wakley* wished to know if anything further had been done with regard to Captain Warner, toward purchasing his explosive invention?

Sir *R. Peel* said, that the regular course should be followed in these matters; he was persuaded that it was the proper course. His recommendation had been, that Captain Warner should address himself to the Board of Admiralty, and those departments of the service that were responsible. The subject had not been brought under consideration since he had come into office.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that Captain Warner had been very loud in his complaints against the Board of Ordnance—that they had endeavoured to interfere with his patent. He hoped that the new Board of Ordnance would take the subject into consideration, as the right hon. Baronet had himself seen the tremendous effects of the explosive power.

Colonel *Fox* believed that Captain Warner had been offered a committee to inquire as to his invention, but had declined it.

Mr. *C. Wood* said, that Captain Warner had refused to submit his invention to examination to individuals appointed by the Admiralty, and the Admiralty had refused to grant him compensation without some grounds to proceed on.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that Captain Warner's invention was a secret which the various powers of Europe were anxious to purchase, and vast sums of money had been offered to him for it. It could not be expected that he should submit his invention to a committee, in the appointment of which he had no voice. The public would expect that an investigation should be made into the powers which his invention possessed.

Captain *Berkeley* said, he had taken some interest in the subject; but it appeared impossible to entertain Captain Warner's proposition; for, from his refusing to state the nature of his invention, it was deemed impossible to admit such an article on board a man-of-war, as it was not certain but that it might blow up and destroy the ship.

Vote agreed to.

The House resumed. Report to be received.

LUNATICS BILL.] The Lunatics Bill report was brought up, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

Adjourned

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, September 27, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read first time:—Lunatics; Navy Pay; Frogmore Lodge; Royal Gardens.—Read third time:—Riddell's Estate; Marlborough Estate.

Petitions Presented. By the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Hawarden, from Districts of the Metropolis, for the Redemption of Tolls on the Metropolitan Bridges.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.] Lord *Brougham* rose to call the attention of their Lordships, to a subject in which the House had at different periods manifested considerable and a very natural interest, considering their high judicial as well as legislative capacity, that of the manner in which the prisons of the realm were managed. Their Lordships were aware that in 1825 a bill was brought into Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, at that time at the head of the Home Department, which bill was subsequently passed into a law, called the Gaol Act, the purpose of which was to make the discipline of prisons as nearly as possible uniform throughout the country. Very great improvements, no doubt, resulted from that act, but some ten years after, in 1835, their Lordships were of opinion, that still further improvements might be made, and on the motion of a noble Friend of his (the Duke of Richmond), a committee was appointed which sat for some weeks, examined a great number of witnesses, inspected many prisons, and made a most valuable report; and out of that report proceeded the act of the same year, the Duke of Richmond's Act, the 5th and 6th Will. 4th, for the further improvement of prison discipline. The principal alterations effected by this act were the giving the Secretary of State, instead of the Judges, the power of approving, or rejecting, or altering the rules of prisons from time to time promulgated by magistrates; the giving the Secretary of State the power of making such rules himself, and also the power of inspecting prisons by himself or by deputy, and above all, the important power of appointing inspectors who should, from time to time, examine the state of prisons and report thereupon to the Home Department. In pursuance of this act, six most valuable reports had been made by the inspectors, containing a vast body of useful information—useful not only to the Home Department in carrying the measure into execution, but useful also to the Legislature in considering the whole question. These reports had pointed out to the Home Office a number of cases in which particular prisons had departed from the rules laid down by the different gaol acts, and the effect of thus communicating to the Home Office the precise parties who had failed in their duty, or had improper notions of their duty, had been, that in a great majority of instances the subject-matter of complaint had been removed by those parties. It was, therefore, clear, that a considerable amount of benefit had resulted to the public from the measures which had already been passed on the subject. The persons appointed to conduct the inquiry had performed their duty, generally speaking, in the most satisfactory manner; and no one could read the latter reports, the 5th, and 6th, without being convinced that the complaints made in the four first reports had had the effect of remedying the evils and correcting the abuses complained of. He might, therefore, safely assert, that in the vast majority of instances, the evils and abuses complained of had been corrected in consequence of the reports of the inspectors. Nevertheless, there were many instances in which the evils and the abuses had not been corrected, and the inspectors had reported in vain, for either the communications from the Home Office had not been made in consequence, or if made, had not been attended to. He would state a few cases to show the necessity of still further interference on the part of the Secretary of State; and in calling their Lordships' attention to that part of the subject, he should avoid stating either the names of individuals, or even the names of the prisons referred to; and his reason was this, that at that late period of the Session those statements would be disseminated throughout the country with a publicity which it would be impossible for any other persons to hope to equal, and the consequence would be, that for the next three or four months those persons against whom complaints might be made, would have no opportunity of being heard in their defence, or of offering any explanation of their conduct, with anything like the publicity which these charges would have received. No doubt it might be said, that he was speaking of things which had already appeared printed in the inspectors' report, but not one-hundredth part of the persons had read or would read them in those reports, who would read what might be stated on the subject in Parliament, more especially if those statements contained charges against individuals. For this reason he should abstain from mentioning any names, and content himself with laying before their Lordships certain facts which he considered to be worthy of their attention. He should commence with reminding their Lordships of complaints lately made, not, indeed, against the magistrates, but against some officious persons who appeared to have put the power of the magistrates in motion, on the subject of what he could wish to call obsolete statutes; only that, by the laws of England, there were no obsolete statutes—but on the subject of statutes which had not been acted upon for very many years, he might say centuries, and he mentioned this point, because it was from the circumstance of his attention being called to this part of the subject by an old and valued Friend of his (Mr. Pigou), who had bestowed much consideration upon the question, and by whose means many abuses had been pointed out to the authorities, and were, it was to be hoped, in course of remedy—it was from the circumstance of his attention being called to this part of the report, that he had extended his consideration to the whole of the reports of the prison inspectors, and he found that on a former occasion he had understated to their Lordships the evils of the officious zeal of which he had complained. He had then stated that eleven persons had been punished for non-attendance at church, of whom one had been sixty-one days in prison, and the others sixty-three. But he had since found that there had been a still worse case; for one man, a labourer, had been in confinement ten weeks, in consequence of being convicted in a penalty of 1*s.*, with 14*s.* costs, for having been absent from church a single Sunday without reasonable excuse. At the end of the seventy days, application was made to the Secretary of State, who, very properly, was pleased to recommend her Majesty to pardon this man for the offence of having been absent from church one Sunday, and he was released, after having suffered seventy days' imprisonment. He could hardly trust himself to speak of such a case; suffice it to say, he was quite sure that if anything could tend to the desecration of the Sabbath, it was such conduct as that. He had been informed that the informations had been laid against these persons by the procurement of a magistrate, and he should expect that inquiry be made into the subject at the Home Department, whether this were the fact or no. For, though he had before observed, that the justices were not to blame in this matter, inasmuch as if an information was laid before them, and proved, the law was imperative, and they must act upon it; yet if it were found that one justice had laid these informations before other justices, for the purpose of having this law executed, the enforcement of which was imperative upon them, then he would say, that the magistrate laying the information was not without blame. But he had been told, by way of excuse, that these men were persons of bad character, good-for-nothing people, who had been guilty of other excesses, and that it was for the purpose of punishing them for their excesses that this dormant statute had been awakened. Now, that appeared to him to be no justification, no extenuation, but rather an aggravation than an excuse—for every magistrate ought to know that there was nothing worse, nothing more irregular, nothing more calculated to bring the administration of justice into contempt, than to convict a person of one offence and sentence him for another. To proceed with the report of the inspectors, one great subject of complaint was the entire variety of management which prevailed in the different prisons. He found that while in one prison one kind of diet was allowed, in another a totally different kind of diet prevailed. In some prisons for example, animal food in small quantities was given, while in others no animal diet at all was allowed. In some prisons for the first three months, in others for the first six months of confinement, no nourishment beyond a low kind of diet was allowed; and at the end of that time the nourishment was increased. But a complaint frequently made by these inspectors was, that the diet was too low for persons condemned to hard labour, a system which was found to inflict great, and in many cases permanent injury upon those who came under its operation. One prison in particular was mentioned, where the diet in these cases was so low that many of the prisoners were suffering from a dreadful disease, which, he believed, was now peculiar to prisons, although at one time it had been very prevalent in this country—he meant the land scurvy. In the case alluded to, it was clear that the diet was below what it ought to be, and the reports of the medical men all went to show, that low diet was one of the principal causes of the disease. In that prison, the proportion of persons in the hospital amounted, at the time the report was made, to ten persons out of fifty, the total number of those in the prison; thus, one-fifth of the inmates of the prison were in the hospital, and the medical officer of the prison stated, that such was the usual proportion. Now, it was clear that there must be something wrong in the management of the prison to give so large a proportion. He would not enter further into particulars, as it was his intention to furnish the Home Department with a reference to the pages of the reports in which those particulars were stated, in order that the evils might be inquired into. There was another abuse, which it appeared to him required a remedy, and that was the gaoler having, contrary to the twenty-four rules of the Gaol Act of 1825, a direct interest in the supply of articles to the prison. It was quite clear that he should have no concern in these matters whatever. In the prison to which he had adverted, the gaoler provided a great many articles, and one of them he particularly recollected was beer, when supplied to the prisoners under the surgeon's direction; and an aggravation of this abuse was, that he charged the county with 1*s*. 4*d*. a gallon for the beer, but paid only 1*s*. the gallon himself. The attendance of the officers, also, varied very much, more than he could have supposed. In most prisons the chaplain did his duty in an exemplary manner. He attended, not merely on Sundays, and other days of public worship, but he visited the prisoners in their cells, and gave them spiritual advice. In the vast majority of the cases, then, the duty was well performed; but in the reports there were many exceptions; and it was remarkable that these occurred in the prisons which were most numerously filled, and where the salaries of the chaplains were most ample. The next question to which he should refer was, the punishment of prisoners; and it was greatly to be regretted that personal chastisement, flogging, should be allowed as an ordinary punishment. He did not mean to say, that in no case should it be inflicted, but he thought the more sparingly it was resorted to the better. Their Lordships would observe, that the punishment was inflicted publicly, before all the inmates of the prison, the object being to deter by example; but if their Lordships would look at the report to which he was now referring, they would find that the example could not be said to be a wholesome one in that respect. Their Lordships were aware that the keeper of a prison had the power, under the Gaol Act, of inflicting punishments of a lesser description; thus for the more ordinary offences, such as breaches of prison discipline, he had the power of confining prisoners for three days on a low diet; but for offences of a greater weight, he must go before the visiting justices, any two of whom, or indeed any two of the justices, were empowered to inflict a severer punishment. In one case which he had particularly remarked, the punishment was twelve dozen of lashes, inflicted upon the complaint of the keeper, against a person who appeared indeed to have been a very vicious person—who had been thirty times in prison, but for offences connected with the game laws, a poacher. The individual was evidently what might be called an incorrigible person. It did not appear very clearly what the offence was for which that punishment was given. but it seemed to be for generally refractory and mutinous conduct, without any special act being done to warrant such a punishment. The person was not only mutinous himself, but also encouraged the other prisoners to violate the laws of the prison, but notwithstanding twelve dozen lashes ought not to have been given. Nothing could be more shocking than the effect which this punishment had had upon the rest of the prisoners. It seemed to have an entirely contrary effect to that which was anticipated from such punishments. It was quite obvious that no such punishment ought to have been permitted, and he could only regard the magistrates, a clergyman or a country gentleman, as having been surprised into the order which sanctioned it. A very great variety was found to exist in the discipline of different prisons. He would state some instances of that variety, because the matter appeared to him of great consequence with regard to the ends of justice. He would take three counties, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire, and he would show to their Lordships how much the inflictions varied in the prisons of those counties. He took these counties merely because they were contiguous, and probably inhabited by the same kind of people. In Bucks, the number of punishments for breaches of prison discipline, as compared with the number of inmates, amounted to only one punishment for three persons, that was, there being 135 persons as the average number of prisoners for the year, the number of punishments during that year was forty-three. In the next county, Berks, let him take one of the gaols, and he found that the punishments were not one to three persons, but three to two persons, that was sixty-three punishments to forty-two persons, being 4½ greater than in the adjoining county. In another gaol in the same county of Berks, the proportion got up to double, the punishments being three to one person. In Hertfordshire the proportion rose still higher, for there it was four punishments for one person, which was twelve times more than in the county of Bucks. Then, if they came to the county in which they then were, he found that in one prison in the city there were five punishments for two persons; in another, three punishments for two persons; and in a third, nine punishments for one person, being twenty-seven times greater than in Buckinghamshire. Now, it was perfectly impossible that the nature and habits of individuals could be so different as this disproportion of punishments would imply, and the disparity must, therefore, in a great measure be owing to the mischievous diversity of rules, which was matter of just complaint. There were one or two other points to which he would call the attention of their Lordships. He found from the report that not merely in one or two, but in a great many cases, untried prisoners were confined in the same place with convicts, and this in prisons where there was no allegation of want of accommodation. Again, in very many cases, it appeared that untried prisoners were subjected to the prison dress. There was one complaint to which he must allude of a very extraordinary nature. A prisoner stated to the inspector that he had been illegally detained in custody, having been committed for trial at the sessions, and having, after the lapse of some days, been called up by the keeper, and told by him that he had been summarily convicted, and adjudged to twelve months' imprisonment. He thought this a very strange circumstance; it looked to him very like the case of a person who had been tried and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in his absence. He could not help thinking, that there had been some very considerable irregularity in this case, and he highly approved of the discharge of the prisoner, by the order of the Secretary of State. He, however, should like inquiry to be made into the matter, with the view of learning who was in fault—whether the keeper or the magistrates, or whether this man was really summarily convicted in the manner which he had described. It was quite impossible that the whole of the volumes of the reports of the Inspectors of Prisons could be thoroughly read, and considered, and acted upon by the Home Secretary, immediatey on their publication. He did not blame the Home Secretary for not having acted sooner on those reports: on the contrary, after the best consideration, he thought it was the most desirable course, in the first instance, to lay these reports before Parliament, and to let the parties whose conduct was adverted to, in consequence of slight irregularities, see them; and wait till the next report, to observe whether any alteration had taken place. The Sixth Report of the Inspectors contained statements with respect to more serious matters, involving the conduct of many officers of prisons. He could not help expressing his concurrence also with the course that had been taken by the Home Office with regard to the appointment of a legal adviser to that office. He regretted to hear that it was the intention to diminish the number of legal officers in that department. The Solicitor of the Home Department, as he understood, had, from motives of delicacy to the present Secretary of State, sent in his resignation. He greatly regretted this, and thought that it was altogether unnecessary to do so until inquiry had been made to see whether it would not be advantageous to continue this office. From his own knowledge of the Home Department, and from the difficulties which often arose in consequence of state prosecutions, and more especially in cases which occurred consequent on great changes in the law, he felt convinced that the retaining this legal officer would be a saving, and not a loss of public money. He said nothing of other advantages that would result from keeping up this place. When he was in office he felt deeply the importance of such an appointment; and what had taken place since had convinced him still more of its importance. Under these circumstances, he thought that it was altogether unnecessary for Mr. Vizard at once to resign his office, for if any inquiry had been instituted, he was convinced that the result would be a recommendation to continue it. The motion which he was about to make was, that an address be presented to her Majesty, praying that directions might be given that at the commencement of next Session of Parliament, there be laid on the Table returns as to what had been done in consequence of the reports of the inspectors of prisons for the previous year. This would insure attention at the Home Office to the subject. He made this proposition entirely in consequence of what he had seen in the sixth report of the inspectors of prisons, and he wished to state distinctly, that he meant to cast no blame on the Home Department. He felt the greatest pleasure in being able to state that nothing could have been more satisfactory than the conduct of his noble Friend (the Marquess of Normanby) in this department; his whole proceedings were marked with great judgment and his conduct had been as commendable for its decision as for its humanity. He felt it only a matter of duty, to say this as he had been impelled on a former occasion to differ from his noble Friend, as to some proceedings of his administration in another department, and had been under the painful necessity of obtaining the concurrence of the House in the view he took of the subject. He repeated he was much gratified to find that his noble Friend's conduct in the Home-office had been so satisfactory during the whole period in which he had held the seals; and he did not think that his noble Friend's successor could do better than imitate, he could scarcely surpass, his example. He confined his motion to the sixth report, in consequence of the duties of the Home-office having been so satisfactorily discharged. The noble and learned Lord concluded by moving that—

> "A humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions, that at the commencement of next Session of Parliament, there should be laid on the Table of both Houses a report of the proceedings that had taken place, founded on the Report of the Inspectors of Prisons for the previous year."

The Duke of *Wellington* observed, that as it was necessary that the reports of the inspectors of prisons should be laid before Parliament, it was probably right that both Houses should have full knowledge of what had been done in consequence of these reports. He confessed that he did not exactly know the points his noble and learned Friend intended to allude to, as he was not acquainted with the details respecting the question of prison discipline. With respect to the details of each case which had been alluded to by his noble and learned Friend, it perhaps would not be possible to determine how far the authorities had been justified in acting in the way which had been described, but they were matters which most certainly called for rigid inquiry. If it was true that in some places the punishments inflicted on persons in prison were as nine to one in other places, it was a very remarkable circumstance, and no doubt the causes ought to be thoroughly investigated. His noble and learned Friend had promised to send to his right hon. Friend the Secretary for the Home Department, the details of these particular cases; he (the Duke of Wellington) was sure, that his right hon. Friend would pay every attention to them, and would direct inquiry to be made. So far from opposing the object of the motion, he should be very glad to give every information to the House on the subject, but he thought that there would be a technical difficulty as to presenting such an address, as it called upon the Crown to order information to be laid prospectively before them next Session of Parliament.

Lord *Brougham* said, it was merely a direction. The motion was in the ordinary shape.

The Lord *Chancellor* suggested that the words "next Session of Parliament" might be omitted.

Lord *Campbell* agreed in the remark of the noble Duke opposite, that the motion for prospective information would be irregular. While he was on his legs he begged to call the attention of their Lordships to the want of law assistance at the Home Office. No man was more sensible of the great zeal and ability of Mr. Vizard, and he thought the public service was likely to suffer if legal assistance was withheld in that department. He had had nearly nine years' experience connected with the Home Department, and he had no hesitation in saying that a more valuable public servant could not be found than Mr. Vizard.

Lord *Brougham* said, his noble and learned Friend was quite mistaken. The motion, as made by him, was strictly regular.

Motion amended as follows agreed to.

> "That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty would graciously be pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House, an account of any proceedings had by the Home Department in consequence of the sixth report of the Inspectors of Prisons, as far as the same can

be done without detriment to the public service."

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, September 27, 1841.

MINUTES.] New Members. For Monmouth (County), Lord G. Somerset; for Bute, Sir W. Rae; and for E. Cornwall, Lord Eliot.

New Writ. For Hereford City, in the room of H. Hobhouse, Esq., Chiltern Hundreds.

Bills. Read first time:—Marlborough Estate; Riddell's Estate; Clayton's Name.

Petitions Presented. By Mr. Busfield, from the Guardians of the Keighley Union, for an alteration of the Poor-law.—By Mr. Sheppard, from Frome, and by other hon. Members from Latham, and by the Rev. Joseph Bray, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By an hon. Member from Inhabitants of Old Kent Road, for redemption of Tolls on the Metropolitan Bridges.—By an hon. Member from Captain Manby for correction of abuses in the representation of the people in Parliament.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.] On the motion of Mr. *Greene* the following resolutions were agreed to:—

"That all standing orders regulating the practice of this House and of the Private Bill-office, with reference to estate and name bills, be, during the present Session, suspended; that all such bills during this Session, be, after their second reading, referred to a select committee; that such committee do consist of the following Members:—Mr. Greene, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Aglionby, Mr. Tatton Egerton, and Mr. Walker; that three be the quorum; that it be an instruction to such committee to inquire whether there be any standing orders applying to such bills, and, if so, whether they have been complied with; and that they do report the same specially to the House; that such committee have power to report on the same day on which they sit; that such bills be permitted to proceed *de die in diem* through all their other stages."

SUPPLY—BOARD OF ORDNANCE.] On the Report of the Committee of Supply being brought up.

Captain *Pechell* said, he regretted the absence of the right hon. Member for Dorchester, but he could not omit the opportunity of expressing his sentiments, seeing the misapprehensions on the part of military men upon the subject, which had been brought before the House by his hon. and gallant Friend, the Member for Marylebone. That hon. Member stated the unfitness of certain stores for the use, either of the army or navy, and that a naval officer should be placed over the Board of Ordnance, to which the Member for Tamworth replied, that there was no occasion for a naval officer being so placed over that Board. In that proposition he entirely concurred. He thought it competent for any officer in the army to be attached to the Board of Ordnance, but what he contended for was, that the Board of Ordnance was so connected with the Admiralty, that it was absolutely necessary that a naval officer should be a member of the Ordnance Board. It was surprising that his hon. and gallant Friend and Sir R. Stopford, were able to obtain the thanks of the House, when the inefficient state of the Naval Department as to stores and muskets, was such as his hon. Friend had so justly described. He should always find it imperative on him, when the Ordnance Estimates were brought forward, to give free expression to his sentiments on this subject.

Captain *Plumridge* concurred in the hon. Member's remark, but would reserve what he had to say for a future occasion.

Report received. Resolution agreed to.

THE QUEEN—SAXMUNDHAM AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer having moved the Order of the Day for a committee of Ways and Means.

Sir *C. B. Vere* requested the indulgence of the House for a few moments. He believed it was not strictly regular to allude to a former debate, but he felt called on to take notice of some remarks made the other night by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Gibson), upon the late dinner of the Agricultural Association of Saxmundham. He did not hear the name at the time, or he should have risen, but he had since received a letter from the noble Lord who was President of the Association, complaining of the remarks of the hon. Member. The House would recollect that the hon. Member had spoken of the Saxmundham Agricultural Association as having shown the symptons of becoming a Conservative Association; because, while they had received the health of her Majesty with cold indifference, they drank that of the Queen Dowager with nine times nine. The hon. Member also remarked upon the course which the Association had taken in having labourers brought in, and spoke in such a manner as to cast a reflection on the motives of the Association. The Earl of Stradbroke was in the chair on that occasion, and in introducing the Queen's health he said, he had the honour to propose a toast which would always be received with the warmest affection—"The health of her Majesty the Queen, and may she long live in the hearts of her people, and the respect of all the nations of the earth." He was at the meeting, and he heard the Queen's health received with every mark of respect and affection. There were the usual cheers, three times three, and "God save the Queen" was sung, the members standing. The hon. Member for Manchester, he believed, was a member of the Association, though he was not present at the last meeting. He had received a letter from the Earl of Stradbroke, which he should now read to the House:—

"Dear Sir Charles—I understand that Mr. Gibson has been deceived into the belief that the East Suffolk Agricultural Society is formed for political purposes, and that he has publicly stated that the health of her Majesty was not responded to; on the contrary, that the toast was hissed, and that all the cheers were reserved at the last annual meeting for the Queen Dowager. I need not tell you that if such a statement has been made by any person, every part of it is devoid of truth. If I can claim credit for anything, it is, that during the ten years this society has been formed, I have never allowed a sentence of party feeling to escape my lips; and it is remarkable, that on the last occasion I gave the health of the Queen Dowager and the Royal Family purposely without any remark, because I was aware that the popularity of the Queen Dowager, on account of her exemplary moral character, her Christian virtues exhibited in the public and private charities, and the consequent esteem which her Majesty enjoys in the hearts of the British nation, is so great, that if I had given an opportunity for a loud and honourable expression of public feeling, it would have been considered by bigots as a proof that the toast was political. You will oblige me by making an open use of this letter whenever an opportunity offers.

"I remain, dear Sir Charles, faithfully yours,

"Henham, Sept. 26." "STRADBROKE.

He could add that politics were excluded by the constitution of the society, and they did not even petition on the subject of the Corn-laws. It had now existed ten years, during which it had conferred considerable benefit on agriculture, and on the labouring classes, and before the present year it had never been whispered that it was affected by any political bias. The society had been originally formed by Gentlemen of Whig opinions, and its members now included men of all parties.

Mr. *M. Gibson* said that if the House would allow him to make a few remarks in reply to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member, he should first observe that there was a wide difference between proposing a toast and drinking it. He could well conceive that the noble Lord in the chair had proposed the health of her Majesty in very becoming terms, but it did not therefore follow that the meeting responded to those terms with that feeling which might have been expected on the occasion. The hon. and gallant Member had stated that he had been at the meeting, and that the health of the Queen was drunk in the usual manner. But he could say that a friend of his, who had also been present, had assured him that, not only was there a marked preference shown to the toast of the Queen Dowager over that of the Queen, but that he had actually heard some hisses. The hon. and gallant Gentleman did not hear the hisses, but they might had been given. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had not heard him mention the Association the other evening, though he was sitting opposite. But look to the public prints, and see what they said. The *Ipswich Express* said that the chairman proposed successively the health of her Majesty the Queen, Prince Albert, the Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family, which were drunk in the usual way, but the name of the Queen Dowager created the loudest applause. The *Express*, however was a Whig paper; but what said the Conservative paper, the *Ipswich Journal*? It said the Queen's health was drunk with three times three, and afterwards the Queen Dowager's, which was received with loud applause and succeeded by three times three. He (Mr. Gibson) said that that mode of drawing a marked distinction in favour of the Queen Dowager was the safest way to provoke an insult to the Queen. He said said so, because they drew this marked distinction, and left themselves a bridge to escape. If the Tories hissed openly, there could be no doubt of their motives. There was no more direct way of showing that an agricultural association was political than by such manifestations as only took place at political associations. Look at the late Conservative dinner at Chelmsford, where the noble Lord who presided actually cautioned the meeting to be on their guard to drink the Queen's health with the usual acclamations, because, if they did not, they would be accused of disloyalty. What was the effect? Notwithstanding the noble Lord's remonstrance the Queen's health was drank with three times three and cheers, while the Queen Dowager's was drunk with "tremendous cheers which lasted for several minutes." He quoted from the Essex Conservative paper. He did not wish to detain the House, but in reply to the hon. and gallant Member's statement that the agricultural society was not a political society, he must refer him to his own speech at the dinner, in which he himself stated that he could not help expressing the satisfaction he felt at the late change in the Administration, and at finding that their properties and interests were now in safe keeping. Those were not the exact words, but they were the sentiments; and they conveyed clearly the meaning of what the hon. and gallant Gentleman said. He had not made an extract from the speech, but he was sure he was correct as to its meaning. He was far from imputing to any individual, or to to the hon. and gallant Knight any desire, on his part, to mark the toast of her Majesty's health by disapprobation, nor did he wish to impute any such feeling to the divines, military officers, and agriculturists, who sat around on the occasion; but it was his belief that there was such marked difference between the mode of drinking her Majesty's health, and that of the Queen Dowager on the occasion referred to, as practically to amount to an insult to the Queen.

Mr. *Ewart* said, that the letter received by the hon. and gallant Member for Suffolk, stated, that there was such a feeling towards the Queen Dowager, in consequence of her Christian virtues, that the noble Lord who wrote it was afraid of making a speech on the occasion, in proposing the Queen Dowager's health, was a confirmation of the observations made by his hon. friend. Were not he, would ask, the Christian virtues of her Majesty equal to those of the Queen Dowager, [*cries from the Ministerial benches, "They are, they are."*] If so, then why give superiority of applause to one over the other, or he should say rather why exhibit that political feeling.

Sir *C. B. Vere* said, that the applause was given at the mention of the Queen Dowager's name from long acquaintance with her virtues. As to loyalty, he begged leave to say, that that Association was a truly loyal one, and the county which it represented equally so. He (Sir C. B. Vere) held, that loyalty was not to be measured by cheers.

Sir *C. Burrell* was confident that a grosser insult was never offered to the Queen of this country than that report. He believed that at public meetings persons were at liberty to express their goodwill towards any one without any imputaton of disloyalty. The charge in the present case was as unjust as it was indifferent to the party against whom it was made. In his opinion, the evidence was not sufficient to justify the charge.

Sir *E. Kerrison* was present when the charge was made by the hon. Member, and then he knew it to be unfounded. He had the honour to know Lord Stadbroke well, and felt quite certain that no man exceeded him in loyalty, and that the charge was false. How did the hon. Member justify that other charge he made, that all agricultural associations were turned into political ones? He denied that charge emphatically. He was president of an agricultural association in the county of Suffolk; and, in order to render it wholly free from having any political bearing, he asked for and obtained the assistance of a Whig friend to act as secretary. He went further, and introduced into the rules and regulations one which was to the effect, that any member who thought proper to talk politics in the association should be excluded the society.

Mr. *Gibson:* The hon. and gallant Member was not present at the meeting. I was informed by a gentleman who was present, and he said he heard the proceedings with great pain, and that many other gentlemen had expressed the same feeling —he himself heard some few hisses.

Colonel *Rushbrooke* denied that agricultural associations were in any way made political engines. He was to have presided over a meeting only last Friday; and, as he could not attend, he had begged a Whig friend to take the chair.

Subject at an end.

WAYS AND MEANS.] The House in Committee of Ways and Means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, as the House has made all the grants of supply that are necessary for the public service, I rise, conformably to the usual practice, to state to the House the mode in which I consider it advisable that the ways and means should be furnished to meet that supply which the House has already granted; and in doing so, it will not be necessary to trouble the House with any of those lengthened details that on other occasions form so large a portion of the address of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So short a time has elapsed since all the details were brought before this House and the country, by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and so few changes have occurred, either in the state of the revenue, or the expenditure, since that period, that I should only fatigue the House if I were to follow the right hon. Gentleman through the details on which he then expatiated; so, my statement must consist but of a repetition of the details that he then laid before you. I content myself, then, with briefly adverting to the general results which the right hon. Gentleman communicated to the House, and by stating to the House the means by which I propose to equalize the revenue and the expenditure, or, to express myself in a more parliamentary way, to furnish the ways and means to meet the supply. The supply which the House has voted during the present Session, amounts to the sum of 1,727,000*l.* It consists, first, of those portions of the miscellaneous estimates that were not voted in the last Parliament, of the vote for the commissariat, for Canada, a part of which was voted last Session; and, in addition to those votes that were left unsatisfied last Session, I have merely to add the supplementary estimates for the ordnance, amounting to 67,000*l.*, and the difference between the ways and means and supply of last Session, amounting to 24,896*l.*, making a total of 1,727,432*l.* This has been voted in a committee of supply during the present Session. In addition to that which has been voted in a committee of supply, the House is aware that there is a charge for the interest on Exchequer Bills, for which it is necessary that the ways and means should provide. It is no longer voted as supply by Parliament, but it is directed to be paid by the acts of the Legislature, out of the aids of the year. It is necessary, then, in the calculation of the ways and means, to provide for that sum. The amount of the interest on Exchequer Bills is 740,000*l.*, which is to be added to the sum previously stated to have been voted in the present Session, that being 1,727,432*l.*, and leaving a total amount for which the House is called upon to provide, namely 2,467,432*l.* To revert, then, to the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of last Session, the House will recollect that, taking a review of the receipts and expenditure for the year, the right hon. Gentleman assumed the receipts to be 48,310,000*l.*, and he stated the expenditure to be provided for as 50,731,000*l.*, leaving a deficiency of revenue for the year, as compared with the expenditure, very nearly in amount to the sum I have already stated, as necessary to equalize the ways and means this Session, with the supply that has been voted this Session. The sums naturally very nearly coincide, because, in the preceding Session, the House having voted the whole of the ways and means of the year to meet what was then voted in supply, which was only a portion of the year's expenditure for the public service. The ways and means now to be provided for are very nearly the amount which the right hon. Gentleman calculated as the deficiency for the year. On accurately examining the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with the advantage of an additional experience of five months, I do not think that any circumstances have occurred since that period, to affect the calculations of the right hon. Gentleman as to the probable revenue of the country, and as we have made no addition to the sums to be voted beyond that small sum in the ordnance estimates to which I have already adverted, there will be little, if any, alteration in the estimates that the right hon. Gentleman formed of the total revenue and expenditure of the year. We are, therefore, on the present occasion to devise the means by which we are to provide for the sum of 2,467,432*l.*, which appears to be the amount of the deficiency in the revenue for the year. Without further preface, then, or entering into the details of a statement that has been so recently made, I proceed shortly to mention the mode in which I propose to supply the deficiency that we are called upon to meet. The House is undoubtedly aware of the proposition that I have made, and which was made through the ordinary channels, of funding a portion of the unfunded debt of the country. The object that I have in view is apparent from the terms of the notice that I gave. It is to effect a reduction of the unfunded debt to the amount of two millions and a half. I did this because I, sensible that of all the measures which could be adopted for placing the finances on an improved footing, this was an indispensable preliminary. He might be told that the amount of the unfunded debt was not such as to justify alarm as to its extent, and some might think that it did not require reduction. But he must still adhere to the principle which he had uniformly maintained in that House, that it was not safe for the country to continue a larger amount of unfunded debt than under the circumstances of the country could lightly and easily be borne, and he would beg the House to recollect, that the pressure of the unfunded debt upon the country did not depend upon the amount of millions of which it consisted, that the same amount might at different times press with very different degree of weight upon the means of the country; and, that, therefore, though now at twenty-one millions, and formerly thirty-one millions, there might be circumstances which called more loudly for a reduction now than when, nominally, the amount was much larger than at present. As long as Exchequer bills were almost the only safe security, that gave a daily interest; as long as there was a general demand for them; as long as there was a large premium upon them; as long as they kept pretty steady, without any material variation, so long there was reason for thinking that the burden of the unfunded debt was not greater than the country was able to bear. But when a period had arrived in which, so far from being the only safe security giving daily interest, they saw other securities, esteemed much by the public, coming into competition with them—when they knew that there were certain banks of acknowledged credit which gave a larger daily interest than that given on Exchequer bills—when they knew that a spirit of embarking in what might be considered comparatively safe speculations existed, in which larger profits might be made—and when, above all, they considered that by the change which had been effected in the Usury-laws, the money which before lay in the hands of individuals, or was employed at certain periods only in the purchase of Exchequer bills, was now employed in the more profitable business of discount—it must be evident to every one who considered the subject, that the reduced amount of Exchequer bills at the present moment was the necessary consequence of the altered position of monetary affairs to which he had alluded. For these reasons, considering it (impossible—he would not say—but) very difficult, without material loss, to add to the number of Exchequer bills already in the market, he determined to effect a reduction of the unfunded debt, by two millions and a half. He was happy to say, that as far as his proposition had gone, it had been completely successful. He should be enabled, by the subscription that had been made, to afford that degree of relief to the market which it had been his primary object to accomplish. He had another object in view, coupled with the reduction of the unfunded debt—it was to raise a sum of 2,500,000*l*. to meet the existing deficiency, and to show to the public at once the amount required for the public service. It was for this purpose that he combined the two operations, being unwilling that any man should subscribe his capital to the public without knowing the whole extent of the demand which the public would afterwards have to make upon the money market. The measure had not gone to the full extent of the proposition he had made to the public. The total amount of the subscription was 3,645,000*l*., or say 3,640,000*l*. The resolution which he meant to put in the chairman's hand would clearly point out the mode in which the deficiency was to be made up. He might be told, although he did not suppose he should, that he had offered to the public terms unfavourable to the Government or unfair to the public. He did not however suppose that this was an objection that would be dwelt upon by those who had attended the transactions. Into the details of those terms he should not at the present moment enter, unless hon. Gentlemen opposite should wish for the details on which his calculation was founded. He only said this, that comparing the terms offered now, and at antecedent periods, they would be found not higher, regarding the rate of interest and value of money, than offered in 1838, by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Monteagle). They were not higher in amount, and, by the small addition of a premium, there was no greater difference than the price of the funds justified. Dismissing, therefore, for the present, the basis of the calculation, which he was quite willing to explain, if any hon. Gentleman required or desired him to do so. [Mr. *F. T. Baring*, what is the amount of the bonus?] He calculated the bonus at

18*s.* 10*d.* per cent. The bonus given by Lord Monteagle was 16*s.* 4*d.*, but the funds were then above 91, while the funds when he had to make his bargain were 89½. Having by this subscription cleared the market of 2,500,000*l.*, he had to show the House the manner in which he deemed it to be expedient to raise the sum required to supply the deficiency of the year. Part of the sum of money was to be paid by those who contributed to this funding. What that amount might be it was impossible for him at the present moment to say. As the parties had the option of paying half in money and half in Exchequer bills, he could not, until the last instalment had been paid, state distinctly the amount of money that would be available for the public service. Supposing all the parties to subscribe half in Exchequer bills, then in no case could it exceed 1,800,000*l.*, or one half of the whole amount subscribed. The probability was, that it would fall short of that, and that the Exchequer bills would be subscribed in preference to money, which the parties were at liberty to subscribe.

Mr. *F. T. Baring* remarked, that the sum stated by the right hon. Gentleman was only half the amount.

The *Chancellor of the Exehequer* meant half the amount. Of course, under the present circumstances of the country, he need not say, especially after all that had lately passed in that House, that it would be impracticable upon the present occasion to provide for the deficiency that existed by additional taxation. Under the present circumstances he should recommend the House to make a temporary provision to meet the deficiency. It was the one that seemed to be expected by every man who had spoken upon this subject, and, however, in his opinion, it was to be deprecated as a permanent mode of meeting a deficiency in the revenue, yet it was one that, under the present circumstances, he believed no reasonable man would object to. He was sure that the House would see that so soon after the accession of the present Government to office, with the general indisposition manifested not to embark in lengthened discussions of this nature, it must be impossible, with any effect to propose additional taxation to the country because it would be impossible, too, to make such an accurate examination of the expenditure, as to enable him to say whether or not it was susceptible of such a reduction as might lessen the amount required for the public service. He should feel himself to be still more unworthy than he knew himself to be, for the situation in which he was placed, if he were so presumptuous, as in one moment to lay before them a system of taxation to meet the deficiency of the year. He had simply to request in the resolution which was to be proposed, that the House would give the Government the power, either by the sale of Exchequer bills, or by the sale of a certain portion of stock, to raise that sum which might be necessary—to make the amount to be received in money equal to 2,500,000*l.* the sum to be provided for. He had introduced into the resolution the power either of issuing Exchequer bills, or selling stock, because, anxious as he was to relieve the unfunded debt he could not with certainty rely on the effect of replacing in the market two millions and a half in Exchequer bills. He had in view the possible difficulty of disposing of Exchequer bills with advantage to the government and the public. He spoke more of the interest of the public than of the Government; because the introducing of Exchequer bills suddenly might produce a very injurious effect upon the holders of those securities and wishing that the object of the country might be attained with the least derangement to the interest of individuals, he desired to give the Government the discretion of making up the deficiency, either by the sale of Exchequer bills, or the sale of stock in the market. He did not, in propounding this last proposition, adopt a course that had been struck out for the first time. He knew that the feeling of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Baring) was favourable to it. And as the candour that had marked that right hon. Gentleman when he was connected with the Government, would now, he was sure, be continued in opposition, he had no hesitation in referring to the right hon. Gentleman as having stated distinctly his favourable view of such a project. He trusted, then, that the House would see the necessity of acceding to and complying with the proposition which he should have to submit to them, of giving this power to the Government, leaving it to them, either by the sale of Exchequer bills, or the sale of stock, to raise the sum he proposed; but not go beyond that amount which was required for the service of the year. He was not aware of any necessity on the present occasion of entering into any further detail; but he should be happy to give any explanation which might be required by any hon. Gentleman in the course of the evening, and to satisfy any doubts that might suggest themselves to others, though they had not occurred to himself, as to the propriety of the course which he now recommended to the House. It was not, he could assure the House, without regret that he felt himself called on to propose an addition to the debt of the country, and in order to repair a deficiency to have recourse to borrowing. He lamented deeply, and sincerely that he was not able to make a special provision for the debt so created, but the reasons which debarred him were those which prevented him from dealing in a more efficient manner with the deficiency generally. A proposition which would have reference to taxation required deep and deliberate consideration, and it was quite evident that it was an advantage to the public to defer such a proposition till the whole subject might be considered, as to how the expenditure might be diminished or the revenue increased. He had only further to say that, as the present proposition was merely intended to deal with the case before them he was anxious that it should not be supposed that he wished to afford the precedent of making up deficiencies by additions to the debt of the country. So desirous was he to avoid it, that he refrained from alluding to any precedent to authorise the course he had pursued. He did not think that, as a general measure, the principle was defensible; and he looked forward to that period when, after looking to the receipts of the country, and to the sources of the national wealth, they should be enabled to take a view of the whole case in detail, and when they would not be called on to consider the mode of dealing with the deficiencies of one year, but to consider how the whole expenditure and revenue of the country could be put on such a footing as would render them equal to each other. The right hon. Gentleman then concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

"That the several persons who have engaged to subscribe towards funding the sum 5,000,000 of Exchequer Bills charged on aids or supplies dated in March and June 1841, (or in any antecedent month, provided the same have not been advertised to be paid off,) and who have made deposits of 20*l.* per centum on the amount of their respective subscriptions accepted at the Bank of England, shall be entitled, upon the completion of their subscriptions, for every 100*l.* so subscribed in Exchequer bills (or 100*l.* 12*s.* in money, not exceeding one half of such subscription), to 112*l.* 2*s.* capital stock in consolidated annuities, bearing interest at the rate of 3*l.* per centum per annum; the said interest to commence from the 5th day of July 1841, and to be payable by half-yearly dividends on the 5th day of January and the 5th day of July of every year.

That the several subscribers shall complete their respective subscriptions at the Bank of England, by instalments, in the proportions and at the times under mentioned; that is to say,

20*l.* per centum on or before the 8th day of November.

20*l.* per centum on or before the 20th day of December.

20*l.* per centum on or before the 31st day of January 1842.

20*l.* per centum on or before the 14th day of March 1842.

That interest shall be allowed upon all Exchequer bills deposited in payment of each instalment, up to the date of such instalment; and upon each instalment paid in money, interest on the same from the 27th day of September 1841 to the date of such instalment.

That subscribers shall be at liberty to pay the said instalments in advance, and shall in such case be entitled, if the payment be made in Exchequer Bills, to interest thereupon, to the period when the instalment will be due; and if payment be made in money, to interest at the rate of two pence farthing per diem upon every 100*l.* of such money, from the day of such payment in advance to the day when it would otherwise be due.

That all the Exchequer bills so to be deposited with the governor and company of the Bank of England shall be delivered over to the Paymasters of Exchequer Bills to be cancelled; and that all monies so to be received shall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services, for Great Britain and Ireland, as shall have been voted by this House in this Session of Parliament, that the Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury shall be authorised to complete the sum requisite to discharge the services granted by this House in this Session of Parliament, and the interest on Exchequer bills charged on the aids or supplies of the present year, amounting in the whole to 2,467,432*l.*, either by the issue of Exchequer bills, or by the creation of consolidated 3*l.* per centum annuities, provided that no greater sum in the whole shall be raised, either by the monies so subscribed, by the issue of Exchequer bills, or by the creation of consolidated 3*l.* per centum annuities, than may be necessary to discharge the said services and interest."

Mr. *F. T. Baring* said, that he should

have scercely thought it necessary to trouble the House on the present occasion, so far as regarded the statement of the right hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House. He felt it necesary to offer a few observations, not so much on account of anything which the right hon. Gentleman had said to the House, as on account of that which the right hon. Gentleman had thought fit not to say. It was always difficult on the instant to follow a right hon. Gentleman, through a statement of this kind, however clear, and to suddenly give an opinion upon a statement which one had not the opportunity of considering. At the same time he (Mr. Baring) would venture to trouble the committee with a few observations. He should on the present occasion, omit, as the right hon. Gentleman had done, all reference to the statement which had been made on a former occasion with reference to the former expenditure and deficiency. It was, however, satisfactory to him that though six months had elapsed, and though circumstances might have occurred which would vary his calculations, it was satisfactory to him to find that the right hon. Gentleman had found nothing to question in the calculations which he had upon a former occasion ventured to submit to the House. As he understood the right hon. Gentleman, the proposition made to the House was the same operation which the right hon. Gentleman had already made public. He thought that he understood the operation which was intended by the right hon. Gentleman, but having heard the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, he was not quite sure that he understood the way in which the right hon. Gentleman intended that his plan should operate. He understood the transaction of the right hon. Gentleman to be this—that he proposed to combine the funding of two millions and a half of Exchequer bills and to bring in at the same time two millions and a half of money, so that while nominally he funded five millions of Exchequer bills, he would in reality fund only two millions and a half of Exchequer bills, and would raise two millions and a half in money to meet the wants of the country. He thought that the great object was the funding of two millions and a half of Exchequer bills. But the right hon. Gentleman stated that he found it necessary to fund five millions, and that he had succeeded in his main object. On the present occasion he was exceedingly anxious that nothing should fall from him calculated to embarrass and encumber the public service in any way. He did not think, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had succeeded. It appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman was in this position, that he did not know whether he had funded the required amount of Exchequer bills or not, and that he would not know the amount of Exchequer bills funded or the amount of money raised, till the end of the transaction. If the object of the right hon. Gentleman was to fund two millions and a half of Exchequer bills, he had not yet attained that object, and if his object was to raise two millions and a half of money by going into the market with that amount of Exchequer bills or Stock, it did not appear that the right hon. Gentleman had completely succeeded. The right hon. Gentleman, it appeared to him, had neither secured the amount of Exchequer bills nor the amount of money that he was anxious to obtain. Nobody, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, would quarrel with the amount of the *bonus* which the right hon. Gentleman had offered. On the contrary, so far from that, if he had ventured to state anything to the right hon. Gentleman previous to his undertaking that operation, he would have told him not to venture on an operation of that kind unless that he was sure to succeed. He was sure that a small saving (which, however, he did not underrate) ought not to be considered in comparison with securing the success of an operation of this nature. Considering what was passing here and in other countries, he thought it would have been advisable for the right hon. Gentleman, leaving out of consideration what had been offered by Lord Monteagle or any one else, to have offered such a *bonus* as would secure the object he had in view. With respect to the amount, it appeared to him that it was a satisfactory amount and a satisfactory offer. Notwithstanding all that had been said of Whig misgovernment and the extravagance of Whig Administration, it appeared that, after ten years of Whig Administration, the right hon. Gentleman was able to raise the amount he wanted at a bonus of one-third less than in 1828, when the right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer. This fact he was glad to learn, after all he had heard of the ruin of their finances, and of the dangerous state in which the country had been left by ten years of Whig Administration. Notwithstanding all this, the right hon. Gentleman, when he wanted money, offered one-third less for it than he found it necessary to offer fourteen or fifteen years ago when the right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer. With respect to the operation of the right hon. Gentleman, there was one point, and one only, on which he should be sorry (as we understood) to see it drawn into a precedent. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman was right to avoid a loan. Although borrowing in one way might sound the same as borrowing in another way, still recollecting what had been done in this way in the good old times, he should be sorry that the country in time of peace should have recourse to a regular loan; but if it were necessary to raise money by a loan, he thought it ought to be done by open competition. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to raise two and a half millions in a mode which was not open to competition. Now this, he thought, was open to objection, for, though he admitted that the public would be exposed to, a combination of great monied capitalists, still he thought upon the whole that they would best satisfy the public feeling by going to the open market. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to make his operation such as to enable him to obtain money either by the sale of Exchequer bills, or of stock corresponding in some manner. Now he knew enough to know the difficulty of being confined entirely to Exchequer bills, and therefore he ventured to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman, if he found himself under the necessity of doing anything of the kind, the propriety of reserving the option. As far as this part of the proposition went, he need hardly say, that he cordially supported it. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman in the propriety of keeping under the amount of Exchequer bills. The right hon. Gentleman would find in some return which he did not happen to have with him, that the amount of Exchequer bills in 1835 had been very largely reduced by the Government with which he was connected, and compared with the administration of the right hon. Gentleman, they had reduced Exchequer bills by three millions as compared with the quantity of Exchequer bills in the market at the time. He entirely concurred in the expediency of raising the money, if it were possible to make the option, rather by the sale of stock than the sale of Exchequer bills. He confessed, that after the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had left that (the Opposition) side of the House, he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman had not alluded to the future prospects of the country—that he had not given them some glimpse, some small opening, some possibility of understanding the course which the right hon. Gentleman proposed hereafter to pursue. He confessed, when the right hon. Gentleman told him—and here he could not help reminding the committee, that during the debate in the last Session, when a right hon. Friend of his accused the right hon. Gentleman of stating, that the course he meant to take would be to leave things alone, the right hon. Gentleman rose indignantly, and complained bitterly that he had been grossly misrepresented, and he stated, that no such thing had fallen from him. The right hon. Gentleman rose twice and complained that such a notion should be attributed to him, a notion which he never ventured to entertain. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, that he had no such notion of letting things alone, but now, when the time for explanation came, the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman after all was that of borrowing money, and, as far as he understood the right hon. Gentleman's plan, it was the very plan which, when on that (the Opposition) side of the House, the right hon. Gentleman had attacked him for proposing; but now, when on the Treasury benches, he considered the wisest and most proper, and the most expedient plan, to leave things entirely alone till next year. He did not know what might be the right hon. Gentleman's notion of letting things alone, but he knew, that if he had come down with a proposal for a loan, without stating how he meant to deal with the finances of the country hereafter, he should, as a matter of course, have been fiercely attacked. The right hon. Gentleman had said, that he had lately come into office, and that it would be rather hard upon him to give a plan of finance, and to consider fully the revenue and the expenditure of the country. He really thought, that the delay was absolutely necessary for giving the right hon.

Gentleman fair time for the consideration of financial subjects; he would be one of the first to admit that plea, and at once to give him what he conceived to be a fair time for the consideration of the plans and measures which, filling the station he did, he would be called upon to propose, but he could not in his conscience, and with every respect for the right hon. Gentleman, understand that plea of the right hon. Gentleman which tells us, "I have considered the subject of finance for several long years—I have made repeated observations and motions upon the question—I have thrown you out of office upon a financial question—I have taken issue with you upon the great measures you proposed—we know quite enough to make out, that your propositions are bad, but we have not sufficient knowledge to tell you what is good and ought to be done." That course, he confessed, he could not understand. If the right hon. Gentleman asked for a fortnight or three weeks, that might be well enough, but as he understood the present course, it was this, to propose to wind up the financial arrangements of the year without announcing to the House any one of those measures, or giving the details of any of those principles upon which he hereafter considered that he would have to conduct the financial administration of the country. Against this course he took the liberty of protesting, as his noble Friend (Lord J. Russell) had already done, however ineffectually. He entertained towards that course a most sincere objection. He thought it was not a course that was advisable for the country; he thought it was not a course which, under any circumstances, the right hon. Gentleman opposite ought to have proposed. From something that fell from the right hon. Gentleman, he believed that the right hon. Gentleman, when he referred to the expenditure, seemed to think, that the sum that was necessary for this year would not be necessary for future years; and he could not help thinking, that the right hon. Gentleman had some expectations, having this prospect before him, that it would not be necessary to take any measure for an augmentation of the revenue. He confessed it would give him the greatest, the most sincere pleasure, to find the right hon. Gentleman enabled to carry on the Government of the country without calling upon the people for increase of taxation; but, on the other hand, it did appear to him a most unadvisable expectation to raise if the right hon. Gentleman did not feel sure of success. Had he misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman? [*No, no.*] He admitted they had heard of the wanton and profligate expenditure of the Whig Government. Did the right hon. Gentleman think, that that was the case? [*Cheers.*] The right hon. Gentleman was one of those parties who concurred with those who cheered the accusation. [Lord Stanley said something across the Table.] The words he had used were the very words used by the noble Lord who seconded the address upon which the late Government was displaced. He knew that language was used by one party of the friends of the right hon. Gentleman opposite which they themselves would not employ, that accusations like this were made, and when it was wanted to know upon what grounds such accusations were made, some right hon. Gentlemen jumped up, and cried, "I never said such a thing —what can you mean?" When, however, a great party was banded together, and when he saw members of that party bringing forward charges day after day, and night after night, he would ask, was it not natural to suppose, that without there was some general consent and union, the charges which they heard would not be employed by persons holding stations in that House, and persons whom the great Conservative party entrusted with the agreeable duty of turning out the late Government. In entering his protest against the course of the right hon. Gentleman, it was his earnest wish not to use any language that could in any shape be hurtful to the feelings of the right hon. Gentleman. For his own part he was as anxious to see the right hon. Gentleman successful in his measures as if he were himself in office. He was satisfied, that the real foundation of the good faith and credit of the country was unshaken, and although the right hon. Gentleman might not succeed in getting the actual amount of the sum proposed, still he would not draw from that any evil omen as to the real position of the finances of the country.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the right hon. Gentleman had concluded with a sentiment which he had often uttered when on the other side of the House—namely, that he saw no reason at any time to despair of the resources of the country or of its power to meet all difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman had criticised the observations which he had taken the liberty to make, and had stated certain objections to the measures which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) now proposed to make up the deficiency in the revenue. If the committee would allow him, he would offer, on these points, a few observations. The right hon. Gentleman objected to the measures taken for funding of Exchequer bills and raising money. He confessed, after listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he could not distinctly understand the objections he made. The right hon. Gentleman told them that he thought it absolutely necessary to reduce the unfunded debt, and he told them it was absolutely necessary not to have recourse to a loan. Now if there was any merit in the proposition submitted to the committee, it was this, that it did reduce the unfunded debt to an amount to which it appeared to him advisable to reduce it, and did avoid the necessity of contracting a loan. As far, then, as these two points went, he must confess, that the right hon. Gentleman, in objecting to the measures, confirmed the principles upon which they were founded. The right hon. Gentleman said, that they could not get the amount of Exchequer bills required, and they would fail to raise the necessary supply of money. He knew, that every proposition of this kind depended upon the subscription of the public; and no man, under certain circumstances, could infer the certain accomplishment of such an object; but taking the whole of these measures together, he had so far succeeded, that by means of the alternative, which he trusted the House would allow, and which the right hon. Gentleman approved of, either by the issue of Exchequer bills or by the sale of stock, he should have in his hands the power of reducing the amount of Exchequer bills as he thought necessary, and of raising, by an addition to the funds rather than to the unfunded debt, that amount of money which he knew was required for the public service. So far, therefore, his measures had succeeded, and had fulfilled the condition which the right hon. Gentleman deemed indispensable. The right hon. Gentleman said, there was danger in the mode of raising money, and he thought, that loans should be raised by open competition. He was aware, that the right hon. Gentleman was correct as to the general principle; but there were reasons which convinced him, that he had acted rightly on the present occasion. Lord Monteagle, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an attempt to fund Exchequer bills through the medium of public competition. Three large capitalists offered, and offered three sets of terms materially different. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to have a sealed paper stating the amount beyond which the Government would not go. What was the result? The Bank of England brought in Exchequer bills to the amount of half a million, upon terms lower than those offered by the Government, and the other parties bid so considerably above the Government priee, that they could not be accepted; and thus, after trying public competition, Lord Monteagle was obliged to go into the market, and to obtain in the same manner as he had done, subscriptions to the amount required; and with this inconvenience, that the parties who first came forward, upon open competition, had advantages less than those who, by holding back, drove the right hon. Gentleman into the market. He was opposed to open competition, because, upon principles of justice, if they offered a competition, the advantages ought to be the same to all; and he therefore thought it fairer in the first instance, instead of having a sealed paper, to state at once to the public those terms which he was willing to accept. This was his reason for not resorting to open competition. In open competition, the dealing was confined to the capitalists in the market. Those only could come forward who had a large amount of Exchequer Bills to offer. It was impossible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take 1,000*l.* from one party, and 1,000*l.* from another, and so on; but when he offered terms, and they were accepted, the smallest holder would be placed upon the same footing as the largest. Men with 1,000*l.* would be able to subscribe on the same terms with the man who had 1,000,000*l.*, and, on the present occasion, he knew many individuals had subscribed to very limited amounts, which, under a different system, they could not have done. These were the reasons why he thought it inexpedient to repeat the practice pursued in the case of Lord Monteagle, a practice which did not produce the effect expected, and which operated to the injury of those who came forward in the first instance. It was said, that by public competition, he might have obtained greater advantage to the public.

Did the right hon. Gentleman believe, if he offered a loan at a *bonus* of 18*s*. 9*d*. per cent., many would be desirous of obtaining it? Let him look at the loan raised by Mr. Spring Rice for the payment of the West-India compensation. The *bonus* then given was 3*l*. 18*s*., just 3*l*. more than he now proposed, and for this simple reason, that the present plan combined two advantages, namely, that individuals would derive the same advantage from the payment of money as the presentation of Exchequer Bills. The right hon. Gentleman further stated, that he doubted whether the public would accept the loan now proposed. He entertained a very different opinion. He had that confidence which the right hon. Gentleman professed to have in the power and resources of the country; he had taken the best means in his power of ascertaining what terms the public had a right to expect, and having made up his mind, he saw nothing to shake his determination with regard to what he felt it his duty to offer to the public, little regarding whether the whole subscription should be filled or not, so long as he obtained sufficient to enable him to accomplish the object he had in view. Comparing the present *bonus* with that offered ten years ago, was no argument whatever. At particular periods there might be great variations in the rate at which money could be funded or borrowed; and it was no ground of blame to any party, that he gave a higher rate at one time, and a lower at a subsequent period. Circumstances had since occurred with respect to the power which the Government now possessed of withdrawing Exchequer Bills from circulation, which must materially affect the terms which Government would be justified in offering to the public. He felt, upon the whole, that the terms he had offered were not lower than circumstances justified, and he was better satisfied to stand there to defend himself for having made an advantageous bargain to the public which had partially interfered with his success, rather than to defend himself from the accusation of having uselessly squandered the public money, with a view to secure his own objects. The right hon. Gentleman complained, that he had not been sufficiently explicit with regard to his future intentions. What he had said was this, that before he undertook to lay down any plan of finance or taxation, he must carefully examine, not only the revenue, but the expenditure of the country also; and that, in imposing taxes upon the people, he should take care not to adopt such a proceeding without being enabled to say, that he had examined the expenditure, that he had looked into details, that he was convinced the expenditure they were called upon to pay was essential to the welfare of the country, and he would then put it to the good sense of the people, whether they would not bear some additional burdens in order to meet the exigencies of the country. He understood perfectly well the advantage which the right hon. Gentleman would have, although, he was sure, he would not avail himself of it, if he had brought forward some crude and undigested scheme of taxation. He should be told, why not look into the expenditure, and the Member for Coventry (Mr. Williams), if nobody else did, would tell him it was incumbent upon him to do so. In the varied expenditure of this country, in the charges and expenses thrown upon it from every quarter, both in the colonies and at home, and knowing the pressure that was about to be thrown upon the country, how could he venture to propose on the instant a permanent plan of finance? He did not refrain from doing so, because he anticipated the possibility of avoiding having recourse to taxation, for that he believed to be inevitable, but he merely wished to have time to consider the mode in which that taxation which might be necessary, could be raised in a manner least injurious to the general interests of the country. As to his having advised the House to let everything alone, and then coming forward to fulfil the object of that misrepresentation, the right hon. Gentleman said, that if he (Mr. Baring) had made such a proposition, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would have been the first to object to it. Undoubtedly, he had been misrepresented on that occasion, for he never said what was imputed to him; but it was rather hard upon him, when the right hon. Gentleman recollected the misrepresentation, that he did not recollect what he really did say, and that what he said then had been accomplished. He said, then, that if the sugar duties were left as they were, not only would the consumption increase, but the revenue would improve, and the result proved he was right. He did not say, that things ought to be left alone, and he did not admit, that he stood in the situation the right hon. Gentleman would have stood in, if he had made such a proposition. The right hon. Gentleman had been in office for four years; the Government with which he was connected had been in office ten years; and, therefore, he had had full opportunity to look into the different branches of the expenditure, to see whether it were possible to make alterations—he had had an opportunity to take a minute view of the whole financial system of the country, and, therefore, the application of such a charge to him would not have been unjust. At the end, however, of the first two or three weeks of office, involved as he was in a mass of business of the Treasury, and having had no opportunity to frame his measures, in the state in which they should be submitted to Parliament, he would not be driven into any premature announcement of them. He did not know, that it would be necessary for him to offer any further observations on what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. He thought it evident, that the right hon. Gentleman approved of the plan as a whole, whatever he might think of parts of it. He thought the statements of the right hon. Gentleman, stronger modes of approval, than any arguments against his proposition; and he was, therefore, inclined to thank him for the support which he had given.

Mr. *W. Williams*, said that the right hon. Gentleman was very much mistaken, if he supposed that he should recommend any imposition of fresh taxes to meet the wants of the Exchequer. He thought the effects of the bad economy which had been practised might be met by a plan which would not work any detriment to the public service. The proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for relieving himself from his financial difficulty was, no doubt, the easiest and least troublsome to himself; it was the course always pursued by the profligate spendthrift, so long as he has credit to borrow, of getting out of present difficulties, by plunging deeper into debt; but every thinking man, who reflected upon what the end must be of adding year after year to a debt exceeding eight hundred millions would hear the proposition with painful regret. During the last seven years, from 1834 to 1840, there was added to the debt permanently 33,977,250*l.*; interest on which 1,167,308*l.* The proposed addition would make the increase nearly 40,000,000*l.* within the seven years; this had been done by loans, funding Exchequer bills, and all sorts of contrivances; 4,600,000*l.* of which was added to the debt, without the consent or knowledge of Parliament. It might be said, 20,000,000*l.* was for the emancipation of the black slaves, and he should be asked if that money was not applied for a righteous purpose. Yes; but if the present generation thought so, they ought to have paid for it themselves, and not throw it upon posterity. What could be more unjust and dishonest, than to throw upon posterity the payment of the debts contracted by the present generation for every species of profligacy and corrupt purposes? Was it right to make posterity pay the penalty of our misgovernment? Was it just in the generation now in existence to mortgage the fruits of the industry and toil of generations not yet in existence to pay its debts? The system was a violation of great moral principles, and would come to a violent end, attended with awful consequences. No excuse for the course proposed had or could be offered. The just and honest means of getting out of the difficulty was by retrenchment, or the imposition of a property-tax. He would point out what could be effected by retrenchment with safety, to an extent that would not only make good the deficiency, but pay off the excess of expenditure of the last four years. The amount of the estimates for the present year of the army, navy, and miscellaneous was 18,949,740*l.* Now, as he did not mean to reduce the present expenditure by any extraordinary outlays which had taken place during the last year, he should deduct from the sum he had stated:

For the expedition to China	£400,000
Expenses in Canada........	155,000
Excess of the navy in two years	191,194
	£746,194

Which, when taken from the above, left 18,203,546*l.* Now, he thought he could not do better than return back to the expenditure in the year 1830, when the Gentlemen opposite were in office. In that year the estimates on the four heads he had stated were 15,864,785*l.*, being less than those of this year by 2,338,761*l.* Now, that was a sum fully equal to that which the right hon. Gentleman wanted to borrow, or rather to add to the funded debt. But he could refer the right hon. Gentleman to a better period still—four years of the Government of the Whigs. The average expenditure for these four years was 14,148,456*l.*, which was less than this year by 4,055,090*l.* Now, he should like to know what were the peculiar circumstances of the country which rendered so vast an increase necessary? He could not find out any difference which was at all material, either at home or in our foreign relations. In 1830, a great revolution took place in France, the consequences of which it was impossible for any man to foresee. In this country a large portion of the inhabitants were disturbed and discontented. In those districts where that feeling of disaffection prevailed, life and property were insecure. What was the state of things at present? He believed that more distress prevailed, and greater privations were undergone, than in any period of our history. Yet tranquillity prevailed every where, and no strong feelings of disaffection were expressed. Well, in what situation were our foreign affairs? The Eastern question was admitted on all hands to be settled. Her Majesty's Speech announced that the temporary separation of France from the other powers had ceased. And, as to Canada, he would venture to predict, from his own observation of the public feeling in that country, that if the same measures were acted on henceforward as those which had been adopted by Lord Sydenham, the people of that colony would become firmly and honestly attached to this country. Again, he thought that those questions which separated the United States in feeling, from this country would be amicably settled; for he had recently an opportunity of seeing that the great body of the people (which in fact governed that country), were decidedly in favour of amicable relations. He would point out another source in which great savings might be effected, namely, in the collection of the revenue. The amount of last year's revenue was 51,850,000*l.* The cost of collecting it was 4,282,500*l.*, being more than eight per cent. This vast expenditure was intercepted before it went into the Treasury, without either Parliament or the Treasury exercising the least control over it. Each department put its fingers into the public purse, and took out what it thought proper for its salary. A great increase had taken place in this department. In 1806, according to a statement made by the Treasury to the finance committee, the amount of the revenue was 58,255,175*l.* The charge for collection was 2,797,722*l*, being only 4⅘ per cent. This payment was in a time of depreciated paper money, when Bank of England notes, as compared with gold, were worth about 14*s.* 6*d.* Before Mr. Pitt became Minister, the most rigid control was exercised by the Treasury over this department, and he was informed the cost of collection did not exceed 2½ to 3 per cent. The Marquess of Lansdowne in 1797, said, in reference to this subject,

> "Every office seems to be lord of its own will, and every officer seems to have unlimited power over the purse of the nation, instead of their being, as the spirit of the constitution directed, under the constant check of the Treasury."

The Commissioners of inquiry into the Excise establishment stated the charges of the collection of the revenue, and of payment out of such revenue in its progress to the Exchequer, other than charges of collection for the year ending 5th January, 1834, was 4,500,000*l.*, which was obtained by stopping this amount out of the gross revenue, in its progress to the Exchequer; so that this amount of the produce of the taxes is not paid into the Exchequer, contrary to the great principle of the constitution, which requires that the Exchequer should possess the means of securing the legal appropriation of the money levied on the public. If the gross amount of the taxes were paid into the Treasury, and the salaries and other expenditure of the different departments were to be voted in the estimates annually, a very great reduction might be effected. He was aware that this was the Government's great source of patronage, and how they were pressed on every side by their supporters to be quartered on the taxes; but if this country was to maintain her present high position among nations, profuse expenditure must be abandoned, and economy unsparingly applied, so as to relieve the distress of the people, produced by taxation. The right hon. Gentleman complained, that many of the acts of the late Government were stigmatised by her Majesty's present advisers as a wasteful expenditure of the public money. Now he did not hesitate to reiterate that opinion. But in every one of those acts the Gentlemen on the other side supported that Government, and were, therefore, debarred from making any complaint that the Treasury was in its present inadequate condition. If ever there was an Administration pledged by their previous acts, particularly by their rejection of measures which would add to the revenue without increasing taxes, to make good the present deficiencies by retrenchment and economy, and not to add to the debt, it was the present. It was a reflection on the present generation, if, after twenty-five years of peace, we were to add to the permanent debt. He, therefore, felt called on to submit the following amendment:—

> "That, after twenty-five years of peace, it is inexpedient to add to the funded debt the amount of the deficiency of the revenue to meet the expenditure of the present and four preceding years; that such deficiency might, and ought to be made good by the observance of rigid economy and retrenchment in the public expenditure."

The *Chairman* intimated that it would be informal to move such an amendment as that proposed on the resolution of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Williams accordingly withdrew his amendment.

Dr. *Bowring* was glad the hon. Member for Coventry had called the attention of the House to the subject of the great expense incurred in the collection of the revenue. The hon. Gentleman referred to a Parliamentary Return, from which it appeared that a sum of more than 6,000,000*l.* were annually spent in the public offices, without the sanction of Parliament. Until that sum was placed under the control of Parliament, they could have no security for its being properly expended. He hoped the Government would take care to economise to the utmost, and not indulge in any useless or wasteful expenditure.

Colonel *Sibthorp* observed, that for the last ten years, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, never lighted upon this new mode of saving the public money. The reason was obvious—the blow would come home to himself, for the hon. Gentleman had extracted a considerable sum from the pockets of the people of this country before, unfortunately, he could stop him. No doubt the hon. Gentleman, or his Friend near him, looked forward to be Chancellor of the Exchequer one of these days; but God forbid he should see that day. Whatever the personal ambition of the hon. Gentleman opposite was, one thing was quite clear, that during the very short time the present Government held office, every attempt had been made to bully them. But they were too strong in the estimation of the majority of that House and the country, to let these attempts have the least effect on them. Called on, as his friends were, to remedy the misgovernment of ten years, he had implicit confidence in their ability and inclination to do so. He should, therefore, cordially support them against any amendment such as that proposed on the other side.

Mr. *Hawes* said, that the debate took, as he expected it would, a somewhat more enlarged range than the financial statement of the right hon. Gentleman would seem to warrant. He should not attempt to alter the course of the discussion, and should say, for his own part, that he did not believe that the expectations which had been raised on the accession of the right hon. Gentleman to office would be at all realised. He was confirmed in this conviction by a reference to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman and noble Lords who composed the Administration. He should urge, as a strong ground for imputing weakness to the Government, that the different members of it entertained various and conflicting political opinions. Take the question of the Corn-laws—that question which agitated the kingdom from one end to the other, and which involved its prosperity. From a Government holding such opposite opinions as the Members of this did, how could any satisfactory measure be expected on the subject of the Corn-laws? Just examine their speeches. The right hon. Member for Dorchester said, a fixed duty was an impossibility. To the commercial world, looking to that change as the means of curing the present evils of the system, and to a still wider circle, whose comforts and even existence the present state of things affected, the right hon. Gentleman announced, that that which was supported by practical and theoretical writers, was an impossibility. Well, the Master-general of the Ordnance, who held a conspicuous station, said just the the reverse. He announced a small fixed duty as the panacea for our present evils. The noble Lord at the head of the woods and forests—no unimportant Member of the Government—thought the present scale should be altered. But if we looked to the speech of the Duke of Buckingham, he announced his intention of abiding by the law as it was, and that he would sanction no backsliding, no change of opinion. He referred, even since he was raised to his present office in the Cabinet, to the opinions which he had heretofore held as a clue to his conduct for the future. Now, on looking to "*Hansard's Debates*" for 1839, he found that the noble Duke declared the present law was the best, and that he meant to adhere to it. Turn again to the speech of the noble Member for North Lancashire. That noble Lord admitted the effect of the law was to raise the price of food, but he defended it on high grounds of national policy. The noble Lord the Secretary for Ireland, however, made the question a landlords' question, and wished to know why the landowners should not look to their interests as well as any other class. He could not think, after this, that that was just praise bestowed upon the Cabinet by a noble Lord (the Lords belonging to it were numberless), who gave as his reason for joining the Administration, that it was an united Cabinet. It was the boast of the right hon. Member for Tamworth, that he was tied to no opinion on this subject, but was free as the wind in choosing amid all these clashing views. He could adopt all or any of these opinions, and so settle the differences of his Government. He was not aware whether the same unanimity prevailed on other questions. He had reason to think that a change had taken place as to the sentiments of the Cabinet regarding that noxious measure of the noble Lord, which consumed so much of the time of that House last Session, and which created such animosity and heart-burning in the sister kingdom. Now, as to the statement of the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer, nobody asked him to propose his measures on that night, but there were precedents for their meeting in autumn on occasions less important than that which the present state of the country furnished. They met in autumn to settle her Majesty's civil list. When Lord Grey took office, he immediately announced that he intended to bring foward a large and comprehensive measure of reform. He did not wait for five months before he made the country acquainted with what he was about to do. And what forbearance was shown to Earl Grey? Within three hours after he had taken office, he was pressed to disclose the details of his plan of reform. What happened when Mr. Fox was turned out of office upon the question of the India Bill, in November, 1783? Mr. Pitt came into office on the 19th of December; the House was adjourned to only the 9th of January, 1784, and on the 14th of that month Mr. Pitt placed his India Bill upon upon the Table of the House. Why had not the right hon. Member for Tamworth followed that example? He could tell the right hon. Gentleman that the course he was pursuing was calculated to engender distrust in the public mind. The right hon. Gentleman stated the other night, that he was pressed by the financial difficulties which surrounded the Government. The right hon. Gentleman did not enter into any details upon that point, except with respect to some items of colonial expenditure. The explanation offered by the right hon. Baronet on that occasion was by no means satisfactory; but as he understood, from something which had passed that night, that the right hon. Baronet did not intend to cast any imputation upon the expenditure of the Government which he had succeeded, it was not necessary to dwell at any great length upon the subject. But he must say, if it was intended to be maintained that any great financial embarrassments had been created by the late Government, he should like to know where the proofs of it existed. He was not aware that the funds had manifested any peculiar sensibility, or that enterprise has been checked; and, indeed, the ease with which the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer boasted that he had been able to raise money, proved conclusively that there had been no financial embarrassments sufficient to create distrust in the public mind. That there was some little embarrassment he was not disposed to deny, but that very circumstance had engendered a hope that a plan of fiscal reform was about to be adopted—a hope which had been blighted by the right hon. Gentleman's accession to office. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had that night prudently abstained from referring to former debates. On a former occasion, the right hon. Gentleman said that he could easily answer some observations which he made, but he had never yet condescended to do so. He still retained the opinions to which he, upon that occasion, gave expression, and he was ready to meet the right hon. Gentleman upon the point at any time. He must be permitted to say that the budget brought forward by his right hon. Friend, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had been much misrepresented. When his right hon. Friend introduced his budget, he distinctly stated that it was one of two alternatives. He said the House must either adopt the commercial reforms which he proposed by means of which he hoped to be able to raise the necessary amount of revenue, or else have recourse to a mode of taxation which he clearly pointed out. He never stated, however, that he expected to realise at once all the advantages which would eventually result from the commercial reforms; but he distinctly stated that if his plan was not adopted, it would be necessary to have recourse to additional taxation. That was exactly what the right hon. Gentlemen opposite had done on succeeding to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had been obliged to have recourse to the vulgarest of all contrivances which a finance Minister could resort to—that of raising money by loan. For whatever trouble might be taken to disguise the transaction—let them call it by what name they pleased—it was, after all, neither more nor less than a loan. It was not unnatural for those who took the same view of public affairs as he (Mr. Hawes) did, to press upon the right hon, Baronet the necessity of immediately bringing forward some measures which would indicate a sympathy with the distresses of the people. To show how pressing was the necessity to which he referred, he begged to read the following passages from the evidence given by Mr. Deacon Hume before the import duties committee;—

> "Does not every limitation in the importation of food, and every rise in the price of food, tend to undermine the manufactures of the country upon which we depend? I conceive that it must be so, because we place ourselves at the risk of being surpassed by the manufactures in other countries; and as soon as it happens, if ever the day should arrive, that we should be put to a severe trial as to our manufacturing power, I can hardly doubt that the prosperity of this country will recede much faster than it has gone forward.
>
> "Then are we not, by this system, undermining the very means by which public taxation and public revenue are supported?—I think that we not only check the collection of the revenue immediately, but that we are also undermining our resources. I cannot help often looking at the consequences with considerable alarm. I think the country cannot stand such a system as this for a long period."

Again, let the House consider the evidence given by Mr. Gardiner before the hand-loom weavers committee in 1835. He said—

> "We find by experience, that if we lose a market one year, we lose it altogether. It is not wise to trifle with trade by trying experiments for only one year; we might shut ourselves out. Once in possession of a market, they would keep it."

An aged weaver, named Canticull, who gave evidence before the hand-loom weavers commission, said—

> "Distress renders a man hopeless; he becomes desperate, and preys upon society, and careless even of what little honest advantages are in his way, and then comes the last wretchedness. Such a man is not likely to be a good husband, a good father, or a good neighbour, or even a good subject. Can we wonder if, while brooding in forced inactivity over his misfortunes, he listens to the agitators, who tell him they are all owing to bad legislation? When we consider how much evil he really suffers from the Corn-laws, can we wonder that he exaggerates their influence, or that, finding all alteration in them steadily refused, he cherishes wild visions of organic changes?"

The circumstances indicated in these passages now actually existed, and they ought to satisfy the House that this was a state of things which required the application of an immediate remedy. It was upon these grounds he called upon the right hon. Baronet to state what measures he intended to propose. He did not ask for details; he merely wished to know the character of the right hon. Baronet's measures. The House had a right to know whether the Corn-law was to be continued, and whether there was to be any commercial reform at all. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the consumption of sugar had increased, but he was inclined to believe, that when the whole year should be brought under review, it would be found, that comparing it with last year, and taking into consideration the increase of population, it would be found that no increase of consumption had taken place. The House was now called upon to vote five millions of money without any explanation as to the source whence provision was to be made for repayment. It was the most offensive step towards the people ever taken by any Government. The right hon. Gentlemen opposite must be held responsible for whatever results might ensue. By the course they were pursuing, by the indifference which they manifested towards the distresses of the people, they were doing more to encourage the Chartists, and bring about organic changes, than could be effected by any other means. He could assure the right hon. Baronet, that the opinion of the majority in that House was not in conformity with the opinion of the majority out of doors. There was scarcely a man of any party out of doors who did not express disapprobotion of the course which the right hon. Baronet was pursuing. It really appeared as if the Tories had had no other object in view but to obtain possession of office. He certainly understood from what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, that his mind was familiar with the question of the Corn-laws, and the other important questions at issue. Why, then, was the country to wait for six months before his decision was announced? The right hon. Baronet had recently made a declaration, from which it might be inferred, that he was prepared to take a large and comprehensive view of the Corn-law question, and to propose a change of the existing system. The right hon. Baronet said—

> "Was there any alternative, if the Corn-laws were to be considered at all—was there any other alternative than that of fully stating the measure of the Government? And was it not infinitely better that nothing should be said till the plan was maturely prepared, ready for the consideration of Parliament? What advantage would there be in merely hinting at details, and then postponing consideration of them? It is impossible to deny that we are familiar with the subjects of finance, Corn-laws, and the Poor-laws."

He wished to know whether the right hon. Baronet really intended to propose an extensive change of the Corn-laws. If he did, he would have some ground for calling upon the House to give him time to perfect his plan. He ought to declare what his intention was, one way or the other; the information, in either case, would be useful to the public. In conclusion, he protested against the course which the right hon. Baronet was pursuing. He would, on the present occasion, content himself with saying "No" to the motion before the committee, because every one knew what the result of a division would be.

Mr. *Ewart* said, that whatever might be inferred from the elections to be the voice of the constituency, the voice of the country, or of that part of the country which complained, should be heard; and it was his duty, as it had been that of his hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth, to claim this right on behalf of trade and manufactures. ["*Hear,*" *from Sir R. Peel.*] The two points of the question really were these; first, whether a remedy for the alleged distress ought to be adopted soon; and, next, what should be the nature of that remedy. That the remedy ought not to be long delayed, might, he thought, be inferred from the admission made by both sides, that great distress existed in the country. At this moment, that argument acquired additional force. He held in his hand a statement showing, up to the 24th instant, the number of mills which were closed, or only partially worked, in several of the principal of our great manufacturing districts, at that time. From this document, it appeared that there were seventeen mills entirely closed in Manchester, seventeen in Stockport, seven in Bolton, four in Bury, six in Oldham, eight in Staleybridge and its neighbourhood, three in Rochdale, and eleven others in different parts of that manufacturing district. [*Sir Robert Peel.* How many altogether?] Mr. Ewart said about seventy, and offered to give the document to the right hon. Baronet. Of mills partially worked, there were ten at Manchester, four at Bury, twenty-four at Stockport, six at Bolton, and five at Wigan. The distress would soon be augmented. At present the manufacturers were engaged in finishing their orders for certain parts of the Continent, principally Russia; but by the 10th or 15th of next month, according to the usual course of commerce, the demand from these quarters would cease, and the periodical flow of trade might, under ordinary circumstances, be expected to come in from the markets of India and China. In the present disturbed state of our relations with China, however, it was hopeless to expect any considerable vent for manufactures there, and, therefore, it might be anticipated that the already great distress prevailing in the manufacturing districts would not be diminished, and might be considerably augmented. An early remedy, he thought, therefore, was required. And now, in the next place, what should be the nature of that remedy? He was not one of those who attributed the existing distress to any single cause. It was in his opinion, *charlatanerie* to do so. Facility of discount, and the state of our trade with America, had some share in producing it, but the great evil which, to adopt a phrase of the geologists, underlay them all, was the want of returns for our manufactures, in other words, the want of free trade. As regarded the sugar question, could there be a more favourable time for settling it than now, when the termination of our treaty with Brazil must come under consideration? He admitted that the price of sugar had considerably fallen. But he maintained, in the first place, that it ought to still further; say to 6*d.* per lb. And, granting, that it should do so, the question ought to be settled as a mere matter of trade; independent of the price of sugar; and for the sake of promoting a steady ininterchange of commodities between this country and Brazil. The article of coffee, also, ought to be relieved from the enormous duty which was placed upon it. The habits of the people of this country had, owing to the establishment of temperance societies and the spread of education, undergone a great change, and in consequence, the consumption of coffee had a great tendency to increase. It would be the policy of the Government to develope this tendency by reducing the duty on coffee, the more particularly as more sugar was used with coffee than with tea. [“ *No,*” *from the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*] Mr. Ewart replied, that he had great authority in the coffee trade in favor of his position. He (Mr. Ewart) based his principal argument in favour of a repeal of the Corn-law also on the general policy of encouraging returns for your manufactures. But he could not possibly omit this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, for the essential service he had rendered the Anti-Corn-law league in the memorable debate which had taken place between him and Mr. Brooks on the husting at Lancaster the other day. On that remarkable occasion, the noble Lord had made three admissions, which would never be forgotten;—First, that bread was dearer here than in other countries; secondly, that the effect of its dearness was to raise rents; lastly, that the high price of corn did not raise wages, but that employment did. This was the very burthen of the song of the Anti-Corn-law league; he (Mr. Ewart) rejoiced to hear it echoed by the noble Lord from the hustings at Lancaster. After that it might be expected that the noble Lord would go further, and become an unconditional convert to the doctrines of free trade. He (Mr. Ewart) further maintained that all the Committees of the House of Commons bearing upon trade, had shown that the real remedy for our sufferings was the one he had described. In 1833, the Committee on trade and manufactures (though the country was then in a state of the highest prosperity) stated, that the only way to secure permanent prosperity was the extension of the exchanges and the emancipation of trade. The timbe duties committee, the Import duties committee had come to the same conclusion. He must say with the greatest courtesy to the right hon. Baronet opposite, that he seemed to want that force of character which boldly announced its principles of action; the right hon. Baronet always seemed to wait his time and not to announce his principles beforehand; he waited for circumstances instead of guiding them; nor could it be said of him,

> “ Mihi res, non me rebus, subjungere conor.”

It seldom happened that great force of character was combined with great talents; or that the intellect of the right hon. Baronet was combined with the strength of will of the Duke of Wellington. But such vacillation might be fatal. The discordant elements of the right hon. Baronet's Government had a tendency to fall asunder, it would require more than ordinary power to induce its disjointed atoms to unite and coalesce. It might have been the fate of other Governments to totter at their fall; of this disunited Cabinet it may be said hereafter, that it tottered at its formation.

Mr. *Robert Scott* had been entrusted with two petitions from Walsall, the borough which he represented stating, in the strongest terms, the distress which prevailed in that town, and praying that Parliament would not seperate without devising some remedial measures. Under these circumstances he protested against the question of the Corn-laws being excluded from the budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a question of vital importance as affecting the interests of the country. Whether or not the Chancellor of the Exchequer succeeded in raising a revenue sufficient for the expenditure, still would the Corn-laws remain to be considered for the interest of trade and commerce. The state of the country as admitted on all hands, was deplorable, trade was every day becoming worse and worse, hundreds were thrown out of employment, and if this state of things should continue through the winter it would be impossible to foresee the result or calculate on the consequences to the country. He hoped he was not trespassing too long upon the House, but he could not but request the right hon. Baronet to give his most speedy and earnest consideration to the distresses of the country.

Sir *R. Peel*—Sir, I hope the hon. Gentleman the Member for Lambeth, and the hon. Member who followed him, as well as the hon. Gentlemen who spoke last will not think that it is from any disrespect to them that I repeat my expressed determination to adhere to the course I have already laid down on the subject under debate, that is to say in my determination of not making any statement of my intentions on the subject of permanent legislation during the present Session of Parliament. For, Sir, I think it is more consistent with the duty which her Majesty's Government owes to Parliament and to the country, to consider calmly the state of affairs in all their bearings, and to make use of all the information which their position enables them to command, before they submit their measures to the opinion of Parliament, than that I should bring them forward, in a crude hasty form now, or to use the expression of the right hon. Gentleman, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, that if I did not give the country a full view of my plans, I should at least give it a glimpse of them. On that point, Sir, I must again repeat my intention to adhere to my determination, as I expressed it the other night; and I must add that I think the country would be less benefited than injured by such partial glimpses, as the right hon. Gentleman wishes for. This course I consider more calculated to mislead the country than to set it right; and I should disappoint the right hon. Gentleman's view of my character, in the panegyric he was pleased to bestow on me if I departed from the course that I have laid down for myself on this occasion. The right hon. Gentleman has been pleased to say that force of character and reserve, such as he has described me to possess, are seldom found combined in an individual. I am much mistaken in my estimate of myself if I deserve the right hon. Gentleman's panegyric, but he has one consolation at least, if it be true, and that is that if they be found not combined in an individual, they will be found combined in my Government. Sir, in the course of this debate the late Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to state that I was chargeable with a want of consistency in my conduct now and when I was in opposition to the Government. To that I will only reply that it would imply very great inconsistency indeed on my part if I brought forward now a charge of wanton and profligate expenditure against her Majesty's late Government, while I offered no opposition to their measures on those points when on the other side of the House. But I think that the character of a Government depends in a great measure on the nature and amount of its expenditure—on the foreign policy which they follow—and on the general measures they adopt, and I think it was quite impossible for the Opposition to exercise any complete control over the expenditure of the country after such measures were adopted by the Government. I shall exemplify this by putting a case in point. I shall take the case of China, for instance, as one of the most pregnant and apposite to my purpose. The late Government had adopted a certain course of policy with respect to that country—and the expenditure that may be necessary for the carrying out of that policy cannot be now foreseen. The present Government, formed after the adoption of that system of policy, and bound by the circumstances of the case to carry it out, cannot, therefore, be charged with the expenditure that may be required. But it is quite consistent in an Opposition to question the policy of the Government, as well as the question of expenditure in its details. On that, or any other measure, Sir, I always find assistance in the quarter where I have least reason to expect it; and I have found it now on the other side of the House. The hon. Member for Coventry has contrasted the estimates laid before this House in 1830, when my noble Friend the Duke of Wellington was at the head of affairs, with the estimates of this year as prepared by the late Government; and the hon. Gentleman has showed, I think very clearly, that the estimates of the Duke of Wellington's Government, making every deduction for the unsettled state of Canada, and the expedition to China, exhibit a difference of 2,300,000*l.* in favour of the country, as compared with those of her Majesty's late Government for the present year. Now, Sir, it is very possible that the estimates lately presented by hon. Gentlemen opposite, might be justified, on due explanation; but I certainly think that, on his own showing, the hon. Gentleman has no grounds for withholding his confidence on this point from her Majesty's present Government, or expressing a doubt as to their economical intentions. [Mr. *Williams*—I expressed no opinion on the subject.] I do not care so much, Sir, for the hon. Gentleman's expression of opinion as I do for the decided proof he gave in this instance of his conviction what that opinion ought to be. Sir, I did not expect so much candour on the part of the hon. Gentleman, as to find him state his confidence in the Govrnment, and I am not, therefore, disappointed; but I thank him, nevertheless, for offering such very strong and decided proofs as he offered in the course of his speech, that such confidence should be placed in her Majesty's Government. The hon. Gentleman then went on to say that a reduction of five millions could be made in the expenditure of the country. If so, the hon. Gentleman cannot deny that men entrusted with the functions of the Government should have a sufficient opportunity of considering how close, or whether at all, the hon. Gentleman's statement approximates to the truth. The hon. Gentleman says that five millions might be saved to the country; he cannot, therefore, object to our having time and opportunity to ascertain whether he is right in whole or in part—whether he is right even within fifty per cent. of that sum, for that amount would make up the deficiency at present existing. Sir, I agree, however, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it is quite delusive to hold out to the country the hope of any such reduction. And all I can promise is that what they deem right in respect of it her Majesty's Ministers will attempt to do —that they will give the most careful consideration to all the estimates of late years —and that whatever reductions can be made compatable with the efficiency of the public service and consistent with the honour and interests of the country they will make. But it is altogether delusive to make promises off-hand of any positive reduction, and it is not to be thought of that such reduction should be attempted without the fullest previous consideration. To hold out the expectation to the public that any reduction to the amount of the present deficiency is practicable, would be to excite hopes that can never be realised. The hon. Gentleman rests very much upon the reduction he suggests in the expense of collecting the revenue of the country; and he institutes a comparison between the present cost of collection and that for a former period—a comparison apparently very much to the disadvantage of the latter. But, Sir, when this subject is looked at a little more closely there will be found no such discrepancy as the hon. Gentleman asserts, and it will be seen that their is little or no analogy between the cases quoted. Formerly the officers employed in the collection of the revenue were paid principally by fees. That mode, however, pressing onerously on trade, the present system of salaries was substituted, and fees were in all cases abolished. The officers are now paid by saaries alone; and though the expense to the country at large has been somewhat increased in consequence of the alteration, I will venture to say that trade and commerce have been more than commensurately benefited. With respect to the course I mean to pursue, I cannot expect that it will meet with the approbation of the hon. Gentlemen opposite; but I cannot believe that it meets with such universal condemnation as they have stated. Nor can I think so ill of the Reformed House of Commons, as that it does not represent public opinion, and if the hon. Gentlemen were correct, they would be more ready to take a division upon the subject. I cannot help coming, therefore, to the conclusion, that if the country at large were opposed to my view of affairs, there would be many more indications of that opposition than there have been. I only ask one favour of the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Walsall. I entreat him now to recollect at some future period, his description of the state of the country when we came into office. He says,

> "That from week to week and from day to day there has been a gradual and decided depression in trade—that the workpeople cannot exist because the masters cannot afford to employ them—that debts cannot be recovered or payments made for want of means to meet them—and he draws a piteous picture of the stagnation of all kinds of trade, and the universal and complete prostration of business."

I beg the House to recollect this description against some future period. Sir, in those districts of the country connected with that most important branch of our national industry, the cotton manufacture, I have often had to admit the existence of occasional distress—and in doing so, I deeply lamented the fact, while I expressed a firm conviction that it was but temporary. But, Sir, I must take leave to caution hon. Gentlemen against the too frequent custom of giving exaggerated descriptions of that distress, because, while it is a departure from the fact, it is a circumstance also calculated to inflame the minds of the people and excite them against all Government. And Sir, I think it is important, in all cases of statements made to the House that the truth should be told as that the case should be stated. In respect, therefore, to such statements this, Sir, is the course I mean to pursue. When I hear of any case of individual distress—when the facts are given, and not a general statement—I am resolved to institute thereupon an immediate inquiry into all the circumstances. And I shall avail myself for that purpose of the power placed officially at the disposal of the Government, to probe the case to the bottom. If vague, general descriptions of distress be only offered it will, of course, be imposible to make any inquiry of the kind; but wherever there is a case stated with accompanying facts, into that shall inquiry be at once instituted. And I am sure you cannot better show your good will for the Poor-law commission, or their subordinate agents, than to make them the instruments of such inquiry. But the necessity of caution in making these statements of distress is strongly enforced by every circumstance that comes to my knowledge. One for instance, I shall relate to the House in exemplification of that necessity. In the course of a debate the other night (Friday, 17th instant), the hon. Member for Ashton not only made a broad statement of the general distress of the manufacturing community, in the district in which he resides, but he also made a particular mention of the distress of an individual. These are his words. He stated that—

"He (Mr. Hindley) had lately met with an individual, a working man, who had been obliged to go from master to master in consequence of the introduction of improvements in machinery. He had been last with a master who failed, and he was at present in consequence, thrown out of all employment. He (Mr. Hindley) said, he was afraid that under these circumstances he must go upon the parish. The man answered to the parish he had gone. He went to the parish of Royton, near Oldham where he received from the overseer 1*s*. 6*d*. a-week, to support a family of five persons, Was this right? Tell him not of party politics, he cared not what party was in power provided they consulted the food of the people. But what were the people to expect? The right hon. Baronet told them that he should bring in a bill, yet that he would prevent these poor men from appealing from the merciless parsimony (he must call it so) of the overseer to the magistrates, or in any other quarter; that he must put up with this pittance, or go to a bastile. Before he sat down he must tell the right hon. Gentleman that the great body of the people whom he represented were full of apprehension for the future and of suffering at present, and he implored the right hon. Baronet to take these matters into his deepest consideration."

Now, Sir, in the course of this day I received the following letter in reply to the statement of the hon. Member, and as I have read the one, I will, if you please, read the other—

"Oldham, Sept. 21, 1841."

"Right hon. Sir—At the petty Sessions, in Oldham, yesterday, I called the attention of the overseer of Royton to the enclosed statement in the *Times* newspaper, which after reading in the presence of myself and two other magistrates, he pronounced to be absolutely untrue. He also added that the *Standard* had been handed to him a day or two before, which contained a similar account, and that he had written to Mr. Hindley on the subject on Wednesday. I may say that I am in constant communication with overseers, having the charge of something like a population of 30,000 in the two counties of Lancaster and York, and can state that no similar circumstance has come under my knowledge."

Now, Sir, here is a case of distress particularly stated—a case of a man with five in family, supporting himself and them on only 1*s*. 6*d*. a week, not only wholly denied, but, in addition, it is asserted that no such occurrence has taken place, not alone in the neighbourhood, but in the district in question. The House will, therefore, come to the conclusion, I am sure, that when such statements are not borne out by irrefragable facts it would be far better to forbear from making them, and much wiser to avoid exciting by such means the feelings of an irritated people, unless, indeed, hon. Members be fully satisfied of their entire truth. I can sympathise with the patience of our people under no ordinary distress, and I can admire their fortitude and forbearance under severe suffering; they confer honour on them and upon our national character, but this should only make us the more cautious that we do not aggravate that suffering by superadding to it dissatisfaction, which must be the inevitable result of making statements of this description not founded on fact.

Viscount *Palmerston* did not rise for the purpose of making any particular objection to the measures that had been proposed that evening to the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; as the Government have determined not to increase the revenue by removing the fetters which now cramp the industry of the country, he was ready to admit that the course which the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to pursue was much better than adding to the amount of taxation. The electors of the United Kingdom had returned to that House a majority, who placing their confidence in the Gentlemen opposite had resolved to transfer the Government to their hands. But if the opinion of the majority of that House was really the opinion of the country, and if the country had therefore now obtained a Ministry to its mind, he hoped that the people would at least recollect that they were now about to pay two millions and a half for that gratification. The price which was to be paid for the gratification of having the hon. Gentlemen opposite in power and for having no relaxation of our commercial system, was an addition of two millions and a-half to the permanent debt of the country. He wished that the people might not find the hon. Gentlemen somewhat too dear at the money. However, he was perfectly prepared, along with his right hon. Friends, to concur in the course now proposed to be taken by her Majesty's Ministers, as being, under the circumstances the least of the evils from which they had chosen to make a selection. But having stated that, he must repeat that he could not but express his entire disapprobation of the general course which her Majesty's Ministers seemed determined to take. It was perfectly true that it would be unreasonable to expect that they should come down at that time and state in detail the system of increased taxation which they might intend to propose for the ensuing year in order to make the expenditure and revenue equal. He did not indeed suppose that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though it had slipped from his lips in the course of what he said, could hope to be able in the course of the next year to devise any plan by which the revenue and expenditure of the country could be permanently equalized. If, indeed, the country had at last got a Ministry which was able to equalize the public revenue and expenditure permanently for all time to come, and who were men of such foresight and sagacity as to be able to prophesy events and to anticipate all the circumstances which might have an influence, either remote or direct, upon that revenue and expenditure; and the country would have reason to congratulate itself upon the change. But, in the absence of such qualifications, he admitted that it would be unreasonable to call upon them now to make a minute statement of their plan, even assuming that they had made up their minds as to the precise course they intended to pursue. Undoubtedly, if her Majesty's Ministers had come to a determination upon that subject, one question which had been asked by every Member of the House might be answered. The House had a right to ask this question—not what were the details of the measures they intended to propose, but whether they intended to make up the deficiency in the public finances by proposing any fresh taxes, or by the measures which were proposed by the late Administration for relaxing the commercial system of the country, for increasing the consumption of articles which would add to the comforts of the people, and for giving fresh scope to the manufacturers and trade of the country? Upon that principle it was, that he complained of the delay of her Majesty's Ministers. They had turned out the late Government upon those very questions, and without any necessity. Yes, certainly, without any necessity, because the same majority which rejected the propositions of the late Government in order to turn that Government out, might just as well have accomplished their purpose by a vote of no confidence. Why they did so at last; and therefore, unless they had made up their minds not only against the commercial principles of the late Government, but as to the principles on a system which they themselves preferred, he thought they ought not to have joined issue on the commercial propositions of the late Government, but ought to have adopted the other course of proceeding. The conclusion he came to upon this point was, then, that the party which opposed the late Administration could not have gone to a division without having made up their minds, not only as to their disapprobation of the principles of his party, but as to the system which they themselves intended to propose; and considering the time which had now elapsed since the change of Ministry, and the knowledge which the Government possessed as to the elements at least upon which their plans must be founded, they had no excuse for not stating fairly to the country whether they still adhered to the doctrines which they laid down in the debate on the sugar duties, and intended to make up the deficiency, whatever it might be, by fresh taxation, or whether they meant to propose relaxation in our commercial code. They ought to state now, which of those courses they meant to pursue at the next meeting of Parliament. He thought the country had a right to know what Ministers intended to do to make up the deficiency in the public revenue. That there would be a deficiency was indeed admitted by them as a certainty, because the right hon. Baronet had freely acknowledged, that whatever reductions they might be able to make, those reductions would not go to the extent of equalizing the expenditure and revenue of the country; and when the House was told that the present state of the deficiency arose from the misconduct of the late Administration, he begged to remind the House that in two of the great departments of public expense, the army and navy, the late Government were, year after year, urged by the other party to increase, instead of diminishing, the expenditure. If, therefore, any charge was to be made by the present Ministers against the late Government, it was that they were too slow in placing those two great and expensive establishments of the country on the footing on which the other party thought they should be placed. But in those two great branches of expenditure he did not believe that the present Government could make any considerable reduction. With regard to the army, no augmentation had been made, except the small one rendered necessary by the state of affairs in Canada, and that augmentation was still required; and with regard to the navy the augmentation was made on general grounds, and was not large in amount. There was one thing however which he would venture to impress on the Government, though he trusted it was unnecessary for him to do so; but after certain reports which he had seen, he could not refrain from doing so, and that was that if her Majesty's Government should think it consistent with the public interest to make any reduction in the navy, he trusted they would not make it as the condition of any previous concert with any foreign power whatever, but would determine upon it on considerations connected with the public service and interests of this country alone; because, nothing could be so injurious to the welfare of this country as the making the amount of our naval force depend upon an agreement with the government of any other nation whatever. Upon the question as to what line of commercial policy the Government should adopt, he thought they should openly state their intentions. With respect to the Corn-laws, that necessity was the greater, because it was a question—which all men whatever they might think of it, and whether they were for the present system or for the most unlimited trade in corn—must admit not only deeply affects the interests of the country, but acts in a very extraordinary degree upon the feelings of the whole community. The public were quite in the dark, however, as to the intentions of her Majesty's Ministers, on this subject except in so far as they might be guessed at by what had been mentioned by his hon. Friend, the Member for Renfrew, in the course of the evening, as having been uttered by different Members of the Government upon various occasions when the subject was alluded to. It was clear, then, that the Cabinet was divided upon this question. Why, it was not attempted to be concealed; it could not be concealed. That being the case, he admitted that it would be but fair to give the Cabinet time to come to an agreement. He was prepared to say, that the public ought to wait a decent time, to enable her Majesty's Ministers to come to some proper understanding among themselves on these matters. But there ought to be a limit to such a period. The question should not be put off so that the decision of the Cabinet upon it, should become a subject for Christmas riddles. A reasonable pause might be allowed—a space of time sufficient for the convenience of the Government, without being detrimental to the public service; and if the present Session should be put an end to without some definitive announcement being made, Parliament ought to be re-assembled in October or November, and be made acquainted with the intentions of Government. At all events the winter ought not to pass away leaving the country in a state of uncertainty on this great question, with all the risk of those mischiefs and miseries which might happen in the interval. One of the chief duties of Government was to attend to the interests of the people, but it was no less their duty to regard their feelings. The Gentlemen opposite said, that the distress of the country was greatly exaggerated, and affirm that the petitions which were sent up from public meetings of her Majesty's subjects, praying for an immediate alteration in the system of the Corn-laws, or that Parliament would not separate without the adoption of measures to alleviate the distresses of the people, were not of that vast importance which was ascribed to them but still, it could not be denied by anybody that great distress did exist, and that that distress was ascribed to the Corn-laws by those who felt it. Yet, whether or not the distress had been exaggerated, the Government ought not to postpone until the beginning or the middle of February next, their announcement to the public of their intention upon that great question. He knew that the right hon. Baronet had always made it his duty to consult the feelings of the people, whenever he had been in the exercise of power; and, therefore, until he saw Parliament actually prorogued without any declaration of an opinion now, or any announcement of an intention speedily to call Parliament together again, he should not believe that the Government, of which the right hon. Baronet was the head, could prorogue Parliament from the 1st of October, to the middle of the following February, leaving the country in a feverish state of anxiety about their intentions, upon so all-absorbing a question as that of the Corn-laws, and taking upon themselves all the responsibility which necessarily must devolve upon them if anything unpleasant should happen during the interval of suspense. Therefore, without offering the slightest opposition to the present proposition of her Majesty's Government, or presuming to urge any unreasonable demand, he must say, that he trusted the right hon. Baronet would use all that power which he possessed, and all those means of persuasion, which his talents and attainments would enable him to employ, in order to bring the Cabinet to some decision one way or the other in the course of the present autumn. Should the Government decide that they would stand by the Corn-laws as they were, let the country know it. At all events, let the agriculturists have the consolation of being informed, that they had made up their minds to that effect. If, on the other hand, her Majesty's Ministers found that they could reconcile their minds to some considerable alteration in the present system, then let those who were interested as consumers have the satisfaction of knowing that such a course was to be pursued. If such a change would seriously affect landlords—though he thought that never before had such a delusion entered the minds of men as the notion, that the present Corn-laws were of any real benefit to the landlords—let them know that such a change was contemplated. But the present uncertainty was inconvenient and injurious to all parties connected with transactions whether in corn, in land, or in commerce. In conclusion, he expressed his confidence —and it was the only thing in respect to which he had any confidence in the hon. Gentlemen opposite, that when the time for the prorogation of Parliament came, they would not be able to make up their minds to send the Members of that House to the right about until February next, without previously pledging themselves—for in a matter of this pressing nature, private and personal convenience should not be considered—to call Parliament together in the beginning of November, to unfold their plans and propose those measures which the exigencies of the country peremptorily demanded.

Mr. *Fielden* was understood to say, that the distress of the manufacturing population in his neighbourhood, and other manufacturing districts was so great, that they could not get bread to eat; they were begging about the streets in crowds, and unable to get relief from the Unions sufficient to alleviate their wants. As a general justification of what had been stated by the hon. Member for Ashton-under-line, he would remind the right hon. Baronet, that the hon. Member had presented a petition from the inhabitants, complaining of the increase of local taxation, and showing that the county rates, which in the year 1836 amounted only to 70*l*., exceeded in the year 1841 the sum of 500*l*. So severe was the distress in Lancashire, that it was found impossible to raise sufficient means in the locality to support the poor, much less to pay the increased expense of a rural police, which, in some instances, as the right hon. Baronet knew, had been rejected by large majorities of the magistracy. Were it not for the mill-owners and manufacturers, the distress of the people would be even greater than it was; but out of sympathy for their workmen, they gave them partial employment to keep them from starving. That was the case with regard to his own firm; they employed their men four hours a day, only to enable them to obtain food, and, as it might be easily inferred from the duration of the time of labour, not for any profit to themselves. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Baronet, while he said he would make inquiries into the nature and extent of the distress amongst the people, would give an assurance that in all cases where distress was found to exist, relief should also be given. If the right hon. Baronet would do so, he would not complain of the right hon. Baronet's taking time to prepare and bring forward his measures. But if that were neglected, if the people were suffered to starve in thousands, as they were starving in Lancashire, he was afraid that they would not get through the winter without disturbances. It was the duty of those in power to make inquiry into the cause of the distress, but if the right hon. Baronet would see that at the same time relief should be afforded wherever it was necessary, whether from the public purse, or from special contributions, or in any way he could devise, so that the poor people should have bread sufficient to maintain them during the time they could get no work, then he, for one, would very willingly give the right hon. Baronet all the time that he required.

Mr. *C. Wood* corroborated the statements of the hon. Member for Oldham, that throughout the manufacturing districts generally, many of the mills were working short time, and that many of the mill-owners were working even that time almost as much, if not more, on account of the consideration they felt for the people in their employ, than for any profit they made. These persons, one and all, looked upon some measure, such as that proposed by the late Government, as the only means of amending the state of their trade; and, indeed, of enabling them to carry it on at all. He, however, had arisen more particularly for the purpose of obtaining some information from the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He concurred with the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the right hon. Gentleman had made the whole matter less clear than it was before. The right hon. Gentleman could not say up to March next, whether he would or not raise money by subscription according to the terms offered to the public, because it was impossible to say whether he could get money on Exchequer Bills. The right hon. Gentleman had moved the Ways and Means in the most bald and unsatisfactory manner he had ever heard. True the right hon. Gentleman had adopted the statement of his right hon. Friend, but it would have been satisfactory to the House to know what interpretation the right hon. Gentleman had put upon that proposal. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had anticipated 22,000,000*l.* from the customs' duties, exclusive of the revenue arising from the sugar duties, and exclusive of all revenue from corn. [*No, no.*] The statement of his right hon. Friend was, that he anticipated 22,000,000*l.*, exclusive of the additional revenue from sugar, and exclusive of any revenue whatever from corn. He was aware that right hon. Gentlemen on the other side had not made up their minds whether 1,600,000*l.*, or 400,000*l*, or 900,000*l.* were the sums anticipated by his right hon. Friend, but that was not the fault of his right hon. Friend. Now he wished to know what revenue the right hon. Gentleman anticipated would be produced by corn out of that amount, and also what additional revenue the right hon. Gentleman expected from sugar. Last year, when 700,000*l.* was anticipated as the sum to be gained from the increased quantity imported, the right hon. Gentleman admitted that was correct—that that revenue would be derived, not from the admission of foreign, but of colonial and East Indian sugar, the arrival of which had been already announced. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman opposite was, "let well alone; without a modification of the duties you will get your money;" and his statement was based upon this position, that if the consumption of sugar was to increase, the additional quantity of the article entered for home consumption would, at a 24*s.* duty, amount to about 950,000*l.*, and that the calculation of 700,000*l.* was hollow. But the right hon. First Lord of the Treasury had stated, that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer would never have got that amount from sugar. Now he (Mr. Wood) wished to know whether the House was to take the calculation of the First Lord, or of the right hon. Gentleman. An hon. Friend on that (the Opposition) side of the House had shown reason for supposing that the Cabinet were not very united, and their opposite statements seemed to warrant such an opinion. It would be satisfactory if the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer would state to the House what amount of revenue he reckoned upon from sugar beyond last year, and also what amount from corn. Beyond this, he would only say, he had never taken part in the pressure upon the right hon. Gentleman to come forward with his system of taxation at the present moment, still less to make an immediate declaration what future course he would adopt. He could easily conceive reasons that rendered the present course adopted by the right hon. Gentleman the more expedient, but, at the same time, he should not be doing his duty to the right hon. Gentleman, or be representing the opinions of his constituents, if he did not say, that the course adopted by the right hon. Gentleman was not one that would give general satisfaction, and he did not think, that the arguments urged in favour of that course, were such as to have that degree of weight with the country which the right hon. Gentlemen opposite were inclined to suppose. He was willing to admit, that if, upon accidental circumstances, or if in a sudden and unforeseen manner, power had been placed in the hands of Gentlemen opposite, they might have reasonably asked for time to see what measures they could propose. But when they took the ground they had done as the means of turning out one Ministry and substituting another—when the deficiency in the revenue had been well known — when the budget had been brought forward before the expiration of the first month of the financial year, he did not think, they could plead want of information or want of time. He perfectly agreed with what had been said, as to attributing all the distress that existed to any one cause—to the Corn-law, to the over-trading in 1836, or to any other single cause—but let that distress proceed from what cause it might, whether the Corn-laws, or over-trading, every one said, that it could only be remedied by the extension of our trade, and in the present state of our relations, that extension could not be expected, except by relaxation of commercial restriction. No one had proposed any other remedy than that, and no information collected from Poor-law commissioners, or any other source, could bring a Government to any other conclusion, than that to the extension of trade we must look for the means of ameliorating the condition of the people. But the right hon. Gentleman had said, that he believed the country were satisfied with his conduct; that he had before stated he meant to propose a vote of credit, and that course was acceptable to the country. He doubted the accuracy of that impression upon the mind of the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Baronet had certainly made that statement to the House, but he doubted whether the impression made by that statement had extended throughout the country. He spoke from experience in the manufacturing districts, and he thought, the right hon. Baronet's course would cause some surprise there. Nor was it unnatural it should; for if there was any one course which the right hon. Gentleman had opposed more strongly than another, it was the very course proposed for the present year—raising a loan to meet the deficiency. It now appeared that the right hon. Baronet had last year resisted the budget proposed by the late Government, in order to do that himself which he deprecated at the time. If there was any one course which the country had a right to expect would not be taken by the present Government, it was that of raising a loan to provide the ways and means for the year. The Government, it must be admitted, had received great support from the country; they stood at the head of a majority larger, perhaps, than any one had anticipated. But they had received that support upon widely different grounds; and without attributing undue concealment of opinions to any hon. Gentlemen composing the Government, it was impossible but they must admit that the support they had received from one class was based upon widely different principles to the support they had received from another class. The agriculturists had supported them under the impression that they thereby secured the maintenance of the existing corn-laws, or something like it. No one could doubt that; but no one could pretend to say that the support the right hon. Gentleman had received in the manufacturing districts was given to him under the impression that he was unalterably attached to the present system of corn-laws. It had been said in another place, that the verdict of the country had been not against the measures, but the men; that the country doubted the power of those men to carry the measures they proposed, and supposed that by placing the right hon. Gentleman in power more would be gained than from those whose good will was not distrusted but whose power was questioned. So far, therefore, from supporting the right hon. Baronet because it was believed he would do nothing, and would allow another year to elapse without taking measures to relieve the distress of the country, he believed that more would be done by the right hon. Gentleman than by the late Government, and therefore the country had supported him. He would briefly allude to an argument that had been advanced in favour of the present system, grounded upon the importation of foreign corn during the present week at a low duty. That that should prove the advantage of the corn-law, he confessed, appeared to him the greatest fallacy he had ever heard. It was true that throughout the last week one shilling was the duty paid upon foreign corn, but he should like to know how long that was likely to last? No one could attach the least weight to an argument grounded upon a fact that must vary from week to week. In his opinion, if anything could demonstrate more clearly than another the fallacy upon which the Corn-laws were grounded, it was those very occurrences of last week. For months foreign corn had been excluded, and, meantime, we had had a population half employed, with inadequate means of providing the necessaries of life, debarred from the purchase of corn, because the foreign commodity was not admitted, and England had not sufficient corn to furnish them with. Then comes the harvest, and the operation of that favoured sliding scale was, that the moment the English farmer was able to supply the wants of the population, an importation of foreign corn took place to the amount of a million and a half of quarters. To the consumer, the evil of the sliding scale could not be more completely demonstrated; instead of producing steadiness of price, the effect was the reverse. It raised the price when the price was already too high, and it lowered the profit of the producer when the harvest enabled him to supply the demand. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had, themselves, overthrown one of the last fallacies by which the Corn-laws had been upheld. From 1836 up to this time the price of corn had been gradually rising, whilst wages had gradually lowered, and the Corn-laws just produced this effect, that without increasing the means of the labourer, they augmented his difficulties in maintaining his family. The real difficulty in the way of any financial measure was the Corn-law. It was on account of the Corn-law, after all, that the budget of last year had been resisted. The question of the sugar duties was secondary, and the timber duties were not even discussed. Gentlemen, indeed, had come forward to resist interference with one protecting duty, lest another should be touched, and one hon. Member had said, "I must defend your monopoly, for, if not, I cannot defend my own." He believed that measures of the kind proposed by the late Ministers were indispensable, and that whatever party administered the finance of the country must have recourse to them. He felt confident that the right hon. Baronet would propose some such measures, but it was impossible not to see the formidable difficulties with which any Government proposing them would be surrounded. It might require all the time between this and February to win over their supporters to such a course, and throw aside those who resolutely opposed it. He trusted the time would come when the consideration of topics like this would be divested of all party feeling and considerations, and not be made questions of turning out this or that Government; and that when party motives should have died away, the landed gentlemen would turn a favourable ear to the arguments that had been urged upon them. No accusation was more unjust than that the landed proprietors were wanting in feeling for the sufferings of the population. They had been deluded by such fallacies as that steadiness of price was produced by the sliding scale, and they had been made to believe that this country should be independent of foreign supply, when she had imported a million and a half of quarters of foreign corn per annum, ever since the Corn-laws had been in operation, and when, with an increased population, there were no increased means of supporting it. The landed gentlemen would bind the country to them by placing their interests and those of the people on one common footing—for he believed, in reality, there was no separation of interests. If that should be accomplished by the power and authority of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the greatest blessing would be conferred upon the country that had been bestowed upon it for years, and he would be the last to interpose any difficulty in the way of obtaining time or delay for the accomplishment of so great an object.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to answer a question put to him by the right hon. Member opposite (Mr. Baring), in consequence of a misunderstanding of what he had stated. When the Budget was brought forward by the right hon. Member for Portsmouth last year, the right hon. Gentleman distinctly said, that he included in his estimates the whole of the probable revenue from corn. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to mean, in reference to his statement of the amount of the customs, not that he could tell the exact produce of the various items but that he had formed his opinion as to the total result on the usual probabilities. With respect to corn—and this principle was admitted in every discussion on the subject, what the revenue gained by corn was abstracted from the produce of other items, and that what the revenue lost by corn was gained by an increase upon other articles. On these principles his calculations had now been founded; and all that he had meant to say was, that, balancing one set of duties against another set, and comparing the weekly returns of consumption, the calculations he had submitted to the House, would be found to turn out accurate. With respect to what he had inferred respecting the sugar duties, he would explain the grounds on which he had formed his conclusions. Last year, there was a reduction in the sugar duties of 163,000*l.* as compared with the previous year, but in this year there was an augmentation to the extent of 120,000*l.*, and in only four months from last August, an augmentation of 300,000*l.* as compared with the corresponding period in the former year. Of course, general views of the results of the customs could only be made, by comparing the produce of the different articles one year with another.

Mr. *Baring* explained. He had stated in June, when he brought forward his budget, that he expected the customs, including corn, to produce 22,000,000*l.*, and he had been then asked by the right hon. Gentleman what sum he had calculated corn would realise to the revenue. He was unable to give a reply at that moment, but he took the first opportunity of stating how he made his figures out—when he became aware, that the Corn-laws would not come on for discussion. The way he had made his twenty-two millions out, were to allow twenty-one millions and a half for general items and half a million for corn. He had made this calculation by comparing the amounts produced by malt and corn in different years, and this mode of drawing an inference was generally found to be pretty near the truth. With respect to the amount to be received from the sugar duties he had reasoned in this way, that if Government succeeded in bringing down the price of sugar to a low figure, a large consumption would be insured, and a sum of 700,000*l.* would most likely be yielded to the revenue. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite expected to get that sum now, it must be by adopting the principles upon which he had made his calculations.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, when the sugar duties were discussed, the simple question between them was—was British plantation sugar likely to be reduced to such a price as foreign sugar could be imported and sold for, namely, 61*s.* 6*d.* He had formed his calculations this way. If the price of British sugar was reduced to that of foreign sugar, consumption would greatly increase, and the revenue would be proportionately augmented. The price of sugar had fallen greatly, and he was, therefore, not unwarranted in setting down the amount to be realized to the revenue, as being as large or larger than the sum stated by the right hon. Gentleman opposite.

Mr. *C. Wood* said, his right hon. Friend (Mr. Baring's) opinion was, when he brought forward his budget, that a sum of 700,000*l.* would be produced to the revenue by the alteration in the sugar duties; now, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite had taken his customs at twenty-two millions, he wished to know if the right hon. Gentleman considered that if some of the items fell short, he would have the deficiency made up by the amount of the duty on sugar?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite had proceeded on the idea, that the amount he stated would be made up either by additional consumption of colonial or foreign sugar. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) said at the time, that consumption would greatly increase according to the fall in the price of sugar, and this prediction had been verified, for sugar had since fallen to the price at which foreign sugar could be sold. He had, therefore, been fully justified in the view he had taken in respect of the revenue to be derived from that source.

Resolution agreed to.

A resolution towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of 10,626,350*l.*, be raised by Exchequer Bills, for the service of the year 1841, was also agreed to.

The House resumed—report to be received.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.] Sir *J. Graham* moved the order of the day, for the House to go into Committee on the Poor-law Commission Bill.

Order of the day read.

Mr. *Wakley* expressed a hope that, considering the late hour of the night, this bill would not be proceeded with, The parties who were opposed to the Poor-law Bill, had made a very great concession in not resisting it in the present Session. He thought, therefore, that they were entitled to consideration, and that the subject should not be brought forward at a time when it could not be fully discussed. If, however, it were the wish of the House to proceed, he would not interpose to prevent it.

On the question "that the Speaker do now leave the Chair."

The *Speaker* called upon Mr. Roebuck, who had given notice of a motion, but that Gentleman was not in the House. The right hon. Gentleman then called upon.

Mr. *H. B. Yorke*, who rose to move,

> "That it be an instruction to the Committee, that they have power to make provision that the commissioners be not empowered to enforce indiscriminate separation between man and wife; and that in no case shall they sanction or permit separation, when the application for relief shall be substantiated as arising from positive inability to obtain work, or from physical infirmity, and not from idleness, vice, or crime:"

He submitted this clause to the consideration of the House upon the two scriptural grounds that "those whom God hath joined together, it is not lawful for man to separate," and that it is right "to do unto others as we ourselves would be done by." These were grounds constantly referred to upon the hustings by the supporters of the Government as showing the absolute necessity of an alteration of the existing Poor-law, and he consequently expected that those Gentlemen would feel bound by every feeling of consistency to support the motion which he (Mr. Yorke) now submitted to their consideration. He was fully aware that it was much more easy to talk of a remedy than to provide one; and a remedy in full he knew at that moment it would be premature, if not factious to expect; but a remedy in some degree, it struck him, it would be in the power of the House to give—a remedy to remove from poverty a legislative penalty. He put it to the House whether it would not be more likely to soften the asperity of feeling entertained by vast masses of the population by a judicious relaxation of the law, than to enforce obedience by the execution of its harsh provisions. He was most anxious that the clause he proposed should not be misunderstood. It was to be observed, that it did not go into any unnatural or wild advocacy of the worthless or offending. For them it proposed to say nothing; they were naturally nuisances to the state, and were justly amenable to its most rigorous enactments. But were there no other paupers than these? Did pauperism fall alone upon the head of the vicious and profligate? Was it not evident, from the many truthful statements that had recently been made in that House, that the country generally was in a state of great distress? It was plain that its resources, comparatively speaking, were stagnant. The national stomach was hungry. Yes; unhappily, the national stomach was hungry, and it struck him that that was rather a subject for sympathy and respect than for ridicule and laughter. Well, then, the country being in that state, he put it to the humane feeling of the House, whether the poor man who necessarily became a pauper ought to be punished for his poverty. That was the point and gist of his argument. A married man, as the law stood, could not obtain parochial relief without submitting to a penalty which was disgraceful to human nature. Considering the hour of the night, and considering also that there were many Gentlemen who were anxious to speak upon this subject, he would purposely forbear from going through a number of long statements which he had collected with much care and trouble. He would, therefore, merely allude to one point, which struck him as being of a very important and pungent nature, and which had been suggested to him by one learned in the law, in rather a curious way. It was founded upon an extract from our statute-book showing with what extreme care those who framed the Slave Emancipation Act had taken to provide for the preservation of the social ties of the negro. In that act it was specially provided that, under no circumstances, should a negro ever be removed from one plantation to another, if such removal subjected him to separation from his wife or children, or even from his reputed wife. So that, in truth, as the law now stood, the wife, or the reputed wife, of a negro in our colonies stood in a better position than the wife of an Englishman; and the unhappy pauper compelled in England to ask parochial relief was put to the degradation of seeing his own wife in a worse condition than the reputed wife of the black. That was his case, and without further comment, he begged to commend it to the justice and humanity of the House.

Sir *James Graham* would avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the motion just made, of announcing to the House the course that he proposed to take, as well with respect to the motion then under its consideration as to the other motions relating to the same subject which had been placed upon the notice paper. It was impossible to over-estimate the importance of the subject which was thus incidentally brought under the consideration of the House. He did not believe, that it was possible to discuss any subject which touched—more nearly touched—the feelings, or which was more immediately connected with the interests of so large a portion of our fellow-subjects. Feeling this, as he did most sincerely, he considered it necessary to approach the subject with particular caution. If he followed the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken into the discussion of this particular instruction, involving a portion of the workhouse regulation, he clearly saw that it would be impossible for him not to follow other Gentlemen in other instructions into other details; and thus incidentally and gradually, but with his eyes open, he should be betrayed into a consideration of all the details of the measure. He thought it necessary to be thus explicit. The object of the Government in the introduction of the present bill was, to avoid precisely the course to which the hon. Gentleman would now lead him. Government introduced the bill simply and solely for the continuance of the Poor-law commission till the 31st of July next, with the view of affording to themselves and to the Legislature time and opportunity carefully and cautiously to consider every portion of the important measure which was adopted by Parliament some five or six years ago. There might be defects in the measure: they (the Ministry), were anxious to correct them. There might be imperfections in it: they were anxious to remedy them. But this was a matter of consideration, that required time and caution. To be done safely it must be done by the executive Government upon their responsibility. The Government did not shrink from the arduous task of considering the measure, altering defects, and supplying imperfections where they were found to exist; but he repeated, that time and caution were necessary, and that the interval that the Government asked was not an unreasonable one. All that they asked was, that the commission should be continued until the close of the next Session of Parliament. Before the commencement of the next Session Government would apply its attention to the subject. In the course of the next Session it would be necessary, imperatively necessary, to legislate upon it. In the last Session the labours of Parliament were of a sudden cut short. The executive Government had brought forward a measure, not dealing with the commission only, but with the whole subject. Some of the proposals made by the Government were withdrawn, other proposals upon discussion were adopted or amended, and a considerable portion were not considered at all. It would be the duty of the present Government to review the whole of those proposals. From some of them they had already expressed a decided dissent. To that dissent they would, of course, adhere, unless some very cogent reasons, such as he could not anticipate, should lead them to adopt a different opinion. To those proposals which the House in the last Session adopted, the Government would give a more favourable consideration, and those which had not yet been discussed, it would carefully weigh. But, upon the whole, he thought he was entitled to call upon the House, not upon that occasion, to discuss the Poor-law in detail, but to confine itself to the simple and single question before it, whether, under the circumstances, it was not expedient that the commission should be renewed for the term he had stated. He would not be betrayed into a discussion of the point immediately raised by the resolution of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Yorke). The hon. Gentleman had stated most truly that it was much more easy to point out an evil than to supply a remedy, and in the present state of the House, and at that period of the Session, it would be factious, as well as premature, to press his proposition. He was unwilling to enter into discussion of the particular point raised by the hon. Gentleman's motion, but he would just throw out for the hon. Gentleman's consideration, that the particular regulation of the union workhouse system was no new regulation. It was a regulation which had long existed under several local acts. Wherever several parishes had been united under local acts, and large union workhouses built there, where large numbers of both sexes were congregated, from the necessity, the absolute necessity of the case, a division of the sexes was enforced. This had been the case in the Gilbert unions for the last fifty years, and in the Isle of Wight, where, under the operation of a local act, large numbers of both sexes were congregated in one house, and where, from the very necessity of the case, a separation was enforced. It must be observed, that an argument against such a division of the sexes amounted to nothing more nor less than an argument against assembling a large portion of paupers in the same building. It was not his intention, however, to be led at that moment into a discussion of that particular point. It would be his duty to resist the hon. Gentleman's instruction on the ground he had stated; and upon the same ground he should resist all other instructions that might be moved raising incidentally questions which really related to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and not to the renewal of the commission. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman would not deem this disrespectful; he hoped that the House and the country would not think that it arose from any unwillingness to bestow the most careful consideration upon a question so full of interest and importance. It was because they entertained a deep respect for the feelings of those who would ameliorate the provisions of what they deemed a harsh enactment, and because they were anxious not to make any mistake upon a matter so immediately affecting the interests of so vast a portion of their fellow-subjects, that they thought it would be inexcusable on the part of Government not to weigh carefully and maturely the measure that they intended to submit.

Mr. *S. Wortley* thought that the House must see the very great reasonableness of what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, and he trusted that the hon. Member would consider that he would be placing even those who were willing to support him in a position of some difficulty, if he should persist in his motion. The hon. Member would place them in a position of some difficulty for this reason, that it would be repugnant to their inclination to give a vote affirming a principle contrary to the instruction which the hon. Gentleman wished to submit to the House; but, on the other hand, they must feel that to vote with the hon. Member in favour of the instruction, and to take the opportunity of passing a mere contingent bill for the purpose of making an alteration in the Poor-law Act, would only have the effect of opening the door to alterations of all kinds in the law, and that the House would then, in fact, be undertaking to do that which the proposal of Government had for its object to prevent—namely, to commence the entire discussion of this great and extensive question. Under these circumstances he could not help thinking that it was no unreasonable request to make to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Yorke), that he should give way upon the present occasion, in order to leave the point involved in his instruction as a part of the great question to be discussed hereafter. In saying this he did not intend in the slightest degree to give any countenance, so far as anything that he could say, or do could be taken as affording a countenance to any proposition—he did not intend, he said, to give any countenance to the principle which the hon. Gentleman wished to condemn—the principle which was said to justify the separation of the sexes to the extent to which it had been carried under the operation of the Poor-law Amendment Act. But what the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) had said, was perfectly true—that this question with respect to the separation of the sexes depended upon the question also as to whether large numbers of paupers should be collected in one House. Therefore if the House entered into the discussion of whether the sexes should be separated, it must also enter into a discussion of the prohibitory order, and go through the whole question as to the propriety of enforcing that order, namely, that all those who received relief should be brought into one building. It would be necessary that the House should do this, in order to enable it to judge as to whether it was right or not that the sexes should be separated. Now this appeared to him to be a reason for adjourning this portion of the great, extensive, and important subject to which it related. For his part, he had no hesitation in declaring that if the hon. Gentleman persisted in pressing his instruction it would be extremely repugnant to his (Mr. Wortley's) inclination and feeling to give any vote that would countenance in any degree the principle which that instruction went to condemn; but yet he confessed that, under existing circumstances—[*Cheers from the Opposition.*]—He knew what that cheer meant. It meant that he was unwilling to face the question which the hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Yorke) was inclined to place before the House, for fear of embarrassing his Friends, the Ministers. But that was not his feeling—he intended to take an opportunity of expressing his opinions upon this question fully, clearly, and decidedly. He would not shrink from making known to the Government, or indeed, to any who differed from him, what he thought upon this subject. But for the dignity of the House, he thought it desirable that they should now do one of two things—either proceed at once to the discussion of the entire question—either take the Poor-law Amendment Act in hand, and deal with it as it was intended to do at a future time, or else consent to allow a question like that, raised by the present motion, and which would open the whole question, to remain till the period arrived at which it should appear reasonable to consider the subject at large. When he looked at the instructions, of which notice had been given, he observed that one of them was similar to that proposed by the hon. Member for York; while the second instruction of the two, given notice of by the hon. Member for Rochdale, goes to condemn altogether the prohibitory order of the commissioners. He had the same objection to this instruction as he had to that now proposed; for if they allowed these two instructions, would they not be obliged also to allow the questions of the bastardy clauses and those in regard to the state of the Unions? Were there not many other points on which hon. Gentlemen would be entitled to offer instructions if the House should agree to the two he had mentioned? In short, they would have to take the whole question into consideration, if they were prepared to discuss propositions like those proposed. But, as he had already said, he thought that the present Government had been placed in power under circumstances in which the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, and his colleagues, were justified in asking for an interval of time for the consideration of this question—a question, be it remembered, which the Whig Government of 1833 and 1834 took two years to consider: they were, then surely, justified in asking a delay of two months, in order to investigate well and fully the subject before they came down to Parliament with a bill for the purpose of placing the Poor-law on a satisfactory footing. While he said this, he begged to state that there was one of the instructions on the paper to which he thought his objections did not apply: it was the first instruction, given notice of by the hon. Member for Rochdale and was in the following terms:—

> "That it shall not be lawful for the commissioners, from the date of the passing of this bill, to declare the formation of any new Unions in districts which are not already placed under the operation of the Act 4 and 5 William 4th, c. 76."

He thought such a resolution was in itself reasonable and just, independently altogether of the merits of the general question, which, for the next six months, might be considered to be in a state of suspense. For this reason he thought it but fair that those who felt a strong interest in the question should ask, that during the period in which the question was in such a state of suspense, the commissioners should abstain from carrying the act into operation in places where it did not now exist, and it was on this account that he could not help feeling that the second instruction was of a totally different nature from any of the others on the paper. He should unquestionably rejoice if either the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, or the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester, could give the House and the country some intimation—he did not mean in regard to the other parts of the bill, but some intimation that so long as the question was in a state of uncertainty, the commissioners would not proceed to extend the Unions in those parts of the country in which there were none at the present time. He represented a part of the country deeply interested in this question, and there were places in the district which he had the honour to represent, where the law had never yet been introduced, and he was but doing his duty to those constituents, when he said that they had a right to ask that the question should be left in *statu quo* until the Government were enabled to propose their views on the subject.

Mr. *V. Smith* said, that he felt for the embarrassment of the hon. Member who had just sat down, when he recollected the declaration made by him on the hustings at the West Riding of Yorkshire against the Poor-law, and when he saw him now called on, either to take the course proposed by the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, or to adopt the amendment proposed by the hon. Member. The course which the hon. Gentleman had proposed, would, he thought, be unbecoming the dignity of the House to adopt. The hon. Member did not wish the leading features of the Poor-law to be discussed—he did not seem to consider the separation of man and wife as a point calling for their interference, but gave his support to the instructions which sought to prevent the commissioners from extending the Unions to places in which they had not, as yet, been introduced. He must own, that since they were not to discuss the great question, as the right hon. Baronet had been forced to announce, after much expostulation, they ought not to make a deviation in regard to a question which it might be convenient for some Gentlemen opposite to discuss. If they were not to discuss this question, in conjunction with the question of the Corn-laws—if Gentlemen opposite, whose miraculous powers had been so loudly proclaimed, had really not advised the Crown, because they had nothing to advise—if that was the case, then he thought that the proposition of the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, was not an unfair one on the present occasion. The hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire must attribute his embarrassment to the course pursued by Gentlemen opposite. They had introduced a bill to continue the expiring laws from December next; but it was the commission only that expired. Why had the hon. Gentleman not come forward, and told them the terms on which he meant to continue the commission? He would not move any amendment, because he believed that hon. Gentlemen opposite would be found strong in opposition to the bill. He believed the hon. Member for Knaresborough had declared that a great number of the Gentlemen opposite had come into the House pledged to support those representatives who had gained their seats by declarations against the Poor-law; if that were the case, why had the hon. Gentleman not the manliness to state his views as to the continuance of the commission, and not keep paltering with the House in the way he had done? No man could have been so inattentive to the working of the law, as not to have made up his mind as to whether the central authority over the guardians ought or ought not to be continued. The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, had no doubt on this point, for he had declared his opinion during last Parliament, that the commission ought to be continued for five years. Nor could the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, have any doubt on this head. He, of all men, was best able to say whether the commission ought or ought not to be continued. If any man could produce off hand a Poor-law bill, he could, for the right hon. Baronet was chairman of the committee which sat on this subject. [Sir *James Graham:* No, no; not chairman.] At all events, the right hon. Baronet took an active and a laudable part in the proceedings of the committee. He had lately read the speech made on a recent occasion by the noble Lord, the Member for Monmouthshire. That noble Lord said, he felt glad that the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, had admitted the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, and the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorsetshire, into his cabinet, because they were persons of the highest business-talent, and "it would have grieved him," added the noble Lord, "had the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, left them out." Now, this being the case, the business-talent of the right hon. Baronet being admitted, he repeated, that if any one could have introduced a bill for the continuance or alteration of the Poor-law, the right hon. Baronet, from his talents and knowledge of the subject, was the man. As, however, he had not done so, and as the great questions were to be held in abeyance, he could not say that this one should not be of the number, and therefore, if called on, he would vote against the instruction

—in order that the sole question might be, whether the Poor-law ought to be continued or not. He saw that many hon. Gentlemen opposite were desirous of speaking, and he anticipated that the hon. Baronet would find the opposition of his own party on this subject to be of rather a formidable nature, for they were even now firing at the right hon. Baronet from behind.

Sir *R. Peel:* The hon. Gentleman is so much excited on this subject, that, wishing to calm down his subordinate indignation in the absence of his leader, I beg to acquaint him that it was intimated to me at an early period of the present session that the noble Lord the Member for London, and then the leader of the House of Commons, intended that some Bill should be introduced for the purpose of continuing the Poor-law commission to the end of the next Session. And the measure which is now proposed is exactly in conformity with that which the noble Lord, if he had remained in office, intended to introduce. The noble Lord the Member for the City of London, lately at the head of her Majesty's Government, thought it impossible in the present session to proceed with the consideration of those modifications in the Poor-law, to which it was his intention to call the attention of the House at a future time; and it was his intention to have given notice of a Bill for the purpose of continuing the commission during the interval. That was intimated to me on the part of the late Government; it did appear to me rational to make such a proposition, and I confess I was very much surprised when the hon. Gentleman favoured the House with the display of so much unnecessary indignation.

Mr. *Jervis* was at a loss to understand how what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman opposite could dissuade those who were opposed to this measure from giving their opposition to it. It might be a reason if the hon. Gentleman fairly represented the views taken by the hon. Member for Northampton, but it was no ground whatever for calling upon those who had formerly opposed the law, or those who were returned for the express purpose of so doing, not now to press on the present Government this question, on which at all events, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Members of the Government, must be prepared to express an opinion, and with the details of which every Member of the House must be acquainted; for the right hon. Baronet could not urge the necessity for access to information peculiarly within reach of the Government as a ground for delay, information on this subject being as open to all as it was to the Government. But his hon. Friend (Mr. V. Smith) did not apply his observations to the Bill to be introduced by the noble Lord. His complaint was, that this was not a Bill to renew the Commission, but a Bill to renew the law—[*No, no*]—and when the right hon. Baronet concurred with the noble Lord in renewing the commission for five years, he thought that he ought now to be prepared to bring forward his measure boldly and openly, though he might alienate the support of many hon. Gentlemen, the opponents of the measure, by whom he was brought into office. He apprehended they had a right to call on hon. Gentlemen opposite to tell them how they would deal with this measure, and having opposed the whole Bill, though he had never lent himself to excite the people against it, he would oppose the Government on the question, so long as they would not boldly declare their opinions upon it. He was happy the right hon. Gentleman had said that this was something like the measure to be proposed by the noble Lord (J. Russell), for that would release the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Wakley) from all his new engagements; for it was certain, that if it had been proposed by the noble Lord, the hon. Member would have opposed it, as also would many other hon. Gentlemen opposite. When the address to the Crown was moved, the hon. Member doubted whether it admitted the existence of the distress in the country, and put the question to the right hon. Baronet, who stated that he admitted the prevalence of great distress. Had they then not time between that and winter, when distress was increasing, and when, in consequence, thousands of people were ground to the dust—had they not time to spare from their shooting and hunting and recreations, to inquire at least into the causes of that distress? He spoke not of the great financial question on which it was said time should be afforded, but of that mode of administering relief by which it was supposed by some that distress was greatly increased. Was further information required or not? or had they not to deal with the one or two main principles which the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) had contested, step by step, with Mr. Walter, the late Member for Nottingham, and beat him on them? When the right hon. Baronet said, that the separation of the sexes was a necessary consequence of assembling a large body of persons in one institution, was he not aware that this assembly was owing to the refusal to grant out-door relief? And when they considered that, in order to obtain relief, the poor were obliged to sell any furniture they might possess to enter the workhouse, thereby taking from them the means of returning to their homes—when this was considered, and the distressed state of the poor was deplored in that House, but not remedied—when all this was considered, was it too much to call upon the right hon. Baronet to enter upon the consideration of the subject? And would it satisfy the people to know that hon. Gentlemen opposite wanted time to inquire into what they had uniformly opposed out of office, and on which they had excited the people to remedy which, when in office, they had not the courage to undertake the responsibility? [*Hear, hear, from* Sir *R. Peel.*] He understood the right hon. Baronet's cheer, but the right hon. Baronet could not accuse him of exciting his constituents on the subject. He had never addressed them on the subject at all. He had been uniformly opposed to the measure, but he had scorned to use it for the purpose of exciting the people. He had scorned to make it the means of his advancement out of the House, and to shrink from the responsibility of opposing it there if it were the means of annoyance to the party with which he was connected. The only excuse that could be made for separating the House at that period of the year was, that it would be convenient for the present to forget the distress of the people.

Mr. *Pakington* deprecated the acrimony with which it seemed that this debate was to be carried on. With respect to the question of separation of the sexes in workhouses, he believed he might go beyond the right hon. Member for Dorchester (Sir J. Graham), because, not only in the Gilbert union workhouses, but in every well regulated workhouse throughout the kingdom, the separation of the sexes was carried into effect. For his part, he regretted that the House should be troubled with these instructions. He could not see the propriety of them. They appeared to him to form a bad and ungracious return for the spirit in which her Majesty's Government had brought forward this measure. This bill was to continue the Poor-law Commission till next July, thereby offering a guarantee to the House and the country that the whole of the subject should be fully gone into before that period. He thought, therefore, it was undesirable and premature to enter into this discussion at present, for it did seem to him that the manner in which the Government had brought forward this bill was calculated to give them an increased claim to the confidence of the country. The accession of her Majesty's Government to power was in the mode of it, a full proof of the confidence of the country. He did not believe that any Government had ever succeeded to power carrying with them more of the confidence of the country than the present; he thought that no Government had ever fallen from power more generally distrusted than the late Government; and with respect to the conduct of the Opposition, he must say that their conduct savoured more of faction than that of any Opposition he had ever heard of, pressing as they did, night after night, upon her Majesty's Government, in order to force them to declare with regard to every one of the great questions of the Corn-law, of the Poor-law, of the distress, and of the finances, what measures they were prepared to advise and adopt, and declaring that it was their bounden duty to proceed to legislation immediately. [*No, no.*] Why, they had been told in his hearing, not three nights ago, that winter was coming on, and that with regard to the Poor-law it was the bounden duty of her Majesty's Government not to admit of any delay, but to agree to proceed with the discussion of the various points of the measure. It was the hon. Member for Dover, he thought, who had used this argument. But if anything could shake the confidence of the country in her Majesty's present Government, it would be their hastily going into this discussion, and not taking time to give a mature consideration to the whole of the enactments of the Poor-law as well as its practical operation. He agreed that, with respect to this question of the Poor-law, the country was in a very critical state; that the finances were embarrassed, trade depressed, and that we were in many respects in a disastrous position. He believed that the history of the year 1841 would be found to be a complete blank as regarded useful legislation, and that hereafter public attention would come to be forcibly directed to this fact; but to whom would they attribute such an extraordinary result? Not to her Majesty's present Government. No; they would attach the cause of all this to the former Government, who, instead of giving their attention, in the last year of their holding office, to the means of removing the existing distress had preferred to devote themselves to a desperate attempt to keep up their own power. But, however this might be, he would say, that he cared not what was represented out of doors, he should not fail to express the favourable opinion which he entertained with regard to the Poor-law. As to the taunt with which the Opposition had been pleased to attack hon. Members on his side of the House—namely, that they had made use of the Poor-law in addresses to their constituencies—he would say, for himself that he had never held other language to his constituents than that which he had held in his place in the House of Commons. And he had no reason to do so, because he believed that the character and tendency of the Poor-law, were such as to entitle it to the approbation of the country. He went further, and he said, with respect to the commissioners, that without concurring in all they had done—on the contrary, he had sometimes had occasion to remonstrate with them—he thought that, placed in circumstances of great difficulty, as they had been, they most ably discharged their duties, and, he believed, with the very best and purest intentions. With respect to the Gentleman who lately filled the office of first commissioner, and who was related to the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair, he had discharged the duties cast upon him, in a situation of peculiar difficulty, in such a manner as to gain universal approbation. Having said so much, he could not withhold the tribute of his applause from those who had to carry into effect the details of the measure; and he would say, that, as far as the gentry of England had been concerned in working out the measure, they had undertaken and discharged the duties imposed by the law without reference to party or political considerations. The gentry of England had shown in their conduct in this respect a perfect freedom from party feelings. Once more he must beg leave most earnestly to deprecate entering into the discussions it was proposed to create by this and the other instructions to the committee on this bill. In his opinion those were no friends of the Poor-law who represented its merit to consist in having effected a saving of rates. That was not the main object of the bill. Such was not the object of the gentry of England in working out the measure, who in doing so had shown an entire absence of party feeling. He wished that hon. Members should study to acquire this feeling, for it was the proper feeling and the proper spirit in which such a subject ought to be discussed. There was no subject more important—there was no subject more deeply affecting the welfare of the people—there was no subject which the House of Commons ought to approach with more of deliberative calmness. He asked hon. Gentlemen whether they were prepared to deny this? Let the House approach the subject, not then, but next Session, with an anxious desire to remove deficiencies and imperfections, and to increase the material comforts of the people. For himself, he would say that he should be most willing favourably to consider any amendments that might be proposed—any that would make the law more acceptable to the great body of the people—but he did hope that her Majesty's Ministers, anxious as they were, he was sure, to make the law more acceptable to the people, would not in doing so depart from any of its great principles.

Mr. *C. Buller* said, that he so entirely concurred with what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman in the latter part of his speech, that he should make no further allusion to the former part than to say, that he hoped the next time the hon. Member came down with the intention of addressing to the House his exhortations to lay aside party and political feelings, he would not allow himself to be seduced into every possible irritating subject. In the substance of the hon. Member's admonition he fully agreed, and he hoped that on a question which concerned interests that would last, not for a day or a year, or for the duration of a Ministry, on a question which so much and so deeply affected the permanent interests of the people of England, the House of Commons would be enabled to go to the discussion without indulging in the exhibition of the lowest party feelings. He had come down, though not very well able to do so, because he thought it his duty to support her Majesty's Ministers on this occasion. He had voted for the Poor-law Amendment Bill when it first was brought forward; he had voted for it ever since; he had supported it before his constituents; and he was ready to support it now, although he was prepared to consider and support amendments of whatever should be found to be harsh or severe in the operation of the law. He had come down to support her Majesty's Ministers in defence of what he believed to be an honest and a wise law, which he firmly believed was meant to promote the best interests of the people, and which, in his opinion, was the best law that was ever constructed in this country, with the best motives, with a view to support the moral and social welfare of the people. This measure of the Government he regarded as a wise measure. Many hon. Members had said, that there prevailed great distress throughout the country; then he should say, if that were so, let not Parliament proceed to deal with a permanent measure under the influence of that feeling which the sense of such distress must necessarily occasion. In his opinion the Queen's Government had done most wisely in proposing the simple continuance of the measure until there should be sufficient time for careful and deliberate discussion. He said this, not merely because the Ministers of the Crown were only recently appointed to their offices, but because it was most important that Parliament should not legislate without full and careful examination. He therefore put it to the hon. Member for York to say whether under the circumstances, he thought it right to press his instruction. Could he fairly, in such a state of the House and of the country, call upon them to pass a single detail, being part of a measure involving matters of so much delicacy and of such great moment as the provisions of the Poor-law Amendment Act? He hoped that the hon. Member for York would be induced to look at his own proposition in this point of view—that voting for it amounted to voting that the act as it now stood required no other alteration than that which his own instruction went to effect—that, in short, every other part of the measure was unobjectionable. To him it appeared, that if they must take the instruction of the hon. Member for York, they ought to go into the whole of the act from beginning to the end, and then with diligence they might, by continuing their sittings till this time next year, make some approach to a conclusion of the undertaking. He scarcely believed that any one of the clauses would escape; he believed that there would be amendments moved upon every line of every clause. That being so, he took the liberty of suggesting to the hon. Member for York, to allow his amendment to share the same fate as all the other amendments which were to be proposed to the existing law. Before he sat down, he wished to make one remark upon the speech which the House had heard from the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire. It appeared to him, that that hon. Member was perfectly consistent. He did not mean to defend the consistency of the hon. Member from day to day—he could not do that for any one; but what he meant to say was, that the conduct of the hon. Member was, upon the whole, consistent—that was to say, that the speech which the hon. Member made that night in the House was not inconsistent with the address which he delivered to his constituents in Yorkshire. Doubtless, the speech made in Yorkshire was nothing like so sensible or discreet as that which he had delivered in the House of Commons, He, of course, did not on the hustings tell his constituents that he would support a motion for postponing the consideration of the subject for six months—the hon. Member said nothing of the sort; if he had he might probably not have obtained the support of so many voters as gave him the benefit of their suffrages; and had he made the same sensible speech on the hustings that he did in that House, he possibly never would have been returned to Parliament. The amendment of the hon. Member for Rochdale stood upon a totally different ground from that now under the consideration of the House, and he confessed he did not understand how those who opposed the present law could fail to see the subject in the same light as the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire. It was impossible for those who opposed the measure to say, that it was equally objectionable all over the kingdom. They might apply to it the most opprobrious epithets; they might say, "Down with the Bastiles;" they might cry out that the law was abominable, that it was diabolical; they might rebel against the tyrannical government of the three devil kings, but with what show of reason could they support a proposition for merely dealing with a part of the subject, and leaving the old system still to exercise its evil influence over a portion of the country? The hon. Member had spoken of the *status quo;* but a *status quo* could only be said to subsist between equal belligerents, it could not have any existence in a case between a law on the one hand, and those who were agitating against that law on the other. But, whatever he might have to say regarding the conduct of the hon. Member for Yorkshire, he was at least very glad to have the benefit of his assistance in supporting her Majesty's Government upon the present occasion. He did not wish to say anything offensive, but, without meaning the least disrespect to any individual, he must be permitted to observe, that there had been a good deal of humbug on the subject of the Poor-law; there had been a great deal of vague nonsense talked about it, and he would add, there had been a great deal of dishonesty, and what he wished to do was to bring Gentlemen to the test on this subject. He wished to keep the House and the country from being misled by false hopes, and above all, he wished to save the country from being agitated respecting plans which could not be carried out. The question which hon. Members had to put to themselves was this—would they support a measure which the present Government favoured, and which the late Government likewise supported? Did any one in that House hope to be able to show by a majority on such motions as the present, that the Poor-law would be repealed.

Colonel *Wood*, (Brecon) thanked the hon. Member who spoke last, for having restored the tone of good humour in which such a debate ought to be carried on, and he sincerely hoped that nothing would induce them to conduct the discussion of this most important question with the feelings of partisans. For his part, he did not think the proposition of the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, at all so unreasonable as to the minds of some hon. Members it appeared to be. The Poor-laws had been with him no topic of declamation at the hustings; he had never used them for any purposes of agitation; but the House, he trusted, would recollect, that when the continued existence of the commission was under the consideration of that House, he voted its continuance only for a few years, and he had no hesitation in saying, that when the bill was passing through that House, there was a vast number of Members who had no idea that the measure was to be applied indiscriminately to all parts of the kingdom. The general opinion of the House was, that the Poor-law operated most injuriously in the southern counties, but that many of its evils did not exist in the north. They thought, and as he believed were right in so thinking, that in the north, the wages of labourers were not paid out of the poor-rates, and that the cottage rents were not paid out of them. In the principality they certainly were not defrayed by the rates. He, and those who thought with him, were certainly of opinion that where the evils to which he referred did not exist, the parishes ought not to be formed into unions. That was a view of the subject which influenced his mind at the time, and he could show that the provisions which ought to be founded on it were not in themselves unreasonable. Under all the circumstances he did hope that the hon. Member for York would not press his motion, and it was to be hoped that no hon. Member would suppose that Government made the present proposition from any wish to stave off the evil day. He was sure there was nothing like so much cause of complaint as some people supposed. In the union of which he was *ex officio* a guardian, they had done all in their power to prevent the separation of aged men and women. They had, he trusted, succeeded in rendering their workhouse what it ought to be, a place of alms and a school for the benefit of all who entered it. He hoped, then, that the whole question would be allowed to stand over till they met after Christmas.

Captain *Pechell* did not regard the present as a factious opposition; but he wished to know whether it were the intention of her Majesty's Government to take those towns out of the operation of the measure which had local acts of their own, and whether it was intended, under the new bill, to comprehend places now under Gilbert's Act. In the latter class, he believed, that relief was now administered to the poor in a manner that gave satisfaction to all parties. Before he gave his vote, he wished to ascertain what the intentions of the Government were.

Mr. *H. Hinde* said, that to every one of the amendments he had originally advocated, he still adhered. He was now, as he had previously been, of opinion, that the administration of the Poor-law ought to be transferred from the commissioners to a responsible Minister of the Crown, who would always have a seat in that House, and he did not think that such a Minister—still less that the commissioners —should possess the power of legislating: he should limit their authority to the mere execution of the law, for he was unwilling to trust any man with the power of affixing a stigma upon one who had not been convicted of any offence. He well knew that separation could not be avoided in the present state of the unions, and, therefore, he held that out-door relief ought to be granted. He should support neither the one instruction nor the other, but, on the contrary, vote for postponing the whole matter till the entire machinery of the Poor-law could be brought under their consideration.

Sir *H. Fleetwood* had recently received two letters from constituents of his in Preston, expressing in the strongest terms the objections which they felt to the re-enactment of the Poor-law. He should not then go into the general question, for he quite agreed with those who thought that it ought to be postponed till the House next met. He wished, however, to say, that he hoped during the approaching recess, no parish not now under the law would be placed within the scope of its provisions. According to one of the letters which he held in his hand, a petition on the subject of the present measure had been forwarded to his hon. colleague, the late Member for Yorkshire, signed by 1,260 of his constituents, every one of whom had appended to his name a statement of his residence and his trade. These petitioners were all out of employment, and were now living upon the bounty of such amongst their neighbours, as were able to give them any support. It surely might be allowed to persons to act on behalf of their own funds, instead of having to look for their administration to the poor, to what he should always consider the unconstitutional appointment of commissioners in London. He did not wish to occasion any embarrassment to the Government, and was willing to let the matter rest to the next Session of Parliament, provided discretionary power were given to the boards of guardians in the intermediate time to try any beneficial measures which might appear desirable to them in their neighbourhoods, for it was from that alone that any proper legislation could come; and that if the discussion of this question was put off till next spring, it was to be with the understanding, that any part of the country not yet put under a un on should not be so put, that out-door relief should be enabled to be given, and that all boards of guardians be requested to endeavour to show how improvements may be effected, that that House might come to the discussion of this question with full information before them, free from party feeling, and with the determination to legislate a good law for the country.

Mr. *Grimsditch* said, he should consent to the delay in the settlement of this question which was demanded, and was anxious to state his reasons for so consenting. When they looked at the number of notices of amendments in the law, which had been given from both sides of the House in the last Session of Parliament, very little less than 140, he thought it would be very inexpedient and undesirable to legislate hastily on this subject; and, therefore, he entreated the hon. Member for the city of York not to press his amendment. He was firmly of opinion, that this law might be carried into effect without the central and unconstitutional power of the Poor-law commissioners. He would undertake to say, that in any given district of England—let them take Sheffield, if they thought proper, where the commissioners had been more fortunate than in other districts—if they canvassed the opinions of the middle classes of the people of this country, they would find, that the system on which this law was carried out was universally condemned. The working of the system of the New Poor-law was doing serious injury to our social system—it was drying up the sources of private charity and doing more mischief than the House was aware of. But in the present unprepared state of the Government, he thought it most unfair to press on this subject for discussion. He trusted, that in any bill which the right hon. Baronet might bring in on this subject, he would not rely on information which emanated from Somerset-house, but that he would form his opinions from the experience of others, and from other statements. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman, that he should make inquiries in the country as to the working of the Poor-law Bill, and that those inquiries should be made by persons wholly independent, uninterested, and without salary, by experienced persons, and men of character and honour. There were several principles in the bill which he thought highly objectionable—the workhouse test, for example. Out of twenty-six unions, there were six or eight with a population of from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, and in each union there were at least from 3,000 to 4,000 paupers, and how was it possible to apply the workhouse test to all these, and fully to carry out this principle? Again, what was the law in one union, was not the law in another. Now, a law to be just and good, ought to be uniform and affect all, and not to be binding on but part of the community. He trusted, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department, before he brought in his bill, would well consider all these points, and that the main principle of his bill would be to abrogate centralization, and to re-establish the system of self-government in the distribution of the parochial funds.

Mr. *Wigney* said, he was one of those who had suffered so much from the cry against the Poor-law, which had been got up upon the hustings by hon. Gentlemen opposite, that he should support the motion of the hon. Member for York. He really thought, that hon. Gentlemen opposite had brought this question upon themselves, by their conduct on the hustings. He much deprecated, that hon. Members should use questions of this kind in order to mislead and rouse the passions of their constituencies. If the hon. Member for York felt it necessary to divide the House on this question, he (Mr. Wigney) should vote with him. But he thought there was much good sense in the observations of the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, that it was the determination of the Government to take this measure into deliberate consideration, and to weigh well all its difficulties, in order to bring forward a good measure; yet he had been so used on the hustings and elsewhere on this question, that he was unable to act impartially, and felt called upon to support the proposition of the Member for York.

Viscount *Sandon* said, as one of those Gentlemen who had been guilty of the heinous crime of having expressed his opinion on the Poor-law, he begged to rise to vindicate his opinion. It was the first time that this language had been used in the House—that on great questions of internal policy Members who appeared before their constituents for the purpose of explaining their opinions should be told they ought to suppress them. Was it only to be allowed to a Whig or a Radical to have an opinion and to express it? Why was it that a Tory alone was not to express his opinion? Why was it to be allowed to Whigs and Radicals to oppose and abuse the Poor-law if they thought fit, but that a Conservative was to be thought to be only tampering with the feelings of his constituents if he expressed his opinion? This tyranny of opinion was not to be tolerated. The Conservatives had a right to express their opinions; and he would not be deterred by any statements which might be made on the other side of the House from expressing boldly those opinions which he entertained to his constituents. And certainly, for Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House to talk of "appealing to the passions of the people," as if they so carefully abstained from appealing to their passions, was most inconsistent. The trick of the big loaf and the little loaf was not forgotten, nor yet their habitude of calling the Conservatives tyrants and oppressors. It really came with a bad grace for them to say that those who took the liberty of dissenting from the wisdom and humanity of the Poor-law did so only to inflame the passions of the people. He for one would not submit to such dictation, that a Conservative alone was to be forbidden to express his opinion on that or any other measure. The proposition of the hon. Member for York might be good, but he was not to be driven out of season and out of place to support it. By voting for one or two instructions here or there, they should not do justice to the measure. The question was one of extreme difficulty, and one that required to be looked at as a whole and not in part; and he could conceive nothing more important for the proper consideration of this question than that her Majesty's Ministers should employ the next three or four months in maturely looking into it, and when the whole question was properly reviewed to present the result. And if it did not then appear that the opinion of the Government coincided with that of individual members, that those Members should be at liberty (not with any factious feeling) to come forward and maintain in a straightforward manner their own views. For these reasons he did not feel called on to support the opinions of the hon. Member for York, but concurred most heartily in the policy of her Majesty's Government in referring the measure for due consideration.

Mr. *C. Wood* deprecated the introduction into the discussion of this question of party and political feelings; and he really felt that nothing had fallen from his side of the House to justify the observations which had been made by the noble Lord. Hon. Members on his side of the House fully admitted the right of openly expressing opinions on this as on other subjects. It was a right they claimed for themselves. He had expressed to his constituents his entire approbation of the whole principle and general tenour of the Poor-law Bill, without, at the same time, agreeing to all its details; and he should, therefore, be the last person to deny to the noble Lord the right of expressing to his constituents his opposition to the measure. But what he and those around him objected to was, that the opposition to the Poor-law Bill had been made use of as an engine of political warfare. That was what they objected to, what they had a right to object to, and what he was sure his noble Friend would not venture to justify. Now, in that part of the country with which he was connected such a course had been pursued, and the best proof of it was, that until the election of 1837 no warmth of feeling whatever had existed upon the subject of the Poor-law in the West Riding of the county of York; while the best proof that the feeling existing at the period of elections was fictitious was to be found in the fact that strong opinions had been expressed in those parts of that riding only where, practically speaking, the due administration of the Poor-law had never come into operation. A petition had been presented to that House last year complaining of the operation of the Poor-law, and the hardship of the workhouse test in the Halifax union. But on examination he found that the workhouse, though large, contained fewer inmates than he had ever known in the parish workhouses, and that the accommodation and food were infinitely better than had ever been afforded under the old system of separate parishes. It was true that the rates had been increased by the building of the workhouse, but as regarded the humanity of the measure no one could assert that the out-door relief was restricted, or that the comforts of the inmates were not materially greater than under the former system. It had been almost universally believed too that the separation of old couples was a general rule; and people were greatly astonished to learn that aged couples were taken into the workhouse without being separated, and that the pro hibitory principle had been applied solely and exclusively to the able-bodied. When he found such utter want of information throughout the whole of that district in reference to a measure which the people complained of as inflicting various evils, while of those evils they had had no experience, he thought he might fairly conclude, that the feeling of hostility which had been created and afterwards applied to political purposes, was a fictitious and not a natural feeling. He made no personal allusions whatever, and should cautiously abstain from making any; but it could not be forgotten that the war-cry of one party during the late elections was "No Bastiles." Any man who knew any thing of the West Riding of York could not deny these facts. He entirely concurred in the course which the Government were pursuing upon the subject. He thought they were perfectly right to continue the Poor-law Bill to the end of the next session of Parliament, although he scarcely thought it advisable to have encouraged discussion upon it at present by the admission of motions, some of which were utterly irrelevant, and which it appeared to him incompetent for hon. Members to make by way of instruction to the committee on a bill of mere continuance. He thought it far better that this bill should merely pass as a continuance bill, and that the discussion of the question, and of those amendments which hon. Members were anxious to effect, should not have taken place until next Session. He could not conclude these few remarks, without expressing a hope that either the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, or the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, would utterly deny any such interpretation as had been put upon the course of the Government by the hon. Member for Finsbury, on a former occasion, and by the hon. Member for Preston that evening; in order that it might might not be supposed that the Poor-law would not be fairly carried out according to its present spirit, between this and the period when it should again be brought under the discussion of that House. The hon. Member for Finsbury intimated that he felt himself justified in supporting the Government in the course they pursued upon this question, because it indicated a shrinking from that support which the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, gave to the measure of last Session. If such an impression as that were allowed to be produced upon the uninformed portion of the community, the effect might be exceedingly injurious; while those who had to administer the law in the interval, might feel that it was, in a great measure, a law which was condemned by the present Government. That was his only reason for requesting an explanation from one of the right hon. Gentlemen opposite. They need not be under any apprehension as to the opinions of hon. Members on that side of the House, who perfectly understood that the Government proposed this bill for the purpose of affording an opportunity in the next Session of Parliament, of fully and freely discussing the whole question. For his part, he was sure that the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, would feel it his duty, next Session, to propose the continuance of the commission for at least as long a period as he suggested last Session; and that he would, in accordance with opinions which he had already expressed, maintain the principle and main provisions of the present law, as eminently calculated to improve the condition of the poor of the country. If that were so, it was the more incumbent on the right hon. Baronet not to allow any such additional obstacle as he (Mr. Wood) had referred to, to be thrown in the way of the operation of the law, during the recess, by erroneous inferences, and the unfounded expectations to which those references would give rise.

Mr. *Hardy* said he was extremely anxious, if the consideration of the question were to be deferred, and he thought it desirable it should, that a public understanding should be come to regarding out-door relief, which was of so much importance to that part of the country in which he resided. Having had the curiosity to look into the last report of the commissioners, he there found, to his astonishment, that in an account of the expenditure for the maintenance of the poor in the West Riding of Yorkshire, it was stated, that in the years 1835 and 1836 it amounted to 423,811*l.*; but that for the two last years—years of great and admitted distress, the sum expended was only 421,129*l.* There must have been a considerable increase of the population within that period; and in 1835-36 wheat was 39*s.* and 44*s.* per quarter, while, during the latter two years, in which the relief amounted to the lesser sum, wheat was 68*s.* and 69*s.* per quarter. It was further to be considered how many people had been thrown out of employment by the stoppage of mills, as stated by the hon. Member for Dundee. Those unfortunate people had no resources whatever, but from parochial relief. He was extremely anxious that it should be understood, that the law should be relaxed throughout the coming winter, and that out-door relief might be received by them, as under the old system.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that as several allusions had been made to him in the course of this debate, he wished to make a few observations upon the subject before the House. In the first place, he would tell the hon. Member for Chester, that he had no more engagements in this House than he ought to have as the representative of one of the metropolitan constituencies. He had heard, with pain and sorrow, much of the language used to-night on the Poor-law; he had heard it with a sense of pain that it was impossible to describe, because he was satisfied the result would be to produce throughout the public mind the greatest possible dissatisfaction. The new Poor-law had been commended by the hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. C. Wood), the Member for Droitwich (Mr. Pakington), and, indeed, by both sides of the House; it was spoken of in the highest terms of admiration; it was referred to as one of the brightest specimens of legislative wisdom that was ever produced in a civilised country. He only wished, however, that hon. Members who thus spoke of the law felt its effects. He only regretted that they themselves were not, for a short time, the victims of the torture which it inflicted, instead of being the administrators of that which was called the new Poor-law; and he did fear that the present Government was about to commit the mistake of pledging itself to the principles of this law. He feared that he heard the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, cheer when the principles and the effects of the law were commended by the hon. Member for Droitwich; but he had marked peculiarly the deep-seated anxiety which seemed to exist in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite, to draw from the executive Government a pledge that it would adhere to the principles of this law. He observed that there was a manifestation of most extreme anxiety to obtain that pledge. Was it done from a kindly feeling? Was it from a generous motive? Was it done for the purpose of aiding the present Administration? He was wholly unconnected—and he thanked God for it!—with party in this House. He came to this House pledged to his constituents to maintain himself perfectly free and unconnected with any individuals who should call themselves or class themselves as parties here. He was therefore free as the air itself to comment on and to notice the new Poor-law. He was free to notice what had been the effects of that law, and for one, representing a large constituency in this metropolis, he did claim for himself the right of exercising his judgment on that law, and in the present Session of Parliament; and he would say, that the executive Government would not act fairly by the law, the public, or the poor of this country, and, above all, in his opinion, in this case they would not act fairly by those who declared they would not offer obstructions in this House to the continuance of the commission, if they did not permit the opponents of the bill, and all in this House, to declare their opinions and point out the objections to the law. He repeated that the public and the poor would not be treated fairly if this were not done. The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, said, don't discuss the law now—wait until the next Session of Parliament; in the meantime, the executive Government will apply itself to the subject, investigate all the circumstances of the case, and, on the meeting of Parlament, will be prepared to submit their measures to the House. How many new Members were there in this House? Did not the executive desire to hear the opinions of those new Members? There were nearly 200 new Members in the House; and, he asked, was it fair to those Members, was it fair to the poor themselves, that those parties who had come to the House entertaining hostility to the law should not have the opportunity of stating their objections to it until the measure came down cut and dried from the Home Office, when the executive Government were pledged to the measure. The executive would not yield, after framing and fashioning the measure to the shape in which they thought it should be submitted to the House. They would then be pledged and committed to it; it would be supported by the Government, and it would not be in the power of those in this House who were hostile to it to produce the changes they desired to effect. With regard to the motion of the hon. Member for York, he entreated him not to divide the House upon the subject, because he would see, on reflection, that if he committed a majority of the House to his motion, he would not hereafter be able to induce them to relax. He was satisfied it would be damaging the cause which hon. Gentlemen were so desirous to advance. He was convinced they could not do more injury than would be caused by a premature discussion on the subject; and he now asked the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, when he would give the House an opportunity for discussing the provisions of the bill? If he had no other opportunity, he would take it on the motion for the third reading. He did declare, that he thought it would be the grossest injustice to the poor if that opportunity were not given, and that the sentiments of this House ought to be expressed as to the question of out-door relief in the coming winter. It was a subject of great importance, and he was sorry to observe the light manner in which such a serious question had been treated in the present discussion. He predicted that if the present Administration should support the principles of that bill, and bring in a measure for continuing the commission, and for maintaining all the obnoxious provisions that bill contained, it was the last time that the right hon. Baronet would command a majority of that House.

The House divided:—Ayes 36; Noes 187:—Majority 151.

List of the Ayes.

Barnard, E. G.
Blewitt, R. J.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Busfeild, W.
Collins, W.
Colville, C. R.
Crawford, W. S.
Duncan, G.
Dundas, Capt. D.
Easthope, Sir J.
Ellis, W.
Fielden, J.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Forman, T. S.
Gill, T.
Granger, T. C.
Harford, S.
Harris, J. Q.
Heathcoat, J.
Hollond, R.
Howard, hon. H.
Jardine, W.
Johnstone, A.
Leader, J. T.
Morris, D.
Murphy, F. S.
Pechell, Captain
Plumridge, Captain
Rennie, G.
Stanton, W. H.
Walker, R.
Watson, W. H.
Wigney, I. N.
Williams, W.

TELLERS.
Yorke, H. R.
Jervis, J.

List of the Noes.

Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Captain
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Astell, W.
Bagge, W.
Baillie, Colonel
Baird, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Captain
Beresford, Major
Blackstone, W. S.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bowring, Dr.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buck, L. W.
Buckley, E.
Campbell, A.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Chelsea, Visct.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cochrane, A.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Collett, W. R.
Courtenay, Visct.
Cresswell, C.
Crosse, T. B.
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dugdale, W. S.
Dundas, D.
East, J. B.
Eaton, R. J.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, W. T.
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ewart, W.
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forbes, W.
Forester, hon. G.C.W.
Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, Jas. Milnes
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimstone, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hardy, J.
Hawes, B.
Hawkes, T.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, hon. S.
Hinde, J. H.
Hodgson, F.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Holdsworth, J.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Ker, D. S.
Kerrison, Sir E.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Knight, H. G.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Layard, Captain
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
M'Geachy, F. A.
March, Earl of
Marshall, W.
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Martyn, C. C.
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Murray, C. R. S.
Neeld, J.
Neville, R.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Connell, M. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Pakington, J. S.
Parker, J.
Peel, rt. hn. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pemberton, T.
Polhill, F.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.
Rae, rt. hn. Sir W.
Reade, W. M.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rose, rt. hn. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sandon, Viscount
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Smith, rt. hn. R. V.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stanley, Lord
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Tennent, J. E.
Thornhill, G.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Tufnell, H.
Turnor, C.
Vane, Lord H.
Vere, Sir C. B.
Verner, Colonel
Vesey, hon. T.
Villiers, Viscount
Vivian, hon. Captain
Ward, H. G.
Wigram, J
Wood, C.
Wood, Colonel
Wood, Colonel T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Young, Sir W.

TELLERS.
Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

Instruction rejected.
Committee on the bill deferred.

Expiring Laws.] The *Solicitor-General*, on the question for going into Committee on the Expiring Laws Bill, moved the following instruction which was agreed to, viz.—

"And whereas, by an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of his late Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales,' it was among others enacted, 'That no commissioner or assistant commissioner, secretary, assistant secretary, or other officer or person appointed under the said act, should hold his office for a longer period than five years next after the day of the passing of the said act, and thenceforth until the end of the then next Session of Parliament; and that after the expiration of the said period of five years, and of the then next Session of Parliament, so much of the said act as authorises any such appointment should cease:' and whereas it is expedient that the said commission should be further continued, be it enacted, that so much of the last recited act as is hereinbefore recited shall be repealed, and that no commissioner, or assistant commissioner, secretary, assistant secretary, or other officer or person so to be appointed, shall hold his office for a longer period than until the thirty-first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two; and after the said 31st day of July so much of the last recited Act as authorises any such appointment shall cease."

The House in committee on the bill. Clauses, with amendments, agreed to, the House resumed, report to be received. Adjourned.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, September 28, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a first time:—Administration of Justice (No. 2).—Read a second time:—Lunatics; Navy Pay; Frogmore Lodge; Royal Gardens.

Petitions Presented. By Lord Redesdale, from Wigan, for the Better Observance of the Sabbath.

FROGMORE LODGE.] The Duke of *Wellington*, in moving the second reading of the Frogmore Lodge Bill, stated, that its object, which he considered very desirable, was, to unite the Frogmore estate to Windsor Park, and to convert the grounds into a kitchen garden for the palace.

Bill read a second time to be committed.

ROYAL GARDENS, KENSINGTON.] The Duke of *Wellington*, in moving the second reading of this bill, said, that its object was to empower the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to dispose of part of Kensington-gardens for the purpose of building, and with the estimated proceeds of those grounds, to improve and ornament other parts of the gardens, and if there should be any surplus, it was to be applied to the improvement of other of the royal gardens.

Lord *Brougham* said, that this bill had come to them recommended by the sanction of his noble Friend, the late Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, Lord Duncannon, to whom he might allude by name in his absence, and than whom it was but justice to say, that a man more fitted, by his great activity and zeal and business-like habits, for that important office, never had held it. This bill, then, had the recommendation to their Lordships of having been prepared by the advice of his noble Friend. He did not offer any objection to the bill, but he thought, that, in the way in which the produce of the sale of those lands was estimated, it might happen, that the produce might fall short of the sums to which the commissioners were limited; and in that case the public would have to make good the difference. To be sure, the sum was very moderate, but these were times in which the saving of every shilling was of importance, and when also not a shilling of expenditure should be made which was not absolutely necessary. He said this, because he remembered that, when his noble Friends near him were in office, they proposed and carried the proposition for expending 70,000*l.* for stables at Windsor Palace, at a time when it was with the utmost difficulty he was enabled to wring from them 10,000*l.*, or at the most 20,000*l.*, never more, for the education of the people.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he concurred in the eulogium on the zeal, activity, and ability of the noble Viscount lately Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests. With reference to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord, he had to state, that all the money would be expended on the responsibility of the commissioners, and if there should be a deficit instead of a surplus in the estimates it would not come out of the pockets of the public.

Viscount *Melbourne* would say one word as to the concluding remark of his noble and learned Friend, in alluding to the erection of stables at Windsor. From what he (Lord Melbourne) had seen in the papers and in accounts of speeches delivered at the hustings during the late elections, he found, that there existed a very great and he believed very general prejudice against that measure. He was very sorry to find it so, for he believed, that a more unfounded prejudice never existed—a more unjust censure never was cast on any measure of Government, as any one would admit who had seen the stables which before that were in use at Windsor.

Lord *Brougham* said, that his noble Friend, the noble Duke seemed to think, that if the estimate should fall short of the expenditure, the expense would not come out of the pockets of the public. No doubt it would come from the land revenue; but that had been made over to the public by the Crown some forty or fifty years ago.

The Duke of *Wellington* fully concurred with what had been said by the noble Viscount as to the necessity for the erection of the new stables. They were much wanted.

Bill read a second time, to be committed.—Adjourned to Thursday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, September 28, 1841.

Minutes.] Bills. Read a first time:—Exchequer Bills; Exchequer Bills Funding.—Read a second time:—Riddell's Estate; Marlborough's Estate; Clayton's Name.—Read a third time:—Administration of Justice (No. 2).

Petitions Presented. By Sir J. Y. Buller, from East Devon, and Dorset Agricultural Association, against Alteration of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. Wakley, from W. S. Hanson, against the continuance of the Poor-law Commission.—By Lord Sandon, from Alexander Wall, a private soldier, complaining of the Discontinuance of the Pension and praying for relief.—By Mr. Johnstone, from Kilmarnock, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By from Canada, against alteration of the Timber Duties.

Timber Duties—Canada.] Lord *Sandon* presented a petition, signed by 9,000 of the citizens of Quebec, in Canada, stating the apprehension of the petitioners at the proposition made by the late Government to reduce the duties levied on Baltic timber, and enhance the duties laid on the timber of the North American colonies. The petitioners begged to call the attention of the House to the fact, that the present duties only afforded them a bare protection, considering the disadvantages under which they lay as compared with the Baltic; and that if the proposed alteration were made, it would involve those connected with the timber trade in ruin, as well as many other interests; that the subject of the discriminating duties between Baltic and Canadian timber was fully considered in 1821, and the present scale of duties was then adopted. In 1831, the subject was again considered, and the proposal for an alteration rejected by a large majority. In 1835, the subject was considered again, and the duties were left as before; they had therefore embarked their capital in this trade with confidence in the existing arrangement. The petitioners prayed that time might be afforded them to produce evidence on their own behalf before the Bar of the House. In this branch of trade they had embarked a very large capital—not less than 2,000,000*l.*, and upwards of 1,200 cargoes of timber were annually exported. If the trade were stopped, the facilities and advantages which it held out to emigrants would be put an end to. The number of vessels now employed in the Canadian timber trade was only exceeded in the whole range of British commerce by the coasting trade.

Petition to lie on the Table.

Administration of Justice.] On the Order of the day for the third reading of the Administration of Justice (No. 2.) Bill.

Mr. *Ward* said, he wished to take that opportunity of calling the attention of the House to a case which he conceived added much strength to the arguments he suggested the other evening against the proposed compensation to the hon. Mr. Scarlett, and which would recall to the minds of hon. Members opposite the course which they pursued, when, on a former occasion, a precisely similar claim to that of Mr. Scarlett was brought under their consideration. The case to which he alluded was that of Mr. Brougham, who was appointed in 1832, to the office of registrar of affidavits in the Court of Chancery. At the period of his appointment some intention existed of abolishing the office at a future period, which period was not defined, and respecting which no distinct proposition had been made to the Legislature no bill had been brought in, no one act had been done giving to the public a right to claim the immediate abolition of the office. The moment the vacancy arose the then Lord Chancellor filled it up by the appointment of his brother, Mr. Brougham. The late Member for Ripon, and present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, lost not a moment in calling the attention of the House to the subject, but that right hon. Gentleman was then sitting on the Opposition Benches, which might account, perhaps, for the change in his sentiments, as evinced by the opinion he had expressed with regard to the claim of Mr. Scarlett. As he had already said, no bill had been introduced in this, as in Mr. Scarlett's case, and no more than a simple opinion had been expressed by the Lord Chancellor upon the propriety of abolishing the office. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, upon calling attention to the subject said, "that it was very hard that these sinecure offices, which had been perpetually commented upon as a useless waste of public money by hon. Gentlemen, when out of power, should now be filled up. He supposed, that all their feelings of economy had subsided with their accession to power, and that, although their attacks had been freely enough made against those offices before, they now had no objection to their emoluments." After a lapse of eight or nine years the tables were turned, and hon. Gentlemen opposite were defending a precisely similar appointment to one of those then under consideration. The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth upon that occasion said, "It was impossible to believe, that the appointments in question could be otherwise than merely provisional," and the Chancellor of the Exchequer made use of nearly similar terms. He found, that Lord Eldon in the House of Lords asserted, "that the office which had been filled by his own son was not a sinecure, could not be called so, and should be filled up immediately." Precisely the same argument had been used by the Attorney-general the other night. But there was no doubt that the appointment in this case was provisional, as in that of Mr. Brougham, who was appointed by his brother, the then Lord Chancellor, *pro tempore* only, and without compensation upon the office being abolished. Had Lord Abinger followed the example of Lord Brougham, he was sure he would have shown more consideration for the interests of the public service, while the present bill would not have been encumbered with a clause which was highly derogatory to the character of that House.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the hon. Gentleman deserved great credit for the diligence with which he ransacked the Parliamentary debates for the present case, but he could not give him equal credit for the analogy which he seemed to think subsisted between the two cases. The hon. Gentleman, he was sure, would recollect that Lord Brougham, who was at the time Lord Chancellor, had given notice, in the House of Lords, of his intention to abolish the office to which the hon. Gentleman referred—that he was the person moving the measure of abolition himself. There was, therefore, no parity between the two cases, for in the one case a person was appointed by another who had himself given notice that he would abolish the office, which he considered to be a sinecure. Lord Abinger, on the other hand, was no party to the arrangement by which the office to which he appointed Mr. Scarlett was abolished, and, therefore, in making the appointment he was not violating his sense of duty to the public. It was admitted on all hands that the office of master of the Court of Exchequer was one which could not be left vacant; it was absolutely necessary that it should be filled up if the business of the court was to proceed. The hon. Gentleman was good enough to say that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was not very distinct in stating his opinions. He thought the hon. Gentleman must have known that when a Gentleman gave his vote in that House it was a clear index of his opinions. If the hon. Gentleman at any time misunderstood his expressions, he begged to refer him to his recorded vote. When this bill was before the House on a former occasion, he took the liberty of suggesting the necessity of making some regulation with respect to the office of Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, stating that whilst compensation was awarded to the officers of the Court of Exchequer no provision was made for preventing a great increase in the emoluments of the officers of the Court of Chancery. Having consulted with the noble Lord, the Member for London, he abstained from making any proposition, in order that the bill might go up to the House of Lords as nearly as possible in the same state in which it came down. He had since understood that he should have an early opportunity upon the introduction of another bill, to give effect to the suggestion. He wished that the present holders of the offices affected should have all the rights which they had on their acceptance of them, but that succeeding holders should not have the advantage of the additional emoluments.

Mr. *Ewart* said, that the office to which Mr. W. Brougham was appointed was not a sinecure, but was pronounced by Lord Eldon to be one of great utility and importance. With respect to the argument that Lord Abinger was no party to the abolition of the office in the Exchequer, it was completely met by the case of the Welsh judges referred to the other night, whose situations were abolished without compensation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* recollected the case of the Welsh judges perfectly. His brother had been appointed when he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was in the Government, and knew of its intention to abolish the situation. His brother, therefore, received no compensation, and the case was precisely parallel to that of Mr. Brougham, but not at all to the appointment made by Lord Abinger.

Mr. *Pemberton* said that neither the Welsh judges nor Mr. Brougham had made any sacrifice in accepting their offices. Neither had been obliged to abandon the bar. But with respect to the situation held by the hon. Member for Horsham, it was absolutely necessary that it should be filled up, and that the person filling it should give up the bar, and sacrifice his professional prospects. Before the present bill passed, he wished to press upon the attention of her Majesty's Government that whatever merits the measure might have, it was by no means all that the public had a right to expect for the improvement of the Court of Chancery. He was extremely anxious to take the earliest opportunity of expressing his hope that her Majesty's Government would pay early attention to the subject, and that they would be prepared to introduce early in the next Session some measure which would afford more satisfaction to suitors and the public than was possible in the present condition of the Court of Chancery, the appellate tribunal of the House of Lords, or the privy council.

Mr. *F. T. Baring* thought that the distinction drawn on the part of the hon. and learned Gentleman, as well as by the right hon. Gentleman, formed no justification nor explanation of the case in point. The right hon. Gentleman had put the case on its right footing when he instanced the case of his brother. There the party was informed that it was the intention of the Minister to bring in a bill to abolish the office, and of course he had no right to compensation. Here the learned Gentleman took the appointment knowing that the office was about to be abolished. In this case, not only had the Lord Chancellor actually brought a bill into the House of Lords, but he believed that bill had been read the second time. Indeed, he was not sure but that the bill had actually passed. It was to be remembered that Lord Abinger was sitting in the House of Lords, through which the bill was passing. He did not hear of it in his court merely; but he was a member of the House of Lords that gave its sanction to the provisions of the bill. The bill had, he was quite sure, actually passed the second reading before the appointment. He could not, then, conceive a stronger notice to a party than the bringing in of a bill by Government, and that bill receiving the sanction of one branch of the Legislature. He was bound to say this—that this was the strongest case of compensation improperly granted that he had ever heard of.

Sir *James Graham* stated, that he could only form an opinion of the cases adduced from analogy and from the arguments as he had listened to them. In the first case, Lord Brougham was, as Chancellor, the head of the law, and upon his responsibility was about to bring forward a measure Doing so, he announced his intention of abolishing a particular office, and he nominated his own brother to that office. The whole authority of the Government was pledged to the passing of the measure. The measure passed, and then the question was this—was Lord Brougham's brother entitled to compensation? He said—no. This was not the case with Mr. Scarlett. He had nothing to do with the passing of the bill. He was appointed by Lord Abinger, and he did not think it material at what stage of the bill the appointment took place. Lord Abinger was no party to the measure. So far was Lord Abinger from being a consenting party to it, that he decidedly objected to the abolition of the equity jurisdiction of the Court of Exchequer; so did Sir E. Sugden and other high law authorities. Now, in the case of the appointment of Mr. Brougham, the person who conferred the appointment was not only a consenting party, but he was the very author of the bill which abolished the office. His right hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), who had been alluded to, had also been one of the authors of the bill which abolished the office that his brother had held, so that it must be quite evident to the House that neither of those appointments bore any analogy to the appointment of Mr. Scarlett. The appointment of Mr. Scarlett was one which was necessary for the transaction of business, and the difference between it and the others that had been mentioned was this, that Lord Abinger objected to the bill which abolished the office; but Lord Brougham and his right hon. Friend had both consented to the Bills under which the respective offices that had been alluded to were abolished. It was not a sinecure office, but an office which it was necessary should be filled, and one that had been established by Act of Parliament, and in his opinion it would be a great injustice if that compensation were not granted.

Bill read a third time.

On the question that the Bill do pass,

Mr. *C. Buller* had seen no reason to alter the opinions which he formerly expressed; and if he had been present at the division he certainly should have voted for the compensation. In any changes, such as that which this case had reference to, it was sound policy as well as justice for the House to act with liberality to persons whose vested interests were concerned in any reforms which they might think necessary to make. In pursuance of this principle he should call the attention of the right hon. Baronet opposite to the situation of the copying clerks, who, by this bill, would be materially affected. If they looked to large interests, he hoped that the interests of poorer persons would not be overlooked. Those copying clerks, to whom he wished to direct the attention of the right hon. Baronet opposite, had, by their constant exertions, been enabled to procure an income of from 100*l.* to 120*l.* per annum; and some of them had been for a period of so long as twenty or thirty years engaged in those pursuits. The claim which they made now was not for compensation, but merely that the Government might consider them as having a prior claim for employment under the new system. They only wished to be assured of the intentions of the Government in this respect, and they asked no other compensation. Let them show to the public that whilst they were anxious to make such reforms as would be of advantage to the public interests, they would not forget the interests of those poor people who might be exposed to distress and destitution by the system which was about to be established.

Mr. *Hawes* supported the claims of these parties. They saw on the one side Mr. Scarlett, after eighteen months' service, about to receive ample compensation; and on the other were these parties who had served for thirty years receiving nothing, and demanding sympathy and assistance. Would it be given to them? Might he ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if these poor men were to be deprived of the emoluments of their office—if they were to be left destitute of the means of subsistence, and not even one civil word said of them; but then when they had before them the case of a son of a peer—of a man of high rank and of ample means—they beheld one right hon. Gentleman after another, and cabinet minister after minister rise to take up such a case; while there was no one to take up the case of these parties. He hoped he might elicit from the right hon. Baronet the Member for Dorchester that the services of these men would not be overlooked.

Sir *James Graham* must be allowed to say, and without meaning the least offence to the hon. Member for Lambeth, that his advocacy of these claims was not so judicious as that of the hon. Member for Liskeard. He agreed with the hon. Member for Liskeard that there could be no greater impediment to any reform, such as that which was more immediately connected with the subject before them, than to refuse to consider the interests of those affected by it, rich as well as poor. That was not, however, the view which was taken by the hon. Member for Lambeth, who repudiated the vested rights of a gentleman, who had filled a regular appointment, and spoke of those who had no regular appointments, but were employed from day to day. It was extraordinary that he never heard those claims till now; he never heard them in the last Parliament, when the hon. Member for Liskeard and the hon. Member for Lambeth might have been able to render great assistance to those persons whose claims they advocated. He understood that those persons were occupied day by day in the Office of the Six Clerks copying, and as the object of the Bill was to give greater facility to equity business generally, if those gentlemen as copyists were well established by their thirty years diligent attention, he had no doubt that it would be sufficient to secure them employment. He was afraid it would be carrying a principle too far to make any legislative arrangement to provide for those gentlemen, or to give them any assurance from the Government. If he gave such an assurance he might raise hopes which could not be realised. He should be sorry that those who had earned their livelihood in an honourable and praiseworthy manner should suffer any loss, but he did not think the House ought to give any pledge on the subject.

Mr. *Hawes* observed that he had made no representation on any former occasion, on behalf of these parties. There was so little ground for hope, in the answer of the right hon. Baronet, that he must turn to the Attorney-general.

The *Attorney-General* understood that the principle on which compensation was granted of late years was founded upon an inquiry as to whether the party seeking compensation had a legal vested interest in the office or not, and that whoever had not was disentitled to compensation. Those persons to whom the hon. Members alluded had no legal rights, as they were merely employed from day to day, and had no fixed employment. Mr. Scarlett held the office to which he had been appointed on a footing as certain as any gentleman in that House held his estates, and he was to receive compensation according to all the rules that were established for granting it. With respect to the copying clerks, he believed that this Bill would increase their business.

Sir *C. Napier* had noticed that that House was always most liberal in dealing with any case where any gentleman of the law was concerned. It was not long since they voted 3,500*l.* as the retiring pension for a Vice-Chancellor. Now, that would just be the retiring pension which would be given to eight admirals after fifty years' service. He would mention a few of the pensions given to officers on the abolition of the Navy Board some ten years ago, and the right hon. Baronet deserved much praise for its abolition. There was Sir F. Seymour, a very old officer, who had lost an arm; he had a patent place, which, being abolished, he was compensated by being sent out to the Brazils, where he died. Another officer, who held a patent place, which was abolished, was compensated by a transportation of three years to South America; and another officer under the same circumstances, was compensated by five years' employment, and to remain the rest of his life on half pay. He might also mention the case of Captain Hornby; he enjoyed a patent place of 1,000*l.* a-year; it was abolished, and he was compensated by five years' employment at Woolwich. He only mentioned these things to show the difference in the way of dealing with gentlemen of the long robe, and gentlemen with short jackets.

Mr. *C. Wood* could not understand the law laid down by the Attorney-general, with respect to the case of Mr. Scarlett. When Lord Brougham appointed his brother to the office that had been referred to, the greatest opposition was given to it by Gentlemen on the other side of the House. The Attorney-general's doctrine was, that persons who had a legal title to a place, and being in possession of that place, were entitled to compensation. Now, he wanted to know how Mr. Scarlett was entitled to compensation and Mr. Brougham was not?

Bill passed.

Population Enumerators — Mr. Grove.] Upon the motion for the further consideration of the report on the payment of the population enumerators bill,

Mr. *Otway Cave* wished to ask, in reference to a letter he had seen that day in the newspapers, and that referred to the denunciations of the Irish by a magistrate, what was the result of the inquiry instituted by the right hon. Gentleman, and whether he was disposed to communicate the correspondence to the House.

Sir *James Graham* had no hesitation in telling the hon. Gentleman, that having seen the statement of a declaration from a magistrate from the judicial bench, he did think it to be his duty to call upon the worthy magistrate to explain that statement; and in doing so he expressed his earnest hope that such expressions had not fallen from him, because, if true as reported, they were calculated to cast an imputation upon the due administration of justice that was highly dangerous, and also to sow dissension between large classes of her Majesty's subjects. He then called upon the worthy magistrate to explain the report to which he alluded. The worthy magistrate offered an explanation, and in so doing declared that the report was in many essential particulars inaccurate, and the answer on the whole was satisfactory. If an unguarded expression had been used, it would not again be repeated. He thought the explanation satisfactory, and he, therefore, hoped the House would not carry the matter further.

Bill went through committee, report to be received.

Poor-Law Commission.] On the Order of the Day for the House to go into Committee on the Poor-law Commission Bill being read,

Mr. *S. Crawford* rose and said, that he had to solicit the kind indulgence of the House, while he endeavoured to bring before them the important subject which he proposed to submit to their consderation—a subject which he was aware might, in the opinion of the House and of the country, have fallen into abler hands than his. No other hon. Member, however, having given notice on the same subject, he felt it his duty to come forward, and if he failed in his advocacy of that great cause the consequences were not his fault, but that of his constituents, in not having sent a more worthy representative to the House. In so important a subject as this he was fully aware how necessary it was to avoid all party recriminations, and he, therefore, wished to cast no imputation on Gentlemen on either side of the House who had supported the principle of the bill, but only to call on them to consider whether the further extension of it ought not in some degree to be suspended during a period of such great distress, and while the further consideration of it was pending. The right hon. Baronet opposite and the Government had asked for time to consider all the provisions of the Poor-law Act, and he thought he was therefore entitled to assume that the measure might have its defects, and if there were those defects it must be admitted that they might operate disadvantageously on the poor during the time when they would be under consideration. For that reason, and with a view of preventing that evil, it was, that he now claimed from the House a consideration of the propriety of suspending the powers of the commissioners to a certain extent during the time while this vote for the temporary renewal of the commission would take effect. By the Poor-law Bill the commissioners were intrusted with absolute powers over the boards of guardians—absolute in every respect, with the exception that they could not interfere with the actual relief to be given to individuals. But they had absolute power as to the formation of unions; they had a right to form as many unions as they might think fit. By the 15th section of the act absolute power was given to the Poor-low Commissioners to make orders for the regulation of the boards of guardians; and by the 52d section there were particular powers as regarded the administration of out-door relief. The words of that section were—

> "That from and after the passing of the act it should be lawful for the commissioners, by such rules, orders, and regulations, as they might think fit to issue, to declare to what extent, and to what purpose, relief to able-bodied paupers should be administered throughout the kingdom, and in what proportions, to what persons and classes of persons, at what time and in what place and manner, such out-door relief should be afforded."

Now, he maintained, that it was contemplated by that order, that out-door relief was to be continued, and he maintained that the commissioners had exceeded their powers by their order, in which they took away the power of affording out-door relief. He submitted to the House that that order was not consistent with the act. The words of that order were," that every able-bodied pauper be relieved in the workhouse, and such portions of the families of such able-bodied paupers as may be resident with such able-bodied paupers and not in employment and the wives of such able-bodied paupers. if resident with them." Now, he maintained that the words of this order were not in accordance with the powers of the commissioners as laid down in the act, and he contended that it was the duty of the House to limit the exercise of a power which in a period of such distress might be made the medium of the most grievous cruelty and oppression. The principle that seemed to have dictated that order was, that poverty arises from profligacy, and, therefore, that poverty ought to be subjected to punishment. But he maintained that in the present circumstances of the country, there were a great many most honest and industrious persons in the community who were subjected to distress, not from the consequences of their own fault; under such circumstances the cases of persons so situated ought to be taken into consideration, and Parliament ought to interpose to stop the execution of the order. Under the existing system five great evils were prevalent:—first, the separation of families; secondly, arbitrary punishment and too severe discipline; thirdly, harshness to old age; fourthly, bad food; fifthly, difficulty of obtaining admission into the workhouse; and sixthly, the mixture of the virtuous with the profligate. The great principle seemed to be to surround the workhouse by terrors, and these were the terrors by which it was surrounded; terrors which too often prevented honest and industrious members of the community from availing themselves of the relief afforded by the Legislature to the poor. With the permission of the House, he would refer to some facts which he had collected, and which he had classed under these several heads. They were collected from different unions in which all those points which he had mentioned were productive of great oppression. He would first apply himself to the subject of the separation of man and wife. He was willing, in the first instance, to admit that when large bodies of persons were congregated together, it was difficult in all cases to avoid separation of families; but surely the principle could not be justified when applied to the separation of mother and child under circumstances of great hardship, and still more when carried to the extent of separating a mother from her sucking child. Those instances he would state, together with the others which he had collected, and which he had classified under the six heads which he had already mentioned. Of separation of families even to the extent of mother and sucking infant, there was an instance at Bath. A letter of Mr. F. Watts, a chaplain at Bath to *The Times*, September, 1840, stated,—

> "About a fortnight ago a woman came out of the house under the following circumstances:—While she was out in the yard the porter went, unseen by her, into the ward and snatched up her baby, only eight months old, and carried it away. She did not discover the robbery until the porter had arrived at the other side of the yard door, where the unfeeling monster stood ridiculing the anguish of the parent, whose cries were very nearly making her for hours an inmate of the black-hole. The poor creature nothing able to endure the thoughts of her infant crying and moaning all the night through, immediately left the house for the purpose of weaning it by degrees."

Of excessive punishment and discipline there was an instance at Eton, where a mother was confined for thirty-two hours for visiting a sick child; also, at Bath there was the case of Rebecca Collett, punished in a similar manner for an offence of a like nature. At Hoo the flogging of girls of fifteen years of age by the master, with an indecent exposure of their persons, was already well known. At Bath the Rev. C. F. Watts, who made the complaint with regard to Rebecca Collett, was dismissed; and at Eton the hon. and rev. S. G. Osborne was punished by a vote of censure. Of harsh treatment of old people there was a case at Crediton workhouse with reference to the two old men Lock and Dart. After the death of these men an enquiry was made by the guardians, who were disgusted with a futile inquiry made by the assistant-commissioner. The following was the evidence of one of the witnesses:—Packer stated,

> "I have seen Dart washed in cold water several times. I have seen him taken from his room across the court to the washhouse, and washed naked with a mop, James Tremlett took him, and he was hardly able to walk. I have seen Robert Tucker and Tremlett wash him with a mop and cold water. I was present at the time, and Mr. Leach (the master of the workhouse) was there. I have seen Mr. Leach present when he was washed with cold water. It was after Christmas. It turned me so much, that I hoped I should never come to the pass of that poor fellow. I have seen Pitts draw a bucket of cold water from the cock and throw it right down over Dart, and there was Tucker washing him down with a mop all over his body and legs. Pitts said, 'Will one bucket do?' and Tucker answered, 'Heave five over him, and I'll make a soager of him.' Pitts kept heaving cold water over him; Dart said, 'Now you are a mind to kill me.' Dart's senses were almost gone; it was enough to kill any man in his perfect health. Tremlett was there twice when he was washed with cold water; Leach was there when the five buckets were thrown over him, and the answer Leach made was, 'Not too ill usage,' and he went away. I said, 'He can't stand this long,' and the answer Leach made was, that it would be no sin to give him laudanum to put him to sleep out of the way."

In Uxbridge workhouse an old man, William Wye, seventy years of age, severely afflicted with sciatica, formerly a market gardener, was obliged to resort to the workhouse. On his son going to see him a few days afterwards at the union-house at Hillingdon, he found his aged father in a very bad state, complaining greatly of cold and shivering, and the son on inquiry learned that his smallclothes, which just before he entered the workhouse had been lined with flannel at the expense of the clergyman of the parish, as well as his flannel drawers had been taken from him. The son immediately applied to Weekley, the governor of the workhouse, on the subject, because his father, from the nature of his affliction, required warm clothing, and requested that he might be allowed to wear the lined smallclothes instead of the thin ones of the union, or else that he might be allowed to wear his great coat over his union clothes. Weekley, however, refused the application, saying, that as his father had consented to become a pauper, by coming into the union workhouse, he could not be treated better than the other inmates. Of repugnance to enter the workhouse there was a remarkable evidence in the case of William Eaton, a ladies shoemaker, who died from want in March last. He had applied at Kensington union workhouse for out-door relief, and had got a small and inadequate supply of food on some occasions, but on the 23d of February an order of admission to the workhouse was given him. He had this order in his possession, yet died of want rather than enter the House. Mr. Madden said—

"The deceased's case was revised by the board every fortnight, and his ghastly appearance induced both me and the board to advise him to come into the House, thinking it would be a charity to take him in; but he always said, 'No, I thank you.' The jury found a verdict, 'that the deceased died from exhaustion, gradually produced by a scantiness of nourishment.'"

In the examination on this case, it appeared that the difficulties imposed on applicants were of the most oppressive nature at the Kensington union-house, partly ascribable to the largeness of the union. Mr. Ryder stated—

"Mr. Coroner, there have been cases in which persons while waiting have fallen down from exhaustion. During the winter they have frequently waited from eleven in the forenoon until eight and nine o'clock at night, in all the frost and snow, and then some of them have been sent back without relief to the next day. Some of the cases of exhaustion have appeared in the papers."

Mr. Mayers stated—

"If applicants are not in the workhouse by eleven o'clock, they are not admitted to see the board at all."

The Coroner—

"Do you really mean to say, that poor creatures coming from Fulham, or from Kensal-green on the Harrow-road, to the Workhouse at Kensington, and, miscalculating their strength, take half an hour longer to walk it, if they reached it after eleven o'clock, they would be excluded?"

Mr. Mayers—

"I certainly do say so."

Another remarkable case of the like nature was that of Elizabeth East. It appeared that this woman died of a slow process of starvation, and although for a length of time suffering the effects of want, she could not reoncile her mind to the workhouse domicile. Edward Holmes, with whom she had lodged some time previously, said, he advised her,a he had often done before, to apply to the workhouse; but she said—

"Oh, no, no, I'll not go to the workhouse, while I can scrape a few halfpence by selling Congreves."

Deceased had nothing to eat that day, nor at any time previous to her death, she having no money, and he not having anything to give her. The jury returned the following verdict:—

"That the deceased died from exhaustion, consequent on starvation, arising from her not having made application to the parish for relief, and from her refusal to go to the workhouse."

Of bad feeding and other discomforts a notable instance was afforded in the Bridgewater workhouse. In evidence taken before the House of Lords the following facts were proved:—

"In August, 1836, the commissioners' dietary was introduced. The inmates were then generally healthy, according to the return. On the 25th of October the return was, 'Much sickness among the children and old people, The medical officer reported the dietary was producing disease. The committee made a like representation, and that the house was infectious. The guardians answered, that the dietary having been fixed by the commissioners must be abided by, and that whilst there was room fresh applications must be admitted. Notwithstanding numerous deaths, this system was continued from the 25th of October, 1836, to the 21st of April, 1837."

Of the use of unwashed linen, there was an instance in the Pewsey workhouse. Facts are detailed in the report of the rev. W. Bleeck of the condition of the paupers from want of clean clothing that were of a most disgraceful character, and this rev. gentleman, for reporting these facts, was first censured by the board of guardians, and afterwards compelled by the assistant-commissioner to resign his situation. For these facts he would refer to the letter of the rev. Gentleman in the *Times*, dated June 17, 1840. Of refusal and difficulties of admission there was an instance:—At an inquest, held some time back, on the body of Hannah Robinson, it appeared that she was paralytic; that her husband was a working man; that he applied to the officers of St. George's, Hanover-square, to take her into the workhouse, because she was not in safety when left alone, and he could not pay a servant to attend her when he was working. The answer was no; he must also come into the house along with her. This industrious man being able to support himself would not be a burden on the public; he did not go in. His wife was left alone. In her helpless condition her clothes caught fire, and she was burnt to death. The jury added the following remark to their verdict:—

> "The jury cannot separate without expressing in the strongest manner their abhorrence of such a system of oppression to the poor, and hope that no similar case will be refused attention on the part of the overseer or relieving officer in future."

The coroner was also requested to write to the parochial authorities on the subject. At an inquest on the body of Elizabeth Friry, November, 1840, it appears that after different applications to have her taken to the workhouse, she died from disease, brought on by want. The following was the verdict:—

> "We find that Elizabeth Friry died from fever, brought on by the want of food and sufficient nourishment; and that the jury cannot separate without expressing their disapprobation of the conduct of the relieving officer and of the surgeons in not being more prompt in their attention to the wants of the deceased."

With reference to the mixture of the vicious and the virtuous, the rev. Fowell Watts, formerly chaplain to the Bath union, stated in a letter to the *Times*, dated August 20, 1840—

> "I had occasion, not long before my removal, to complain in the chaplain's book of two most improper grown-up girls having been put with the school children, and in three different entries to entreat that they might be removed; in one observing, 'for I consider every hour of such intercourse to be fraught with danger to the morals and general principles of the children;' and yet these girls were left among the children about ten days after my first entry."

That was the case he had to lay before the House. The result of this system was, that the respectable moral poor would sell their goods, part with their clothes, and keep themselves at the almost extreme degree of starvation, rather than go into the workhouse, while those whose sense of morality was not so strong committed crime in order to obtain support in a gaol. Disease, wretchedness, suicide frequently resulted from the same cause. The spirit of the people was broken down by that feeling of self-degradation which must ensue from being compelled in the workhouse to associate with the most abandoned of every description. Another consequence of this state of things was a disposition to outrage; while the apprehension of disturbance introduced the rural police—a novel species of constabulary, which was itself a degradation to Englishmen—as if the peace of the country could not be maintained as in the days and upon the institutions of Alfred, by the people themselves, without resorting to the aid of a hired police. It would not be denied, that distress prevailed among the people to an unprecedented extent. To whatever cause they might attribute it, the existence of that distress could not be denied. While Ministers took time to consider the provisions of the new law—while they required time, and he admitted the justice of the demand for the consideration of the Corn-law question, was it not fitting, while they refused to lower the price of provisions, that some steps should be taken at least to relax, during the winter, the inhibitory orders of the Poor-law commissioners? The commissioners, it seemed, were determined to carry those orders into effect, as far as they possibly could. He would take the liberty of reading to the House one or two extracts from their last report.

> "We have the satisfaction to state to your Lordship that more progress has been made in extending the provisions of the Poor-law Amendment Act to new districts in the year to which our present report relates, than was made in the preceding year."

They then state different manufacturing districts,—the Manchester, Salford, and

Charlton unions. Then they go on to say in another place—

> "We have the satisfaction of informing your Lordship that, although last winter was unusually long and severe, the main provision of the prohibitory order (the withholding out-door relief from the able-bodied in health) was supported, with only a few exceptions, in the unions in which it had for some time been in force, and in the majority of unions to which it had been recently issued; and that even in the unions of the latter class, which were unable to carry it fully into effect, a considerable progress was made towards its observance."

Was it not painful that such a declaration should come from the commissioners, when they reflected on the sufferings of the poor, and the extraordinary means they were compelled to resort to for relief during the last winter? While such a spirit influenced the commissioners, they could have no disposition to allow a greater licence to the guardians, unless the House interfered to limit, in some degree, the extent of their control. He would now say a few words with respect to the Irish Poor-law. He had heard the first Lord of the Treasury state the other night his great satisfaction with the reports received from Ireland, and his determination not to interfere to alter the provisions of that measure. It was right that Ministers should not be deceived in the opinion they formed with reference to the Irish Poor-law. It certainly had not come so far into operation as to enable one to say that it would be effective for the relief of the poor. Only a very few unions had yet been formed, and the poor were still scattered to a great extent throughout the country. But he must take the liberty of expressing his opinion that it never could be carried into effect under its present provisions. Its provisions were still worse in many respects than those of the English bill. The English bill left a discretionary power in the hands of the commissioners, with regard to out-door relief; but in the Irish bill they were much more stringent, giving no power to the commissioners, the guardians, or any other authority, under any circumstances to administer one farthing of relief out of the workhouse. A poor man might reside ten miles distant from the union workhouse, he might be sick, in extreme distress, and it might be impossible to remove him to the workhouse; still it would be impossible to administer to him any relief whatever without its walls. An act so constructed never could come into beneficial operation in such a country as Ireland. There were many instances which he might quote illustrative of the arbitrary and tyrannical mode in which the act was carried into effect. He would content himself with selecting one or two:—

> "In the proceedings of the board of guardians of the North Dublin union, reported in the "Freeman" of the 6th of March, 1841, a complaint was made that a boy named Walter Wheelan was struck on the back of the head with the handle of a hammer, by the master of the workhouse, so that the boy fell down in a faint, senseless. A witness swore, that he saw the boy struck and fall on his back, and that the master desired him (witness) to bring water to throw on the boy's face to revive him. The board ruled it a false statement, because they did not believe that, being struck behind, he would fall on his back; and, on this ground alone, acquitted the master, and ordered the man and the boy to be expelled from the workhouse. Again, in the same day's proceedings, a complaint was made of the unreasonable severity with which a boy had been punished by the schoolmaster. The cat-o'-nine-tails was brought before the board; it is described as a monstrous weapon; the use of it was condemned, and ordered to be discontinued. But it appeared that the mother of the child had remonstrated when she saw the child beaten with it; and what was her punishment? She was put into one of the solitary cells and confined, from eight o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, and yet no censure was passed against the master either for the punishment of the mother or the boy. In the same day's proceedings, it was moved by one of the guardians, that children of from two to five years old should be allowed to sleep with their mothers. The proposition was rejected by a majority of two to one."

The mode in which children were treated appeared in the following extract:—

> "We find that for children under two years old, left with their mothers, an allowance was given out of boiled bread and milk twice a day, but the mothers were not allowed to heat it except in the morning and in the evening, unless when the children were in hospital. Children from two to five rose at eight in the morning, but got no breakfast till eleven. In the female ward there were eighty children in twenty-two beds. In another female ward and closet, intended for the accommodation of 100, there were 180 children; there were seven in one bed and six in each of four beds. In one boys' ward, there were 126 boys of from two to five; one pauper woman had the night charge of them all, although several of them had sore heads, sore eyes, itch, and dysentery. The board on this representation ordered one woman to every ten children. No ticks on beds,

bare straw, tossed up in the day time, but not brought out to air or dry."

There was another case of still grosser character:—

"Cork Union.—At a meeting of the guardians held on the 26th ult. (the 26th of January, 1841), Mr. Gould drew attention to a disgraceful and demoralizing trade carried on in that house, that of 'procuresses' going in as paupers and mixing with the young females, whom they endeavoured to deprave in mind, and then got them to seek their discharges to become prostitutes. The truth of Mr. Gould's statement was assented to by the other guardians."

Was it possible to suppose that any person of proper feeling, however poor, would consent to allow their children to go into a house where they would be exposed to such temptation and compelled to associate with such depraved characters? He hoped the House would pardon him for having intruded such instances upon their attention; he thought, however, it was better to make out his case by a reference to facts than by any attempt at declamation. He asked from hon. Members no sacrifice of their principles or opinions. With those who approved of the principles and operation of the New Poor-law Act he would not at present contend. He was willing that the general discussion should be reserved till the Government brought the subject fully before the House; but this he would say, that under such a statement of facts as he had laid before them, and considering the condition of the people, humanity alone required that the powers of the commissioners should be restrained until the new measure was introduced. He trusted he had made out a case which would have the support of every friend of humanity, and especially of all those who had on different occasions condemned the New Poor-law Act. The hon. Member for Finsbury, perhaps, would endeavour to dissuade him from testing the opinion of the House by means of a division; he must say, however, that in his opinion no question was worthy of being discussed which was not worthy of being carried to a division. He did not think that it added to the respectability of that House in the eyes of the public to have eternal talking on questions without bringing them to the proper test—the votes of hon. Members. It might be said that a measure being in a minority showed weakness, and that insisting on a division in such a case must injure the cause. But reform and the abolition of the Slave-trade for many years were advanced only by minorities. If the cause did succeed in-doors a manifestation of feeling out of doors came to its assistance; and, in his opinion, nothing could be done in the advancement of popular rights or interests but by the power of those without, acting upon hon. Members within the House. On the other hand, he felt it would be impossible to rouse public opinion upon any subject, unless the people saw there were men in the House ready to support their rights by advocating their measures, and carrying them to the test of a division. This was the proper mode of acting, and he for one would never intrude upon the House any motion which, unless acceded to, he did not think of sufficient importance to call for a division. Thanking the House for the great indulgence they had shown him, which he attributed to the interest and importance of the subject introduced, he begged, in conclusion, to move the first instruction of which he had given notice, presuming it would be the pleasure of the House to take each instruction separately.—The hon. Member accordingly moved

"1. That it be an instruction to the committee, that they have power to introduce a clause that it shall not be lawful for the commissioners from the date of the passing of this bill, to declare the formation of any new unions in districts which are not already placed under the operation of the act 4th and 5th of William 4th, c. 76."

Mr. *Ferrand* rose to second the motion. He assured the House he did so with the greatest diffidence, but when he stated that he had taken the most active part for many years in bringing before the notice of the public what he considered to be the most objectionable parts of this bill, and that there had been a strong feeling in support of his views among that class of the people whom hon. Gentlemen opposite described as unrepresented in that House, he felt he should have a kind indulgence shown him from that (the Ministerial) side of the House after the sympathy they had expressed on the hustings; for he believed it came from the heart, for the poor never appealed to them in vain, their hand was always open to relieve distress; while, on the other hand, he should have the attention of hon. Gentlemen opposite when he told them he was in possession of the prescription which the right hon. Baronet below would recommend for the distresses of the country. He was surprised last night to hear the hon. Member for Halifax declare that there was no excitement in the county of York upon this question. He could assure him that the Conservative Members who had been returned for that county had no occasion to raise any excitement there; it came with open hands to welcome them when they went to solicit the suffrages of the electors. The hon. Member had said there was no excitement in the borough of Halifax. Was he aware that when the new Poor-law workhouse was built there was a guard obliged to watch it day and night, and that a troop of cavalry was quartered in the town for the same purpose? Was he aware that the cavalry had trampled under foot the people of Bradford, because they had assembled to remonstrate against the bill? Was he aware of what took place at Keighley? The hon. Member for Halifax had taunted the Conservative candidates for going before the West Riding of York, and using language on this occasion for the purpose of carrying their election. He had heard that when Lord Milton came forward on a requisition of the Whigs of the West Riding, with the name of the hon. Member for Halifax at their head, that hon. Member had actually assisted in drawing up his Lordship's address to the electors. What, then, was Lord Milton's opinion? He bent, as a man should, to public opinion. He said,

> "If the Poor-law requires amendment in any of its provisions, I am ready to consider whatever may be proposed with that view. I am decidedly of opinion that every security ought to be given for its being administered in tenderness to the poor. If such security does not now exist, I am desirous that it should be provided."

He maintained, no such security did exist. There was another point which struck him very forcibly last night. It had been tauntingly said on the other side, that it would be seen from Members' votes how they were inclined to keep their hustings professions. When the division was approaching last night he saw several hon. Members leave the House, who were accustomed to plume themselves on their sympathy for the distresses of the people. The hon. Member for Manchester left the House before the division, so did the hon. Member for Leeds, the hon. Member for Salford. [Mr. *Brotherton*, "No, no."] At all events the hon. Member's name was not in the list of the division. The hon. Member for Stockport, too, (Mr. Cobden), absented himself. The hon. and learned Member for Liskeard, the Member for Tiverton, and, to instance no more, the colleague of the hon. Gentleman, the Member for Halifax. A very serious charge had been made against hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House, for having made a handle of this question in order to excite the people and carry their elections. He would ask the hon. Member for Halifax, and those who made this charge, if their party had never taken up subjects with the view of exciting the passions of the people. Why, he had seen at one of their elections a chimney-sweeper, with chains about his legs, representing a negro slave; he had seen a scavenger dressed up as a bishop; and during the excitement of the Reform Bill, when it required some extra steam to make the people of this country believe the assertions of the Whigs, it was asserted on the hustings of the city of Westminster, that a fairer head than Adelaide's had rolled upon the block. ["*No, no.*"] He assured them it was true. In a procession which took place in the borough of Leeds during the Reform agitation—and he called the particular attention of the hon. Member for Manchester to this—there was painted upon one of the flags of the Whig candidates the King in petticoats and the Queen in breeches, and there was stuck in the King's neck the axe. The son of the late hon. Member for Leeds, who sat on the Ministerial side of the House during the last Session of Parliament, proposed three groans for the Queen, and the sire of so worthy a son was returned. His opinion on the New Poor-law was, that it was in the highest degree unconstitutional, that it did not afford adequate relief to the poor, and that they were not receiving from it the relief to which they were entitled by the constitution of this country. It had also to a great extent dried up the sources of private charity in the country, and given an excuse to hon. Members of that House, as well as to the people generally, to button up their pockets, and not to relieve the poor in the manner which the feelings of humanity prescribed. He would here take the liberty of mentioning a case which had been brought under his notice by Captain Morris, R.N., who was a perfect stranger to him, but who had been induced to do so from knowing the sentiments which he (Mr. Ferrand) entertained regarding that law. The letter he had received from that gallant Officer he would now read, with permission of the House:—

"Charmouth, Saturday, Sept. 25, 1841.

"Sir,—Having observed the good part you are taking in the amendment of the Poor-law Bill, I am induced to write to you upon the subject; and to take the liberty of suggesting, if it has not already occurred to yourself, or some other Member of the House of Commons, or if already suggested, to strengthen by a very strong case, the necessity of having a clause introduced into the bill, which will give a right to a pauper who has been many years resident in a parish not his own to receive the relief afforded him by the union to which his proper parish is annexed, in that to which by residence he is attached, and in which he has lived and laboured, say for five years. You may be surprised that one of my profession should take so much interest for the adoption of this particular clause, but an instance has very lately occurred in which, from my long acquaintance with the pauper, the hardships and sufferings to which persons under similar circumstances are liable have been so forcibly intruded upon my notice, that I must indeed have been either indifferent or dead to feelings of commiseration for the miseries of my poorer fellow-creatures, if I had not used the only means in my power of alleviating them, or at least in endeavouring to do so. I have enclosed you the case above alluded to, with the blanks not filled up with the names, fearing the publicity of them may excite the unkind feelings of the guardians of his parish, when they perceive their injustice has been publicly noticed. I have, however, given the names in order to a reference, should you deem it necessary. Upon perusing the statement herewith enclosed, and which can be verified upon oath, I hope you will allow that a case sufficiently strong has been made out to excuse an entire stranger from intruding upon you, and for presuming to suggest an alteration in an existing law. I do not think that because this part of the law was the same in the old as in the New Poor-law, it should be permitted to remain so. Oppression, under whatever law or form of it, should, if possible, be removed. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"H. G. Morris, Capt. R.N."

The case alluded to was as follows. He should conceal the name of the party, as it might do him injury in his parish:—

"———is a labourer, aged fifty-five years who has resided and laboured in the parish of Charmouth nearly forty years, but belonging to the adjoining parish of Whitchurch-common, in the Bridport Union, county of Dorset. He has brought up a family of eight children without parochial assistance of any kind, except in one instance, about fourteen years ago, when he met with an accident and broke his leg. While under cure he did receive assistance from his proper parish. Being returned from Exeter Hospital with an incurable complaint, he was obliged to seek for parochial aid; and for that purpose, on the 7th of July last, he appeared before the board of guardians at Bridport. He was refused relief of any kind, until passed to his parish in regular course of law. Monday, the 26th of July, he was conveyed by the parish officers to Beaminster, for the purpose of being examined before a magistrate; but, no magistrate being present, he was brought back to Charmouth, and on Monday, the 2nd of August, he was again conveyed to Beaminster, was examined, and at the expiration of the proper number of days he was sent to his parish, and has been allowed 4s. a week for the support of himself, his wife, and one child of ten years old. But to receive that 4s. he is obliged to go or send to Chidcock, a distance of four miles and a half, every Saturday, it being the place of residence of the relieving officer of his parish.

	Miles.
"On the 7th of July he went from Charmouth to the Bridport Union, a distance of seven miles, and returned	14
"On the 26th of July, he was conveyed to Beaminster, a distance of thirteen miles, and brought back to Charmouth	26
"On the 2nd of August, conveyed a second time to Beaminster and returned to Charmouth	26

Thus making a distance of sixty-six miles which this poor diseased and suffering pauper, has been obliged to travel before he could be legally acknowledged as belonging to his parish, although he had formerly received assistance from it, and though the parish he belongs to, is in some parts touching the bounds of the parish of Charmouth, in which he resides, and notwithstanding the county magistrates reside in the town of Lyme, not two miles distant from Charmouth."

In the union of Keighley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, it was common for old and destitute persons, sixty, seventy, eighty, and even ninety-three years of age, for he had known such an instance, to have to travel in the most inclement days of winter a distance of seven, eight or nine miles, to attend upon the board of guardians; to arrive at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, to stand out of doors in the rain, perhaps, for a long time, for they were let in one by one; and the poor decrepid creature who could not find his or her way to the door at an early hour was obliged to stand half dead from wet and cold before receiving relief. It often happened that they did not receive more than 6*d.* or 1*s.*, that was all that was given to them by a board of guardians, which was often composed entirely of manufacturers. He identified the New Poor-law with the factory system. He believed that it had originated first of all owing to the factory labourers in Lancashire and Yorkshire being so reduced by death and disease, that the cotton spinners found it impossible to carry on their establishments with such a number of hands as they required, and this law originated in a deep-laid design between the rich cotton spinners of Lancashire and the Poor-law commissioners and assistant-commissioners. He would give them his evidence directly, he would assert nothing that he could not prove. When the hon. Member for Manchester moved the Address in answer to the speech from the Throne, he had described, in language which must have sunk deep into the breast of every man of feeling who heard it, the dreadful state of misery and distress to which 102 families of Manchester were now reduced. The hon. Member had recalled to his recollection the account of the rich man possessed of this world's goods, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. The hon. Member came to that House, and charged the landed proprietors of England with being the cause of the distress of those poor wretches. He recollected that about two years ago a public dinner was given at Manchester by the Anti-Corn-law league cotton-spinners, and by way of giving it *eclat* and effect, they asked over to it the hon. and learned Member for Cork (Mr. O'Connell). The hon. and learned Member then asserted, that the landlord's venison was sweetened with widow's tears, and their claret dyed with orphan's blood. That language was cheered by the cotton-spinners; but it was received with ineffable disgust by the working classes; so much so, that the hon. and learned Member was now glad to pass unnoticed through Manchester. Had the hon. Member been there, he (Mr. Ferrand) should have told him it was a foul calumny on the landowners of England, that it was alien to their blood, their religion, and their soil. In the sister kingdom of Ireland he knew this had been asserted, but he would ask any of those agitators and lecturers who roamed through the kingdom, and were paid salaries in proportion to the amount of the foul calumny they could heap upon the landowners of England, if, instead of trying to set landlords and farmers against each other, and stir up hatred where affection ought to subsist, they had made inquiries in any districts where extensive estates were situated. If they had done this, they would have found that the proprietors of those estates, by their conduct to the suffering poor, set the very best example, and one which deserved to be followed by those who talked more loudly of the claims of the poor. But the endeavours of those of the opposite side to excite the poor would be of no effect. They had made immense fortunes by the sweat of the labourer. Where was the hon. Member for Stockport, who the other night declared that the Corn-laws were baptized in blood. [Mr. *Cobden* "Here."] He told the hon. Member, every farthing he had gained by the cotton trade was dyed in the blood of the poor. The manufacturers had so glutted the market at home and abroad, that it was impossible to find the means of selling their goods, and after they had exhausted their labourers by hard labour, they cast away the poor wretches to die in misery. These unfortunate people had petitioned the men of wealth, who had risen, in a few years, to enormous fortunes, to hold out the hand of charity to them. They refused charity to their victims, but they came into that House to deceive them by throwing every term of obloquy on the landed proprietors. He would hold up to those Gentlemen, and to the House, a picture of the manufacturers, drawn by the skilful pencil of Mr. Marshall, of Leeds, who a short time ago fell into a dispute with Lord Fitzwilliam. Mr. Marshall was a flax-spinner of Leeds, who had not so kind a feeling towards the poor as to spend his capital in England. Wages here were not sufficiently low; Mr. Marshall must go to Belgium, and fit up a mill in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where labour was at a low price. The words of Mr. Marshall were—

> "Look again at the crowded streets of our great manufacturing towns; peruse the various statistic accounts by impartial observers of the terrible destitution, the fearful want, disease, degradation, misery—physical and moral—in every shape that reigns there. Look at the wan and haggard faces of the workpeople that come into our courts of justice, that attend our public meetings. See how the very race of Englishmen is dwindling down and degenerating under the effects of the unremitting labour, the insufficient and unwholesome food that their country's laws allow them to enjoy."

He thought food was cheap enough in this country, if the labourer were properly paid. He told the manufacturers, who came here to lay the blame of the misery they had caused upon the shoulders of the landed proprietors, that they were the most selfish and avaricious class of all the holders of property in the country; the landlords were very well satisfied with their rents, but he doubted if the mill-owners were satisfied with less than 1,000 per cent. profit. [*"Oh, oh,"*] If he did not speak within bounds, what did they mean by boasting at the Manchester dinner that they could vie with the nobility of England? But he would ask if the misery that was now so eagerly pressed upon their attention was a phenomenon of yesterday? Had it never been known to exist in the manufacturing districts previous to the present year? He would read to the House the opinion of Dr. Kay, the Assistant Poor-law Commissioner for Manchester, respecting the state of the poor of that town, when manufacturers were in a state of great prosperity, previous to the introduction of the New Poor-law. The following was an extract from the report from the Committee on the Bill to Regulate the Labour of Factory Children, Mr. Sadler Chairman—

"Now, Sir, if you take the average of the above nine factory districts, and compare it with Rutland and London, the result will be as follows—As compared with Rutland, an increase of deaths under five years of age of 2,017; under twenty years of age, 2,272; under forty years of age, 2,287. As compared with London, the increase of deaths will be found to be under five years of age, 1,077; under twenty years of age, 1,448; under forty years of age, 1,207. In Rutland the survivors at forty years are more by 2,287, out of every 10,000, and in London by 1,207, than they are on the average in these nine factory districts. In fact, the murderous result developed by this official table is, that about as many human beings die before their twentieth year, in the factory districts, as before their fortieth year, on an average elsewhere! It is necessary I should inform you, that Manchester is excluded from this official table, because the returns of burials from that place were so incomplete as to render them useless for this comparison. But we have the evidence of Mr. Assistant Poor-law Commissioner, Dr. Kay, that 'in Manchester more than one-half of the offspring of the poor die before they have completed their fifth year.' And, in proof that the factory system impoverishes and degrades, as well as kills its victims, the Doctor adds, 'more than one-half of the inhabitants of Manchester are either so destitute or so degraded, as to require the assistance of public charity, in bringing their offspring into the world!' Is it possible to urge a stronger reason for restraining this accursed monster."

Were the hon. Members opposite, who possessed factories, aware of the dreadful misery which the factory system was bringing upon their workpeople? If they were, he really did not believe there was any man living who wished to be considered an upright, honourable man, who could in that House bring such charges against the landed proprietors, when it was quite notorious throughout the manufacturing districts that they were not at all to blame for the distress there prevailing, which was entirely owing to the factory system, and to the forgetfulness of the millowners that property had its duties as well as its rights. The hon. Member for Manchester quoted the other night the opinions of a chaplain extraordinary—the Rev. Baptist Noel—to prove that the Corn-laws had produced all the existing distress. He should quote to the House the opinion of a man who had during a long life studied the whole subject of the causes which had brought about the present distress of the working classes in the manufacturing districts. That man had laboured night and day in this good work, but his praise and his reward had been a cell in the Fleet prison. [*Hear, hear.*] The Gentlemen opposite cried "Hear, hear;" they rejoiced in that man's sufferings; they might imprison his body, but let him tell them they could not imprison his soul. Mr. Oastler was heartily engaged in forwarding the welfare of the operatives. It was he who put a stop to the system of dragging out the poor people of the south of England to the manufacturing districts that they might fill up the places of those who had been brought to their end by this accursed system. Mr. Oastler said—

"The official 'comparative table of the duration of life' proves to a demonstration, that the unremitting labour of the factories is actually more destructive to human life than famine, war, or pestilence! I started from the perusal of that table with indescribable horror —I could scarcely believe my eyes! But the facts are indisputable!—the data most correct! The horrible factory system is making a charnel-house of England—it cuts off life at both ends—it works the living to death—it genders death, untimely death, even in the womb! It destroys the stamina of both father and mother—it ushers into the world children who are incapable of life!—it actually cuts off one-half of the years of human existence! I do not exaggerate; I appeal to the official table of births and deaths. The following extracts from that table will prove if I am not abundantly borne out in all which I have asserted. In every 10,000 burials in the undermentioned places read the awful result:

	Places.	Died under 5 years of age.	Died under 20 years of age.	Died under 40 years of age.	Lived above 40 years.
	Rutland . . .	2,865	3,756	5,031	4,969
	London . . .	3,805	4 580	6,111	3,889
Factory Districts.	Bradford, Yorkshire	4,687	5,896	7,061	2,939
	Macclesfield . .	4,462	5,889	7,300	2,700
	Wigan	4,790	5,911	7,117	2,883
	Preston . . .	4,947	6,083	7,462	2,538
	Bury	4,864	6,017	7,319	2,681
	Stockport . .	4,879	6,005	7,367	2,633
	Bolton	4,939	6,113	7,459	2,541
	Leeds	5,286	6,213	7,441	2,559
	Holbeck . . .	5,090	6,133	7,337	2,663

Now, had hon. Members opposite no better proof of sympathy to give than empty words? He assured them the poor working men of the north of England would be well content if the hon. and learned Member for Bolton subscribed towards their relief 1,000*l.* out of the 17,000*l.* he had received from the public. The millowners of Manchester, it appeared, allowed 102 families to pawn their clothes to keep themselves alive; they collected the particulars of their cases, wrote them down on paper, and came to London to state them, but they did not make one substantial effort for their relief. It would have been excusable if they could have alleged with honesty that they were ruined, and could subscribe nothing for that purpose; but they took care not to say that they had not yet done anything to assist the perishing people. The hon. Member for Stockport had asserted that the landlords compelled their surplus population to go into the manufacturing districts. He would read on the subject with permission of the House, an extract from the first report of the Poor-law Commissioners for 1835. It was a communication on the subject of the migration of labourers, in a letter from Eton and Ashworth, dated Turton, near Bolton, 9th of 6th month, 1834. It began, "Respected friend"—for the writer was one of that class of men who made great professions of religious feeling:—

> "I take the liberty of forwarding for thy consideration, a few observations on the proposed New Poor-law Bill, the leading principle of which I most cordially approve, whilst in some of its details I fear it will be found practically defective. I would not venture to suggest an opinion to you, who have already so ample a store of evidence, were it not that I feel so much the vast importance of the subject, and am most anxious that, whilst a change is making, the law which is substituted for that now in force may be made applicable to the wants and circumstances of all parts of the community. The poor-rates of Lancashire have long been the lowest of any county in the kingdom, in consequence of the great demand for labour, caused by the increase of manufactories. Full employment, in every department, was never more easy to be found than now, consequently, wages have advanced in most operative employments, and particularly so in the least skilful; spade labourers, for instance, who last year had 2*s.* 3*d.* per day, have now 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* Hand-loom weavers have been much wanted, and their wages advanced, on an average ten per cent. This bespeaks a scarcity of labourers here."

What that those poor men should have 10 per cent. raised on their wages, and that that should bespeak a scarcity of labour! It was melancholy to think that the cotton-spinners of Manchester should make such assertions as they had, when wages had been raised 10 per cent. The letter proceeded:—

> "I am most anxious that every facility be given to the removal of labourers from one county to another, according to the demand for labour; this would have a tendency to equalize wages, as well as prevent, in degree, some of the turn-outs which have been of late so prevalent."

Ay? He found then, that the men of that same Mr. Ashworth had turned out, because they did not consider they were sufficiently repaid for their labour. Why he thought their traders were ruined in Lancashire, and that they required that Poor-law Bill to bring in extra numbers of poor labourers from the southern counties to keep down the equalization of wages. But he would read an extract from another letter—a letter written by Mr. R. H. Greg, a brother, he believed, of the late hon. Member for Manchester, to Mr. E. Chadwick, secretary to the Poor-law Commission. It began thus:—

> "Manchester, Sept. 17, 1839.—I have for some time, thought of addressing you on the same matter as my friend Ashworth did some time ago."

What then, that Mr. Greg who was addressing the Poor-law commissioners on the same subject as Mr. Ashworth, was assisting to equalize wages, and was in despair because the poor handloom weavers were increasing 10 per cent. in their wages. The letter continued—

> "Namely, the propriety of opening a communication between our (strange to say) underpeopled districts and the southern over-peopled ones. It is at this moment a most important suggestion, and deserves to be put into immediate operation. It must be looked upon as a happy coincidence that, at the period of depriving or curtailing perhaps the facilities of gaining a livelihood to the people of one half of England, and causing a fall in their present low wages, and a scramble amongst them for employment, there should exist a difficulty in obtaining labourers at extravagant wages in these northern counties. This fortunate occurrence should be taken advantage of."

To talk of extravagant wages when they looked to the poor handloom weavers whose wages had been raised 10 per cent.! Those poor wretches had from time to time petitioned that House in vain, and had never obtained relief without a league being entered into with the Poor-law commissioners to obtain new labourers from the south of England, to be chained down to the factory mills and there to die.

> "But for the operation of the Poor-laws in binding down the labourers to their respective parishes, in the mode and to the degree I need not attempt to explain to you, of all men, there would have existed a free circulation of labour throughout the country, to the benefit alike of the southern and northern parts."

He would assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that this was a land of slavery, that those men were bought and sold by the Poor-law commissioners of England to the cotton-spinners in Lancashire, there to be worked to death. Could any man who had heard the details which he had read that night doubt it? If they denied it, he knew not what the country would say to their assertion; but he would leave it to the country to judge. He would describe what the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth, had recommended to save those poor wretches in Lancashire, and he fearlessly said, that the right hon. Baronet had shown, since he had taken his seat in that House as Prime Minister of England, a great anxiety to relieve the poor. But he would ask the right hon. Baronet to carry out that sympathy towards the living for the next six months which he had shown for the dead; for he had ascertained, after the division last night, that the poor of England must remain for the next six months at the mercy of the Poor-law commissioners; but they must remember that their appointments were in the power of that House, and that if they did not do their duty according to the directions of the right hon. Baronet, they would soon cease to hold them. He would then withdraw as far as he could, as the representative of his constituents, who comprised an immense mass of the operatives of the West Riding of Yorkshire, the whole responsibility from the three Poor-law commissioners for the next six months, and would place it on the shoulders of the right hon. Baronet. He had a right to do so. They had heard accounts of the distress in the counties of York and Lancaster; he was not going to deny them; but this he would tell the right hon. Baronet, that trade in Yorkshire was rapidly increasing; that in his neighbourhood he had lately communicated, as he generally did, when he was residing there, with a great many of the working classes, and they told him they had as much employment as they wanted; but what they wanted was this—better wages, which, however, they had much difficulty in convincing their masters ought to be given them. He would then give the prescription of the hon. Members for Manchester, Bolton, Salford, and Stockport; three of whom were, he believed, closely connected with the cotton trade, and the fourth, the Member for Bolton, was connected with the revenue of the country. But he would first read what the right hon. Baronet had stated in that House; he said,

> "I am one of those who have derived our fortunes from the industry of the operative classes, and I trust that others, who owe their prosperity to the same causes, will feel. as I do, that it is our duty to relieve the public, by taking on ourselves the charge of a just requital to those classes from whom our prosperity has sprung."

He would ask those hon. Members, then, to reconcile their enormous wealth with the present dreadful distress which was stated to exist among the working classes, and if they could, any one of them, lay his head on his pillow that night without saying he had done his duty to them, he did not envy him his repose. He would then refer to the medical relief that was supplied in the Keighley union. He had it brought under his notice now three years ago, and on application to the medical officer of the union, he found that during the previous year he had been paid only at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* a case, and that in the parish of Bingley the medical officer had been paid but 2*s.* 7*d.* a case for attending the poor. He brought the case before the Poor-law commissioners, but they said they did not consider it was a case in which they could interfere. He then sent a petition to that place, where so many had been presented and forgotten. His petition was laid on the table; what became of it afterwards he knew not, but those medical officers received the same salaries still, and he did not hesitate to say there was a feeling of extreme disgust among the working classes, as well as the better classes in that union, to think that the poor should have medical relief offered to them at a price which was not so high even as that which was given to a dog doctor anywhere, and that they were placed in that respect on a level with dumb animals. Though he should vote for the instruction of the hon. Member, still he felt regret, when hon. Members were anxious to redeem the obnoxious clauses of this bill, that such a course should have been taken; for rate-payers who formerly paid only 1*s.* 6*d.* for rates were now paying 7*s.*, 8*s.*, and 9*s.*, and were paying, to a great extent, the wages of the manufacturers.

Sir *J. Graham* said, he was painfully aware of the duty that attached to him on the present occasion, but he could assure the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, that no eagerness of manner, or warmth of declamation, could spare him from endeavouring faithfully to discharge his public duty, and that, conscious of that duty, he should not hastily abandon a measure the importance of which he felt so deeply, and to the principle of which measure, although it might require some consideration, and be susceptible of some amendment, he was conscientiously pledged, and from which he would not recede. He thought it necessary to state thus much in the outset of his observations; but having stated that, he hoped the House would permit him to add that on the measure which he had that night brought under discussion, he did not ask any hon. Member in that House to pledge himself to the maintenance of the Poor-law in its present state. He carefully reserved, as he stated on the previous night, the discussion of all the details of that measure; nay, the decision of the House on the principle of the measure itself, until the next Session of Parliament. And all he would then ask the House to do was to pass a measure for the continuance of the commission for the next six months, without the superintending care of which commission the whole management of the poor would be thrown into inextricable confusion, to enable the Government to consider the shape in which it would present to Parliament the Poor-law bill itself, with such amendments as they might think necessary, in an early part of the next Session of Parliament. In the first place he would observe, with respect to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Knaresborough, that what they were that night discussing was, whether the Poor-law commission should be continued; but the principal statements which the hon. Gentleman brought under the consideration of the House were proofs, if they were accurately stated, and which he (Sir J. Graham) was sure, from what he knew of the hon. Gentleman, he meant them to be, of great local mismanagement. They did not tend to impugn the conduct of the central body; on the contrary, they went far to show the danger of local management being left uncontrolled, and were a strong argument in favour of the superintending authority of some such commission as he then asked the House to continue. But, passing from the hon. Member for Knaresborough, he turned to the hon. Gentleman who brought forward the present motion. It was quite unnecessary on that point to vindicate the purity of the hon. Gentleman's motion, or the kindliness of feeling that prompted him to make that motion, for he had always thought from what he had known and heard of the hon. Gentleman, that they were the characteristics of his conduct, both in that House and in his native country. No vindication of that kind then was necessary; but, without being offensive to the hon. Gentleman, he (Sir J. Graham) would just call the attention of the House to one very remarkable fact, and it was this, that the hon. Gentleman who moved this instruction—which affected the different counties in England and Wales, was not resident in this country; that he had had no practical experience of the working of the system which he then sought to interrupt, and there was this strange coincidence, that he represented one of the few places in England—namely, Rochdale, to which this system of the New Poor-law had not been extended. Now, the hon. Gentleman said, that to prove a case there was nothing like a statement of particular cases resting on facts. He would agree with the hon. Gentleman in the latter part of that proposition, that there was nothing so convincing as resting on facts in particular cases. But then the hon. Gentleman, having no personal knowledge of those facts, and his constituents having no personal experience of the working of the system, brought forward a string of cases, in a most sweeping form, which did not rest on his personal authority, or the experience of his constituents, but which were *ex parte* statements — *ex parte* statements, that could only be tested by inquiry, and until facilities were given, he did think that statements of that kind were far more likely to mislead popular assemblies in discussing this question than any other mode that could be devised. The instruction that was moved on the previous night touched only on the incidental part of the question to which it more immediately referred. But the instruction of that evening went to the very essence of the measure itself—namely, the power of extending the unions, which was the preliminary step to bringing the act into operation anywhere, and the power which was vested in the commissioners of refusing relief out of the workhouse. That went to the very essence of the measure itself; and if he refused to enter on the discussion of those points at that time, it was only because he wished to leave the measure untouched for future discussion; and he was quite sure, that the House would see how impossible it was for him, without departing from that reserve which his sense of duty imposed on him, to follow the hon. Member in the discussion of his details. But he would just state to the House, that in point of fact, without giving any pledge itself on the part of the executive Government, those powers which were given by the Act of Parliament were not sought then to be altered in the least degree. He did not ask for any alteration of that law, but only for the continuance of the controlling power vested in the commission by that law; and he could further state, that by that law as it would remain, no power would exist to touch the Gilbert Unions Act, and introduce the Poor-law in its stead. Then as to local acts, he would admit that indirectly some interference had taken place; but he would give no pledge whatever on the part of the Government which should go to demonstrate on their part a want of confidence in the commission, or a feeling of prejudice against the principle of that measure, which it would be their duty to reconsider, and bring under the notice of that House in the next Session of Parliament. He thought that taking that discussion under the pressure which then existed would be prejudicial to the measure, and he therefore could give no such pledge; but he asked the House to extend the operation of the measures at that time and under those circumstances. If they believed that the commission controlled by the executive could act so imprudently for the short time to which it was proposed to be extended, then he said, "Do not deal with this question in the shape of an instruction, but refuse the passing of the bill." If, however, they had confidence in the commission controlled by the executive, then, he would, say, reject the instructions, but pass the measure." He would then call the attention of the House to one or two remarkable circumstances which ought not to be overlooked. And first, with respect to this commission. This commission had yielded to public opinion, and as he thought most judiciously, and quite in accordance with the spirit in which the measure was enacted. He said the commission within the last six weeks had marked its sense of the pressure of public opinion, and had yielded most judiciously and in a manner which he highly approved. When the act was discussed incidentally last Session, he had pointed out some errors of judgment in carrying the original act into execution. There had been an evasion of one of the most essential provisions in the original enactment, by multiplying special orders in particular unions to an immense extent, thereby evading the provision which rendered the passing of general orders necessary; as it was only to those general orders that the approbation of the Secretary of State was necessary. Now, what had been the conduct of the commission upon the vital point of forbidding out-door relief? Within the last six weeks,—yielding to public opinion—on a re-consideration of all the circumstances, and from a proper sense of duty, they had put into one general order all the scattered, individual orders prohibiting out-door relief, and submitted them to his predecessor at the Home-office. That order had not been negatived, and the prescribed period, within which the Secretary of State's disapprobation should have been signified being just on the point of expiring, it was to be concluded that the sanction of the department had thus indirectly been given. He repeated, that the commissioners had brought under one general order all the special orders touching out-door relief, and had brought it under the general executive. So much for their conduct on that head. They had shown a disposition to do away with any consideration of the Act of Parliament, and to bring their conduct directly under the control and into conformity with the spirit of that act. But was that all? He thought it his duty, and he hoped the House would pardon him for so doing, to read what appeared to him a list of most important relaxations in the extreme stringency of the order relative to out-door relief. These relaxations were many of them in direct conformity with recommendations of the committee over which Mr. Fazakerley had presided, and in which he (Sir J. Graham) had the honour of acting. First, he would read the order itself.

"Every able-bodied person, male or female, requiring relief from any of the said parishes shall be relieved in the workhouse, and shall, together with such family as may be resident with him or her, and who may not be employed," &c., be resident in the workhouse,—"save and except the following cases."

Then followed seven most important relaxations of the stringency of that rule:—

"First, when such person shall require relief in consequence of sudden or urgent necessity; secondly, where such person requires relief on account of any sickness, accident, or bodily or mental infirmity affecting such person, or any of his or her family."

Here was a very wide door opened to out-door relief, certainly, in the case of "sickness" or any other "urgent necessity."

"Thirdly, where such person requires relief for defraying the burial expense of any part of his family; fourthly, where such person, being a widow, shall be in the first six months of her widowhood, even if childless."

He begged the House to observe how this was extended,—

"In case such person, being a widow, shall have a legitimate child or children dependent upon her, &c., then, in that case, the widow shall, without stint or limit, receive relief out of the workhouse, and in her own home; sixthly, when such person shall be confined in any gaol or place of safe custody."

This form was adopted in consequence of words in the original act referring to the rule which should be adopted towards members of a family in the absence of the head; and thus a door was opened for the relief of the wife and children in their own homes.

"Lastly, where relief was required by the wife and child, or children, of any able-bodied man who shall be in the service of her Majesty as a soldier or sailor."

Now, these were assuredly most important relaxations, as he stated, in the stringency of the rule as laid down originally. He did not wish to trouble the House by going further into the matter, but by the 16th clause of the original act the executive had the power, not within any prescribed period, but at any period whatever, to issue an order in Council, altering or relaxing any of the rules. There was, therefore, ample protection in this power of the executive (during the interval for which alone he asked the renewal of this measure) against any hardship or injury arising from the administration of the law. Now really, without offence, he must say, that he never could hear without pain language from any side of the House which might have the effect—he knew it would not by any Member be uttered with the object—of exciting angry passions, on the part of the commercial or manufacturing interests, against the landed interests, or on the part of those against the former. Neither could he refrain from frankly admitting that the main source of the prosperity of this country was its manufacturing industry and enterprise. But now, he asked, what had been the operation of the law, in the manufacturing districts, as to this rule of out-door relief? One could not conceive a case in which that rule was likely to have a more stringent application than in the instance of the Irish handloom weavers, not having settlements in the manufacturing districts. The rigour of the law would lead the commissioners to say, "Give them relief, but remove them from this country to Ireland." That was the strict letter of the law. But was that the direction given by the commissioners? Anything but that. He held in his hand orders passed within the last week by the commissioners, in respect to this very case of the handloom weavers in Manchester, directing the assistant-commissioner to use his authority over the board of guardians, directing peremptorily that relief be afforded to these weavers, not in the workhouse, but out of doors, in the shape of breaking stones or work of other kind, paid for fairly—and no attempt was made to remove them to Ireland in consideration of that relief. He hoped the House would pardon him for departing somewhat from the strict line he had laid down in the discussion of this question, not to enter into details. On the best consideration he could give to the subject, he thought he had not exceeded his duty in going thus far to remove false impressions; further than that he did not feel it his duty to go. Last night the House gave him a general support in resisting the introduction of amendments. He hoped nothing had fallen from him which would induce them to withdraw now that limited confidence which alone at present he asked. Having made these observations, it would be his duty to resist both the amendments of the hon. Member for Rochdale; and he hoped the majority would support him in that resistance.

Mr. *M. Philips* should not have trespassed upon the attention of the House had it not been for the exceedingly personal character of the speech which had been delivered by the hon. Member for Knaresborough—a speech far different in tone from that which had just been delivered, and a speech which he listened to with a great deal of pain. He had listened to that speech in the expectation of hearing the hon. Member for Knaresborough support the motion of the hon. Member for Rochdale. But, unless bold declamation was to be taken as argument, there was not much argument in the speech. As to the opinions the hon. Member had expressed of the manufacturers, he would not go much into that subject, not wishing to be betrayed into any undue warmth, even in debating, and very unwilling to follow the example of the hon. Member himself in that respect. He would content himself with just adverting to the manner in which, as he imagined, quite unjustifiably, the hon. Member had alluded to the manufacturers, as if they were necessarily without feeling, and as if their sole object was their aggrandizement at the expense of the blood and sinews of their fellow-citizens. This he would tell the hon. Member, that he had formed a very wrong estimate of the character of those among whom it appeared he had been in the habit of living. Though it was not for him to pretend that the manufacturers, as a body, were more merciful or liberal than any other class, and, although he wished not to institute comparisons, this he would say, that the manufacturers of Manchester could not with truth be charged with any dereliction of duty, or any want of sympathy with the necessities of their poorer fellow-townsmen; and that to affirm that they were not always ready to lend relief to the operatives when distressed, was a libel upon their characters in no degree borne out by truth. As to the administration of the Poor-law in Manchester, it would be sufficient for him to say, that he knew the rates had doubled between the 24th of March last and the 25th of March preceding; so that there was certainly no indication of the manufacturers shrinking from the consequences of the distress prevailing among the poor. Now, as to the manufacturers, to whom the hon. Member for Knaresborough had been pleased to allude in terms they had not deserved, this he would say, that one of them had told him (which he knew to be the case,) that he never shortened the time even of working, unless he was losing to such an amount as would, if carried on, produce an annual loss of 10,000*l*. Others had given him 7,000*l*. as the sum; and really, was it not a very strong circumstance, that these master manufacturers did not even shorten time, much less reduce wages, till they were losing at such a rate as would inevitably, if continued, lead them to bankruptcy. And he might state, that last year, when there was great pressure upon the operatives—just to show that there was no lack of proper sympathy, (though he was far from boasting as regarded his class, much less as regarded himself), between 3,000*l*. and 4,000*l*. had been collected in an incredibly short space of time, in order to relieve the distressed families, and prevent the pledging of furniture, clothes, &c. Thus much, then, in justification of the manufacturers, who had been so unfairly attacked. Now, as to himself. The hon. Member for Knaresborough had charged him with having been absent from the last division on the subject; that was true, and it was true that he had been intentionally absent, and the reason was this, that the proposition before the House had been one which would involve censure of the separation of man and wife, which separation took place at Manchester before it was included in a union; and he did not wish to imply a censure upon the old practice in the town, neither did he wish hastily to vote approbation of a principle which he thought well worthy of the most careful consideration of the House. Now, as to the general character of the Poor-law, he was not about to shrink from any declaration of opinion he had given in favour of the principle of the law, which he considered had been productive of great advantage, more particularly to the agricultural districts; and he should not on this occasion offer the right hon. Baronet the slightest opposition. This was a question on which, of all others, he would never be committed to a factious opposition to the Government. It was above all party considerations, and by him it had never been made a party question. He had been attacked violently upon the subject at the election when he had stood up for the bill, because he had believed it a good bill; and he was not to be deterred from the course he had adopted from conviction. He was persuaded at the same time, that with the experience they had obtained of the working of the act, some alterations might be desired, and he much wished to see the act discussed more with reference to the alterations which had been already introduced into its working by the commissioners, than to its original shape and operation, which had been so materially altered (as by the important relaxation stated by the right hon. Baronet), respecting out-door relief and other points. Still it was so much the practice to take the act merely as it stood, that he confessed he had sometimes been led to think certain alterations might be made in it. It ought, however, to be made plain to the world, that there had been great changes in the law as originally framed, and the time of the House could not be more profitably employed, perhaps, than in the revision of the act at the earliest possible period next Session. Having said thus much, he should have no difficulty, in case of a division, in voting for the bill before the House.

Mr. *Wakley* said, it was now understood, that the Government had resolved to adhere to the principles of the existing law, and the right hon. Baronet, with a candour which did him credit, had admitted, that such was the case. It now appeared, then, that the Whig aristocracy of England, and the Tory aristocracy of England, were pledged to the maintenance of the existing law in its principles. But when the right hon. Baronet, on the 16th of the present month, made his statement in the House, that he was desirous of prolonging the commission for six months, he gave no notification whatever that it was his intention to maintain the existing law. It appeared, that he had put an interpretation upon those words which circumstances had not justified. He did not complain of the conduct of the right hon. Baronet on that occasion, but this he did say, that he had been completely deceived. He admitted it frankly; he had been deceived. The circumstances which had deceived him, however, were simple and clear enough. In the present year in the last Session the subject of the Poor-law had been discussed, and with several anxious debates. The right hon. Baronet then led the opposition to the bill, and Lord John Russell having proposed the prolongation of the commission for ten years, the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, had himself proposed that the period be reduced to five years. Having now become the leader of the Government, he did certainly expect that the right hon. Gentleman would only request the House to continue the commission for a short time; therefore, in a moment of infinite gratification, he had expressed his determination not to offer any opposition to the continuance of the commission. He should adhere to that pledge, but at the same time he confessed, that he had hoped, considering the circumstances under which the right hon. Baronet had acted, that his better judgment had resumed its sway, that his determination to maintain the commission had relaxed, that he was sensible of the strong feeling in the country against the existing commission and the law, and that he was prepared to yield to public opinion, and to renew the commission for a short time, only to abolish it altogether. It now appeared, however, that the commission was to be continued. He had expected, from the constitution of the Government, that a different course would have been pursued. The hon. Member for East Kent had expressed opinions adverse to the law. The noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, had taken a very active part against many of the clauses. Then the learned Attorney-General had made a speech against it marked by that sincere feeling and sympathy for the poor which to the hon. Gentleman was natural. Then the hon. and learned Solicitor-General had never expressed an opinion in favour of the law. At the same time he had not forgotten that the right hon. Baronet, the Home Secretary, and the noble Lord, the Secretary for Colonial Affairs, had been among the framers of the measure. Still, looking to the general formation of the Government, he had expected a different course would have been pursued upon the subject. However, he had been deceived. But the deception he had laboured under would be in some respects useful to him; it enabled him to understand the position he held as an individual in that House; and it would be useful to the country, also, as pointing out clearly the course which ought to be pursued, and to which he would soon advert. Now, a great deal had been said to night as respected abuses under the law. The hon. Member for Rochdale had brought forward a motion on which, if there was a division, he would divide with him. Last night he had not divided, for he considered that the motion then made had been imperfect, and could not, in fact, had it been adopted, be carried out by the commissioners or guardians. But he differed from the hon. Member for Rochdale in the opinion, that hon. Members had expressed, that on every question brought forward in the House every Member ought to vote and to declare his opinion. The effect of this would often be to force Members to a division before they had been able to form their judgment properly on the question to be submitted to them. That had frequently happened to him, or rather would have happened, had he not, on such occasions, quitted the House rather than vote on questions whereon he had not had time to make up his mind on a due deliberation and proper investigation of the merits. [Mr. *Hawes*: Hear.] The hon. Member cheered. Had he the sagacity of that hon. Member—had he half that hon. Member's experience, happy acuteness, and vivid perception, joined with that profundity of judgment which ever characterized the hon. Member, then might he be able to comprehend subjects the most abstruse with the slightest attention; and on questions the most difficult to form his opinion at once speedily and soundly; but he had not those extraordinary qualifications; therefore, sorry he was for it, he must be content, like ordinary men, to endeavour by consideration and attention, to make up his mind upon important questions. Now as to the detailed cases which had been given by the hon. Member for Rochdale, in a great degree he (Mr. Wakley) could confirm what had been stated. He thought in discussing a question of this nature, it was not so important to dwell upon cases of hardship originating from the operation of the law—not upon specific abuses, as upon the principle of the law—upon its tendency to produce the evils complained of. It was the false principle upon which the Poor-law was based which he wished to see fully discussed, and which required immediate alteration. If he understood the principle of the Poor-law correctly, it amounted to this—that it took away from the rate-payers the powers of applying the fund collected for the relief of the poor to its original purpose, it deprived the rate-payers of the authority they formerly possessed, and transferred it to the Poor-law commissioners at Somerset-house. He did not think that it were possible for human ingenuity to construct a law which operated more oppressively on the poor than that which the commissioners at Somerset-house were instructed to carry into effect. What remedy has been proposed by a Member of this House for the evil? The hon. Member for Bath, whom he was sorry not to see in his place, had directed his mind to the consideration of this subject with the view of discovering a remedy for the admitted abuses of the Poor-law. To effect that object, the hon. Member had hit upon one of the most extraordinary schemes that could, by any possibility, have entered into the mind of a human being. This remedy was of a most extraordinary character. The hon. Member for Bath proposed to transfer the authority from the Poor-law commissioners at Somerset-house to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He could conceive nothing more destructive to the real interests of the poor, than that they should be placed at the mercy of the Home Secretary. The hon. Baronet who now filled that office would not, he was sure, think he meant, by his observations, to reflect upon him individually. He did not refer to any individual who had filled, who now filled, or was likely to occupy, the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department, but he objected to the proposed alteration purely on principle. He was, indeed, astonished that such a proposition should have originated from the hon. Member for Bath. Of all the Members of the House, he thought that that hon. Gentleman would have been the last to have contemplated such a transfer of authority. When that hon. Member advocated in the House the interests of the Canadians, he informed them that he applied in vain for justice to the Home Secretary; he said that he could absolutely get nothing from him; that he was literally spurned from the door, when he applied in behalf of the Canadians, whose claims he had been appointed to advocate. He (Mr. Wakley) could not recal to mind the precise tropes and figures of speech which the hon. Member made use of on the occasion to which he referred, but the impression left on his mind was, to the effect, that it was ridiculous for the Canadians to suppose that they could obtain anything but injustice from the Secretary of State. He would, were the hon. Member for Bath in the House, ask that hon. Gentleman, whether it was likely that he (Mr. Roebuck) would meet with more civility from the Home Secretary now, than he did on a former occasion—he would ask him whether he thought that he would meet with more humanity in that quarter? Does the hon. Gentleman consider that the Secretary of State is less fortified in his opinion, in consequence of being backed by a large majority of the House of Commons? Such a transfer of power would be a mere device to deprive the poor of redress; and that being his opinion, he (Mr. Wakley) would offer the motion, whenever submitted to the House, his most strenuous opposition. He would now refer to the discretionary powers possessed by the Poor-law commissioners, and that question involved also the consideration of the principle of the enactment, as well as two other points springing out of the law—one relating to the centralization of power in the hand of the commissioners, and the other having reference to the legal right of the poor to demand parochial relief. These points he would illustrate presently. He thought that it was the paramount duty of the House to understand the nature of the question then under discussion. He would ask hon. Members whether the nobility of England—whether the aristocracy of this country had a right to claim the protection of the law—whether judges should be appointed to adjudicate exclusively for them, and to protect their many privileges, when they denied the same right to the poor? Had the poor the protection of the law? By the laws of this country, the poor had been literally outlawed—they had been placed beyond the pale of the law. The law of the present day was not the law which existed for the poor in the time of Queen Elizabeth. By the statute of Elizabeth, the poor had a right to demand relief—the law authorised them to demand it. How were the poor provided for before the enactment of Elizabeth? Hon. Members should recollect, that before that period, there were scattered through the country a number of monastic and charitable institutions, erected for the purpose of administering relief to the distressed, When these were dispersed at the Reformation, the act of Elizabeth came into operation, which gave the poor a right to demand assistance, when necessity impelled them. The right of a poor man was as strong as the right of the first nobleman in the land; the one had not a stronger claim upon the protection of the law than the other. Could that fact be denied by hon. Members? What did they say that they would do? They declared their intention of passing a law which would deprive the poor of their right to claim legal protection. They had also erected a tribunal of an irresponsible character. He was not in the House when the Poor-law Bill was first proposed, he did not participate in its enactment. Let hon. Members ask themselves how they as individuals would like to be compelled to apply to a certain authority for relief, without knowing beforehand what was the nature of the reception they were likely to receive? He said again, that the poor had a right to the protection of the law. If they denied them that right, they destroyed the principle of true aristocracy. He would ask whether that was Conservatism? Whether that was the effectual mode of maintaining the institutions of the country, to obtain the good feelings of the poor, and to uphold the monarchical principle? He thought that the present course was fraught with great danger to the country; it was one that could not be pursued with safety or impunity. It was his belief, that if the House adhered to the law as it at present stood—if its provisions were not considerably mitigated—that the country would be stained with blood. That was his opinion, and it was his duty to state it to the House. He had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the real feelings of the country respecting the Poor-law. He mixed with people belonging to all classes of society; he was conversant with their opinions. It was the belief of the great majority of the country, that the Poor-law was not only inhuman in its nature, but anti-Christian,—yes, he would repeat, it was anti-Christian—and that it had its origin in selfishness—the most destructive feeling that could be engendered by the human mind. He did not believe that the Poor-law originated in a feeling of selfishness; it sprang from ignorance of the condition of the poor. If hon. Members could see what he was almost daily in the habit of witnessing, he felt assured that their views would undergo a material modification. Was it right that the poor should be subjected to such treatment? The right hon. Baronet, the Member for Dorchester, had informed the House that evening in the course of his speech, that the commissioners at Somerset-house had considerably, in certain districts, relaxed the operation of the law. He would ask the House if the Poor-law commissioners, possessing the limited information which they could obtain, considered it their duty to apply the law less rigorously, whether the Poor-law guardians, having better opportunities of being made acquainted with the local condition of the poor, could not also be empowered to relax, under certain circumstances, the operation of the law? He did not see why the discretionary power should be taken from the guardians. He would ask, was this an effort of reform? Was this paying a proper deference to the wishes of the people? He was not for the total abolition of the law, but he thought that the interest of the poor was so vast, that the nation generally was so mixed up with the question of the poor, that it was advisable that a court of appeal should be constituted. To preside at this court he would have a man in whose judgment and humanity he could place implicit reliance; he would appoint a man who should be designated the "Poor-law Judge." He would also suggest the appointment of a Poor-law advocate, whose duty it should be to support before that tribunal the claims of the poor and distressed. If her most gracious Majesty had her paid advocates, he did not see why the poor should not have theirs. He hoped the hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, would take this subject into his serious consideration. He maintained that the poor had a right to be placed under the law, and not under the authority of paid commissioners at Somerset house, whose administration of the law must depend to some extent upon the state of bodily health, for what would be law one day, would not be law the next. What do the commissioners say with reference to the application of the poor for relief? In the report of 1829 it is said:—

> "A pauper likewise commonly receives the public relief as his due."

As his due? He (the pauper) does not go down on his bended knee to supplicate relief. Then, again, to continue the same extract:—

> "And without any gratitude or any of the feeling which induces the industrious labourer to make the most and the best of his hard-earned gains."

He would ask if any person who could use such language was fitted to administer relief to the poor? He felt assured, that if these were the notions really entertained by any one appointed to carry the Poor-law into operation, they had much mistaken the feelings of the House. He would say a few words with reference to the constitution of the present law as carried out by the Poor-law commissioners. He would ask the House whether they approved of the present size of the Poor-law unions? He wished to know whether hon. Members who supported this law considered that it was right that unions should exist embracing between thirty and forty parishes, containing a population of 100,000 persons? He was acquainted with one union which contained a population of 120,000 individuals. Hon. Members should consider the size of the unions in connection with the application for relief. A man starving for food applies to the overseer for assistance; he is told to make an application to the board of guardians. To effect that purpose, this poor pauper has to walk a distance of nine miles. [An hon. *Member* said twelve miles.] A Gentleman below me says twelve miles. Owing to the pauper having miscalculated his time, he arrives too late; he finds the board broken up, and he is compelled to retrace his weary steps without having received a promise of relief. He would ask hon. Members, what must be the feelings of a man under such circumstances? what must be his reflections, when he recalled to mind that his father, and perhaps brothers, had fought and bled in the defence of his country? He would now direct the attention of the House to the administration of medical relief to the poor under the operation of the Poor-law enactment. In former times the poor man could easily obtain medical assistance when it was needed. If the man was honest, industrious, and deserving, his neighbours were always ready to afford him every assistance, without the necessity of applying to the overseers or guardians of the poor. The parish doctor was on the spot, and was always willing to give his advice in cases of illness. If these happy days were ever to be restored, the preliminary step was to restore parochial government, but in such a manner as to obviate the abuses which existed under the old system. The unions were so large and extensive, that it was quite impossible for the poor to obtain the necessary relief in cases of sickness. Connected with this subject he would read a communication which he had received from a gentleman connected with the Basford Union. It was dated April 17, 1841:—

"Sir,—I beg leave to forward to you the following particulars relating to the administration of medical relief in the Basford Union:—They have been communicated to me by a friend, on whose accuracy I can fully rely. In that union, a medical gentleman, who has only recently passed his examination as medical practitioner, holds two districts, consisting of twelve different parishes, including a population of 12,410 persons (according to the census taken ten years ago, since which it has considerably increased), situate in an agricultural and manufacturing country, the salary which he receives for fulfilling the medical duties in the whole of those two districts being only 87*l*. a year. He resides at Bulwell, and before he reaches three of the parishes—namely, Woodborough (population 717), Lambley (population 690), and Calverton (population 1,064), each of which is seven miles distant from his own residence—he passes, in order to visit his patients, through Arnold, containing 3,572 persons, at a distance of four miles; and in Arnold there resides a legally qualified medical gentleman, who has practised there for at least thirteen years, a man of excellent conduct, and I believe universally respected. He has a strong objection to the tender system, which he has pledged himself never to adopt. He attended several years previous to the formation of the union of the parishes of Arnold, Calverton, and Woodborough; and applications have since been made to him for a renewal of his services, but the tender system forms the objection to his consenting. He held one district in the union for three years, but finding that the amount of remuneration was inadequate to the duties required of him, he resigned it; and because he would not tender, the district was awarded to an unqualified person, who, after three months' trial, was dismissed for incompetency and neglect of duty. The district is now held by the young man before referred to, who has just commenced practice, and who already holds another district in the same union. The extreme parishes of the two districts are at least twelve miles asunder, so that if a patient living at either of the three parishes requires medical attendance, he has to send seven miles for the medical officer, which will, in urgent cases, require a distance of fourteen miles to be travelled, almost daily, and frequently a distance of twenty-eight miles (if two visits be required in a day), before medicines can be obtained and supplied to the sick person."

It was important that the poor should receive medical relief with the least possible delay. In many cases of accident, such as fractures, wounds of blood-vessels, inflammations, delay was death. The difference of five minutes often, in such cases, made all the distinction between life and death. Were hon. Members who supported such a state of things influenced by feelings of inhumanity or gross ignorance? He did not mean to assert that there was no remedy for the evil. In former periods the poor could easily obtain relief from the medical man resident in his own parish or district. He was ready to admit that many abuses existed under the operation of the old law; but has not the present Poor-law produced evils much greater than those which formerly prevailed? He (Mr. Wakley) would propose to the Secretary of State a remedy for the evil. The members of the medical profession had taken a deep interest in this subject, it had been much discussed by them. It caused him much regret that he should differ from the profession on the question involved in the mode of administering medical relief to the poor. He was convinced that the view taken by the profession was an erroneous one. This subject had been investigated by several societies, and had been fully inquired into. The right hon. Baronet would see in the second report of the evidence an account of the proceedings of the committee.

Before that committee Sir A. Cooper gave some important evidence, which ought, from that distinguished surgeon's ability and knowledge, to have great weight with the House. Sir A. Cooper was asked his opinion of the system of tenders. He replied that it must end in the death of the unfortunate paupers. In confirmation of that opinion, he said,

> "What guarantee have you that the lowest tender is not put in by a surgeon incompetent to perform the duties of the office of medical attendant?"

Sir A. Cooper spoke most strongly against the system. He proposed that a calculation should be made of the cost of attending each case. All those receiving parochial relief should be entered on a list, and so much per case should be paid to the medical man, and if he attended additional cases, he should be remunerated in the same manner. Having got over the difficulty as to what the payment should be, for it was felt to be a difficulty amongst the medical profession, what he would take the liberty of proposing to the Government was, that medical orders should be made out and placed in the hands of certain persons in every parish—say the clergyman of the parish, the churchwardens, and the overseers, and also the relieving officer; and that a person whom the authorities admitted to be entitled to medical relief, on making application for such an order and receiving it, should then have an opportunity of taking it to any medical practitioner he might think proper, to that one residing nearest to his own home, or to that one in whose ability and attention he had the greatest confidence, and for whom he had the highest regard, and who would attend him for the sum named at the beginning of the year. Such a plan could not add to the expense of the union, although it would give to the person an opportunity of having his choice of a medical practitioner. It too frequently happened that a poor person living at the extrem point of a union was afflicted with sickness, and although ther might be a medical practitioner withinalf a mile of his residence, and one of great respectability too, the poor creature would be compelled to go or send seven miles to obtain the necessary aid. Was that justice, was that kindness to the poor? It amounted, in a great many instances, to the sacrifice of human life; and he was quite satisfied, that if the House would only investigate the matter, this state of things would not be allowed to exist after another Session of Parliament. He wished much to read to the House the statement contained in a letter which he received from Uttoxeter in April last, relative to the case of a poor man in a union of sixteen parishes. The writer said,

> "A case has just occurred this last week, where a neighbouring medical man, not the one attached to the union, was sent for to visit an individual, the father of a small family of seven or eight children, and who, when he arrived, found him suffering under deep-seated disease of the lungs, apparently the consequence of neglected bronchitic inflammation, with but faint hopes of recovery. This poor fellow, on being asked why he sent for the medical man in question, and not the union doctor, seeing that he owed for a former attendance, in fact, had not been able to pay for any part of it, replied, 'how could he send so far, a distance of seven miles, and no money to pay the messenger, first for fetching the surgeon, and then the medicine: he had but half a crown in the world, and tendered two shillings of it to pay for the journey, leaving,' as he faintly said, 'to his wife sixpence to pay for a bit of coal they then stood in need of.' This could not be taken, the poor man is still attended to, and the half crown was left as a something to defray the cost of other necessaries a large and poor family may easily be supposed to want, with the principal wholly incapacitated; but who, with proper treatment early enough applied, might have been well and hearty. This is the language of the medical man attending, and whose name I am at liberty to give, and will gladly do so should you wish it."

Hundreds, nay, thousands, of similar cases might be adduced to show how badly the present system of medical relief worked for the poor in large unions. He trusted that the right hon. Baronet would take the subject into his consideration, and, if he found the present system could be altered without inconvenience, and without increasing the public expense, seeing also that it would be advantageous to the poor, adopt the plan he had recommended.

Sir *R. Peel:* What will the probable expense be?

Mr. *Wakley* said, from the calculation which had been made, it would be from 6*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s*, per head. He had referred to the size of the unions; and he believed that the House was of opinion, as the committee of inquiry was, that the unions were too large. If those unions were intended to be continued, it was monstrous to make them so large. Where the unions were small the law worked better than where they were large, because the circumstances of each case could be more accurately investigated. In the next place, he would ask, did the House approve of the mode of electing guardians? Was that a part of the law which "Reformers" liked? Was the present mode of choosing guardians agreeable to the views and feelings of those Gentlemen who advocated the popular cause? What did his hon. Friend, the Member for Lambeth, say to it? How were the guardians elected now-a-days? First of all, there was no public meeting. There was a quelling of the public spirit at once. And how was the voting carried on? A poor occupant of premises in the parishes who paid his rates would possess but one vote, while the absent owner of larger property would have six votes. Was that a mode of election which the House could approve? Recently, in a parochial election in London, one person put in 1,500 proxies. That must be a pretty system under which such a thing could be done. Under the old law every rate-payer had a right to vote. [An hon. *Member:* Not under the local acts.] No, not under your local acts, but under the act of Elizabeth before it was spoiled by modern innovations. Sturges Bourne's Act was a shameful innovation; and in looking over the books in the library of the House, he found, to his astonishment, that that act was passed without any discussion whatever. The present law transferred the six votes there given to one man to the absent owner, and that was another great, and gross, and scandalous innovation of the just rights of the rate-payers. He hoped, then, that he might understand the House to consider the unions too large, the mode of electing guardians radically bad, and the medical arrangements very imperfect. What was perfect, then? They had a central board for the purpose of securing uniformity, because the ancient practice presented such a checkered and diversified scene. Well, what had been the system of government adopted by the commissioners who formed that central board? Chairmen of boards of guardians who were Members of that House had said to him, "How can you object to the authority of the commissioners? They never interfere with us. We do just what we like." But was that a system of law? It was despotism. A system which permitted those in office to do just what they pleased was a system of tyranny. There was no law which could be said to be violated under such a system, and the poor must of necessity be left without protection He would now advert to the question of diet. He had heard it stated again and again by hon. Members of that House, that their object in supporting the new Poor-law was to improve the condition of the poor. The object was an uncommonly good one, and very easily professed, but, he feared, not so easily carried into effect. Hon. Members had repeatedly declared that the first object which they had in view was to increase the wages of labour, and to make the English labourer an independent man. Those were all very good objects. He had often heard it alleged that the labourer would become independent, and his wages would be raised, because if he could not get good wages he would fall back upon the workhouse. Of course, the first inference which he drew from this was, that the workhouse was a place of excellent accommodation, in which everything was to be found that could delight the heart and soul of a working man; so that if he were ill-treated by his master—if he did not get the rate of wages to which he was entitled, he could fall back upon this comfortable asylum. But what had the commissioners done? On this point he complained of their conduct more than on others, because he fancied that he could detect at the bottom of it a spirit of wickedness which was altogether unjustifiable. If the commissioners had provided good accommodation for the labouring man in the workhouse, and if the labouring man could not obtain good and remunerative wages, then he could have believed that it was their object to make the labourer an independent man. He would take this for a rule with regard to a workhouse in any locality. Supposing the commissioners found in any locality that wages were high, and that working men were well rewarded and in the receipt of high wages, then he would freely admit that the workhouse there should have no attractions for a working man, because it ought to be held out to him, that while he was in the receipt of high wages he ought to belong to some club or society for depositing his savings, and that he ought not to expect to fall back upon the workhouse. In such a locality, therefore, he would have an exceedingly moderate dietary table. But if he found in another locality that the wages of the labouring man did not exceed 6*s*. per week, and if his object were to raise the independence of the working man, and make his employer do him justice, then he should make his condition in the workhouse better than his starvation state out of it. But what had the commissioners done? This was a grave charge which he was making against them—one that showed that the power ought not to be left at the entire mercy of the commissioners, or of any particular body of men, but that some law ought to exist under which they could seek protection, and some law officer should be appointed to see that protection was secured to them. He begged the attention of the right hon. Baronet to a statement of the weekly allowances to paupers in the London and Cirencester unions. He did not think the right hon. Baronet would applaud the dietary table of the latter union. The allowance to the men, weekly, was—in London, bread, 112 ounces; in Cirencester, bread, ninety-eight ounces. In London, beef or mutton, twenty-one ounces; in Cirencester, bacon, five ounces. In London, let it be remembered that wages were high; yet there was a difference of sixteen ounces of meat in its favour above that of Cirencester. In London there were allowed, vegetables, two pounds and a quarter; in Cirencester, potatoes, six pounds: in London, soup, four pints; in Cirencester, soup, two pints: in London, cheese, fourteen ounces; in Cirencester, cheese, seven ounces: in London, milk-porridge, ten pints and a half; in Cirencester, gruel, seven pints: in London, suet-pudding, sixteen ounces: in Cirencester, suet-pudding, or any other food to correspond, none: in London, beer, eleven pints; in Cirencester, not a drop of beer, or any other beverage to correspond. Was that the uniformity of the system? If so, then give him London. Such a system was very disgraceful, and, in his opinion, reflected most severely upon the conduct of those who administered the law; and coupled with what he had already quoted from their opinions on the gratitude of the poor, convinced him that the commissioners were incompetent to administer the law, and did not, in fact, understand the true principles of a Poor-law. He found a note appended to the two dietary tables, as published in a pamphlet by Mr. Walter, late a Member of that House, a gentleman whose labours in the cause of the poor deserved all commendation from every humane-minded Member of the House. That note was as follows:—

> "Infirm persons, and those above seven years of age, to be allowed one ounce of tea with milk, seven ounces of sugar, and three ounces and a half of butter instead of gruel; and twice a week—namely, on Tuesday and Friday, twelve ounces of suet and rice pudding. Children under ten years of age to be dieted at discretion, and above ten years of age, according to the dietary of the women; and the sick according to the orders of the medical officers. The refractory to be allowed sixteen ounces of bread with water per diem."

He heard the governor of a workhouse once say, that he considered a man "refractory," who said he did not know whether he should go or not, when he was told to go. That man was actually confined by the master of the workhouse, for such was the nature of the law which that House had passed, that it actually gave power to the master of a workhouse to place an English subject in solitary confinement at his will. He found further on, that in the London union, one ounce of butter might be allowed for supper instead of two ounces of cheese, or a pint and a half of broth; and that the women were allowed half a pound of sugar per week, while the sick and infirm were to have such wine and beer as the medical attendant might direct. Roast veal and pork were provided on Easter Sunday and Whit Sunday, and roast beef and plum pudding on Christmas-day, in the city of London union. Surely that must have been an arrangement made by the aldermen. He knew that when the guardians of Kensington gave the poor roast beef and plum pudding on Christmas-day, they had to pay 56*l*. out of their own pockets for it, for the Poor-law commissioners refused to allow the expense. Oh, the present Poor-law was a rare law! One much calculated to bring down upon the Legislature the admiration of all noble hearts and intelligent minds! They had absolutely given a receipt for soup, and no doubt it was a very good one. Weights and scales were provided for each poor-house, to which the paupers were to have access at all times. That might be a satisfactory arrangement if it could be carried out; and the aldermen probably deserved the credit of making it. It had been alleged again and again, that the object of the new law was to increase the wages of the working people; but the commissioners had, in districts where the labourers could scarcely exist on the small amount of wages which they received, so modelled the union houses, and so framed the dietary tables, as to hold out no temptation to the working man to enter the workhouse. In fact, the poor man was obliged to reason thus,—"I am offered 7*s.* per week, for my labour; if I go into the workhouse, what I shall receive will be of the value of 2*s.* 6*d.*, besides having to submit to the stringent rules of that establishment." Was there any chance, under such circumstances, of the labouring man being raised to a state of independence, or of his condition being improved? None. In most cases, the partie swho gave him inadequate wages, were the very parties in whom the administration of relief as guardians vested. Altogether, then, this was a state of things which ought not to continue. If a law of this nature could be enacted in that House—if a Secretary of State could be found to approve of the meagre dietary tables of the commissioners, and if they could confirm the decisions of the boards of guardians, he hoped, that the House would exercise the same authority for the regulation of the dietary tables of the union workhouses which they exercised in framing dietary tables for gaols. Let them take the responsibility upon themselves, and not, by shifting it upon the shoulders of others, make others their scapegoats. Let them determine, themselves, what ought to be the dietary of workhouses. Had the commissioners established a system of uniformity in diet, and that diet had been sufficient for the proper sustenance of the poor, he should not have complained of their conduct in that respect. But when he saw in one union, in the vicinage of which wages were high, that men were allowed twenty-one ounces of fresh meat per week, while in another, where wages were low, they were allowed but seven ounces of salt meat—when he saw, that in the one there was an ample portion of broth, and in the other nothing but wretched gruel—when he saw in the one, that eleven pints of beer were allowed, and in the other none at all, he was compelled to say, that it was perfectly ridiculous to come down to that House and say, that the practice of the new law had led to uniformity, and that it was a system which ought to be continued. Such a state of things, he repeated, reflected seriously upon the character and conduct of the commissioners. There was a practice in that House which he might as well notice for the information of younger Members. Towards the end of a Session some friend of the Government would bring in a bill which was professedly of a very trivial nature, merely for shaving and powdering a mouse, or something of that sort. At the end of August they resembled shooting-stars, they were here and there and everywhere, and it was difficult to say exactly where they were. By and bye, some discussions would arise, with regard to some one of these little bills, and an objectionable part would, perhaps, be struck out, which, however, would be inserted again in the other House, and thus the bill would pass. He did not mean to say, that the present Government would not propose such bills as well as others. Well, in 1835, a bill was passed at the end of the Session; it received the Royal Assent on the 9th of September. He did not know what the hon. Members who saw that bill expected would be done under it, but he must confess, on looking into the reports of the commissioners, he was exceedingly annoyed at discovering what they had done under the authority of that measure and another, which was passed in the first year, he believed, of her present Majesty's reign. The bill he alluded to, was one to authorise the commissioners to sell parish property; and he recollected perfectly well, that he understood it was to apply to the sale of workhouses, and the ground on which workhouses stood. But that was not the case, it appeared. He found, that under this bill the small tenements belonging to parishes had been sold. All the little habitations, as well as the workhouses belonging to parishes, had been brought under the operation of that act. Was it the intention of the House, at the time, that such should be the operation of that measure? An hon. Member behind him said it was; but he would ask, was it the intention of the House, that under that act, the Poor-law commissioners should sell all the dwellings of the poor as well as the old workhouses, and while they thus created a source for obtaining money, leave the poor no habitations at all but the union house? Did the House intend, that the humble tenements of the labouring population should be razed to the ground. [*No, no!*] Oh, yes! but they had been razed to the ground, in many instances; and the transfers of property of that description, effected by sales, under the orders of the Commissioners, had amounted, according to the seventh report, to the enormous number of 3,900. Parish property consisted of two kinds. One description of this property belonged to the ratepayers, and another description belonged to the poor. Of the latter, a large proportion was thus dispossessed of their property, which, though he could not say, that they were possessed of it by any written trust, they were entitled to by tenure, and by that right it belonged to them. What did the commissioners say upon this subject? The commissioners stated, that under the powers conferred by the bill, a large portion of property, consisting for the most part of small tenements, had been disposed of. Some of the property consisted of houses in a state of great dilapidation, which, if suffered to remain, would be places of reception for other persons. To be sure, they would become so. Houses were made for the reception and occupation of inhabitants; but the object of the commissioners was clearly that there should be no parish property, and that all the poor should be compelled to resort to the workhouse. Now, what was the opinion of Blackstone upon this point? His words were these, when speaking of the statute of Elizabeth, with respect to the poor:—

> "The two great objects of this statute seem to have been,—1. To relieve the impotent poor, and them only. 2. To find employment for such as are able to work. And this principally by providing stocks of raw materials to be worked up at their separate homes, instead of accumulating all the poor in one common workhouse, a practice which puts the sober and diligent upon a level, in point of their earnings, with those who are dissolute and idle, depresses the laudable emulation of domestic industry and neatness, and destroys all endearing family connections, the only felicity of the indigent."

Now, if the tenements thus destroyed had been retained, they might have been converted to useful purposes. It would be a highly desirable object to endeavour by law to force the labouring population to the practice of virtue. Might not other influences than those of coercion be resorted to for the purpose? Did hon. Gentlemen imagine that their properties were more secure from plunder, or their persons more safe from violence, because no regard was shown for the wants of the poor, and no efforts made to train them to virtue? He would entreat of the House to weigh the subject well; and he was satisfied that the more they reflected upon it, the more would they be induced to adopt another line of conduct than that which was at present pursued. Much of the immorality and of the vice which was to be found amongst the labouring classes could clearly be traced to the fact, that no reward or inducement was held out for the promotion of good conduct. In the whole of the Poor-law, and throughout the entire of the machinery by which it was carried into operation, there was no contrivance for the reward of good conduct, and no provision by which some slight honour or distinction might mark the last days of those who in their lives had set examples of humble virtue. Now, the tenements to which he had alluded would have answered well for such a purpose, by granting them to well-behaved paupers of a certain age, as places in which they might repose in peace and quiet during the remainder of their lives. Such a course would be far better than the present practice of sending them to prisons, in many instances miles away from all the scenes of their former associations. He did not believe that any hon. Member who heard him would feel gratified with the latter course; but, if the former course were adopted, and if the prospect of reward was held out to deserving paupers at certain periods of their lives, the labouring population would soon become a new race of men, working in tranquillity and contentment, and happy in the position in which circumstances had placed them. He could not help expressing his deep regret that the executive Government had expressed a determination to adhere to the principle of a law which was obnoxious to the best feelings of our nature, and pregnant with danger to the institutions of the country. It was a law of which no portion was worthy of commendation, and if hon. Members, instead of taking their opinions from the published reports, would but take the trouble of visiting the cottages of the poor, would associate themselves with them, in their homes for an hour or a half—inquire into their wants, and make themselves acquainted with their circumstances, they would enter that House with very different views from those which they at present entertained. He was quite certain that they were not aware of the thoughts which passed in the minds of the poorer classes with respect to this law. If they could see what he had seen it would be calculated to show how the poor must feel upon the subject. In one union, where it was necessary to procure a particular body for examination, it was found that the bodies of twenty-six paupers had been thrust into one hole. Could Ministers believe that a system so characterized could be favourable to Conservative views? When the poor man sat in his miserable hovel, were not considerations such as these calculated to produce a belief that the wealthier classes were indifferent to his position? It was very true that the rate levied for the relief of the poor amounted to a large sum, but then it should be remembered that the rates were expended in the localities in which they were raised; and it should also be remembered that the poor-rate had not increased in any degree at all proportionate to the increased wealth of the country. Within the space of seventy or eighty years, whilst the one was only increased by the amount of 9 per cent., the other had increased to 40. He felt it necessary to apologize to the House for trespassing on its patience so long, but he must again recommend to their attention what he had said with respect to the medical treatment of the poor, which he considered to be a point of very great importance, and though his views on the subject might appear to be strong, they were not visions conjured up in the closet. They were the result of practical observations, daily deduced from the study of nature's book. Every day the popular feeling against the law became stronger and stronger. An hon. Member near him shook his head at this observation, but he was ready to pledge his existence on statements which he had made, and he was satisfied that the millions of this country would not endure such a state of things much longer. Every poor man in the land was struck with the fear that he might one day become subject to the law, and one poor man, a small rate-payer, said to him—

> "I have now been paying rates for twenty years, I am becoming indigent, and I have no prospect before me but the gaol or the workhouse."

There were difficulties in the way of this question, but those difficulties could be overcome, if the House agreed to legislate in the spirit of the law of Elizabeth. Would they do that, or on the contrary, would they allow the commissioners to go on, and then say that the poor of this country were divested of gratitude? He hoped the House would take fully into consideration all the feelings connected with this question, and appreciate the advantages which would arise from a state of things in which all classes would live in peace and amity with each other. Why not approach the consideration of the subject in a humane and Christian spirit. The law had originated with a set of Utilitarians, who were prepared to sacrifice everything to what they called the splendid principle of utility. For them they would have gone on and ground the bones of the poor, and used them for manure if they thought it would enrich the soil. [*"Oh, oh."*] He did not hesitate to say he believed they would go that length. Some hon. Gentlemen might not be aware of the opinions entertained by that body. They believed it was an affliction to a country that there should be any poor persons in it. He trusted the House would legislate in a spirit that should cause the working men of this country to teach their sons that the gentry were their friends and benefactors. He hoped that when the poor man approached the close of his life, and when his bodily energies began to flag, some provision would be made for him whose exemplary conduct deserved it, so that he might be enabled to call his children around him, and point out to them the reward which his deservings had procured, and tell them that so long as they proved virtuous the high and mighty in the land would not be unmindful of their welfare. If this were done there would be no fear of midnight conspiracy or crime, nor would any tremble through the night, in apprehension of the scenes which they might be doomed to witness in the morning.

Mr. *Ward* would make no apology for troubling the House, after the most extraordinary speech just delivered by the hon. Member for Finsbury, for he was not one disposed to sit down quietly under the imputation of giving a vote or pursuing a course, being actuated in so doing by what the hon. Member termed the foulest feelings that could disgrace the human mind. He was not disposed to submit calmly to the accusation of having wilfully supported a bill, framed, as the hon. Member was pleased to say, in the spirit of wickedness, and fraught with injustice and cruelty. He would say nothing of the taste of the hon. Member for Finsbury, who was as audacious in his language in that House as he was cowardly in his political acts, for he never carried out his words by his votes. Nevertheless, the speech of the hon. Member had surprised him, because on a former occasion he had told the House he had arrived at the conclusion that the subject was one of deep importance, one with respect to which no exciting language ought to be used, but which should be discussed with sobriety and calmness, and yet the hon. Member had thought proper to taunt and vilify those who had supported the bill from the most conscientious motives, and upon the honest conviction that it was a good bill for the working classes of this country—nay, they knew it was a good bill, and they were prepared to defend its principles against the attacks of the hon. Member. The hon. Gentleman had said, that the supporters of that bill were prepared to grind the bones of the poor and use them for manure, if they thought it would enrich the soil.

Mr. *Wakley:* I made use of no such terms.

Mr. *Ward:* I appeal to the House.

Mr. *Wakley:* I spoke of the doctrines of the Utilitarians.

Mr. *Ward:* The hon. Member had said that the Poor-law Bill had originated with an Utilitarian Society of which the Bishop of London was the head, and said that all who approved of that bill, who concurred in its principles, were men who were prepared to grind the bones of the poor, if they thought it would answer their own unworthy ends. What had been the hon. Member's ground of attack? He had said that the effect of the law was to take from the rate-payers, the management of their own funds. No such thing. The effect of the law had been to institute a better system of management of those local funds, which theretofore had been most miserably mismanaged, and to restore the true meaning of the noble act of Elizabeth. Did not the hon. Member know that the Administration of that law of Elizabeth had been characterised by the grossest absurdity and most miserable fatuity? And was it not a gross error to talk of the better condition of the poor under the old law! Had the hon. Member never heard of men being harnessed to carts, and of women being forced to drag loads up hills under that system he so highly eulogised? Under the old Administration of the Poor-laws every motive for bad conduct had been given, for then the idle and the dissolute argued that, when their means were expended, they had nothing to do but to fall back upon the parish. The hon. Member had chosen to assert that the New Poor-law had put the poor out of the pale of constitutional right. No such thing. It put them under a system of administration they had never had before—a system which established a direct system of responsibility. The Poor-law commissioners were directly responsible to the Government, and the Government was responsible to that House. In every discussion it had been shown that no abuse could be committed, nor act of oppression perpetrated, under the power of the law without being quickly brought to light. Few knew the mystery of iniquity that was in daily practice under the old system, which was converting the population of this country into the most demoralised in the world. The hon. Member had spoken of the power of the commissioners, and, objecting to that concentrated power, he had contended that the resident guardians would be the more fitting persons to wield it. He was as little inclined to closet theories as the hon. Member himself; he had mixed much with the world in all classes. He represented a manufacturing constituency, and he resided in an agricultural district, and he could speak from experience as to what was the feeling on this subject of local responsibility. There was a general anxiety that the Legislature should not interfere with the law in that respect—that it should not repeal or spoil by crude and hasty measures a bill which was admitted to be the best that had been passed since the Reform Bill. Such was the general feeling without distinction of party. At the time when that very question of local responsibility was under discussion there were certain guardians, clever men, men perfectly conversant with the working of the law, who had said to him, "Put no responsibility on our shoulders. We have an onerous and difficult task as it is, but then we have certain fixed principles laid down which we can administer."

One of those guardians had told him (Mr. Ward) there was a feeling of horror in reference to the hon. Member for Finsbury, and his proposals, and had said, "If you give boards of guardians absolute power to act, we should be worse off than under the old system, for we should have a Wakley at every board, and have our houses burnt down if we did not go along with him." Those were the very words that were used. They were not very respectful to the hon. Member for Finsbury, but they showed how much that hon. Member mistook the feeling of the agricultural population of this country. They did not wish for more responsibility—they had a dread of it; they wished to have the power of dealing calmly and deliberately with the questions brought before them, and of applying their conscientious attention to the task which the law imposed upon them, and a very onerous task it was. Less onerous, however, than it was some years ago, because the ameliorations which the operation of the law had introduced into the habits and condition of the labouring poor in many districts of the country, and especially in the southern districts, where the provisions of the old law were more particularly abused, were so marked, so decided, and so unequivocal, that he did not think the hon. Member for Finsbury himself would question them if he had had the means of witnessing them. Then the hon. Member talked of medical relief; and he invoked the shade of Sir Astley Cooper to prove that there was no provision made under the present law for immediate parochial relief. The union workhouses, he said, were obliged to send seven or ten miles for a medical practitioner at times when a delay of five minutes might end in the death of the sufferer, and inhumanity, he asserted, was the rule of the law in this respect as well as in all others. Had the hon. Member read the 52d clause of the act? Did he not know that there was at the close of that clause a special provision for every casualty that might occur? Was he not aware that the 52d clause empowered every guardian in a rural parish (for it was in those parishes only that the emergency could arise), instantly to have recourse to any medical practitioner on whom he could lay his hand, and to make a separate charge for the expenses incurred in such emergencies? He apprehended that that provision of the law was amply sufficient, if properly administered by the guardians, to provide for every case of sudden emergency. The hon. Member then alluded to the dietary tables, and contrasted the table of the city of London with that of the rural districts. The dietary table of the city of London, which the hon. Member so much applauded, was not one that he would undertake to defend. It might seem harsh to say so, but in his opinion, a workhouse dietary which gave to paupers a greater amount of food than the independent labourer could command by his utmost exercise was indefensible. The natural standard to take of these things was the amount of comfort that the independent labourer could procure by the work of his hands. The comforts afforded by the London diet table were greater than could be commanded even by the inferior rate-payer. He had no wish to introduce again into this discussion any of those party allusions which were made in a previous stage of it. He had the less wish to do so, because he had had the pleasure of hearing from the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, one of the most manly, rational, and plain-spoken speeches in reference to this bill and all its provisions, that he had ever listened to from the lips of any person charged with the Government of this country. The right hon. Baronet, as it appeared to him, took the perfectly prudent and practical course. He did not pledge himself to all the details of the bill. It had now been seven years in operation, and it was not only probable, but certain, that there were many parts of it in which, with the general concurrence of those who approved its principle, considerable changes might be made. Any change made without impairing the principle of the act—any proposal to humanize and soften the severity with which some of its provisions were made to bear upon industrious and deserving men—any such proposal he was satisfied would meet with the general concurrence of that House. He had listened to the intimation made by the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham), that such would be the course of the Government, with as much pleasure as to that part of his speech in which he announced that it was the intention of Ministers to adhere to the main principles of the act. After the statement made by the right hon. Baronet, he (Mr. Ward) should consider himself unworthy of the seat which he held in that House, if he did not fairly take his share of the responsibility of stating his entire concurrence in the principle of the act, as well as in the course which Government proposed to pursue in reference to it. To that course he hould give his cordial support. He would not at that moment, enter into any further details. He had perhaps spoken rather warmly at the commencement of his observations, but the provocation was really much greater than he felt himself called upon to endure. He would now only repeat, that he should give his cordial support to the course which the Government intended to pursue, and that when the bill should be brought forward next year, he hoped the House, for the sake of its own character and credit, would enter upon the discussion in a better tone and spirit than had been exhibited in the debate of that night.

Mr. *S. Wortley* had, on the night previous, expressed the view which he took of a part of this subject. It appeared to him that the instruction offered by the hon. Member for York was one that went to open up the whole subject of the Poor-law Amendment Act, and that, under the circumstances now existing, it would be more consistent with the dignity and regularity of the proceedings of the House, and, indeed, with common sense and reason, that they should defer a question of the sort involved in the hon. Gentleman's motion until they could take the whole subject in hand, and deal with it as became a legislative body. But there was one of the instructions, now moved by the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. Crawford), to which he thought that objection did not so strongly apply, namely, that the question being at this moment in a state of abeyance, it was but fair that the act should not be carried further into effect during the time that the Government and the legislature were making up their minds as to what the law should ultimately be. He certainly thought it no unreasonable request to make, that no more of the unions should be obtruded upon parts of the country where they did not at present exist until it was known what the new system was to be. That he understood to be the whole effect of the hon. Gentleman's first instruction, and it appeared to him that the adoption of it would not offer any impediment or obstruction to the Government in considering the question. He thought, therefore, that it would be fair to vote in favour of that proposition. With regard to the other instruction offered by the hon. Gentleman, he confessed he did not take precisely the same view of it. It appeared to him that that instruction much as he agreed in its general tenor, was liable in a great degree to the same objections as the instruction offered on the previous night by the hon. Member for York. It went entirely to forbid the application of the rule relating to out-door relief from the present time. He was not prepared to go that length, because he felt that if he were to do so, it must open the whole subject, and he might be interfering, without sufficient knowledge of the subject, to prevent the application of this regulation in parts of the country where it was possible it might be absolutely required. These were the views which he took of the two instructions offered by the hon. Member for Rochdale; and he could not close his remarks upon them without taking the opportunity of expressing the pleasure with which he had heard the judicious and conciliatory observations of his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, upon the subject of the Poor-law commissioners, not that he entirely concurred in the view taken by his right hon. Friend. His right hon. Friend talked of adhering strictly to the principle of the act. He should give some reasons for dissenting from that view. He owned, however, that he had listened with great pleasure to the encomiums passed by his right hon. Friend upon the conduct of the commissioners, in instances where they had paid deference to public opinion, and introduced ameliorations into the administration of the law. He took these encomiums, on the part of the country, as an earnest from his right hon. Friend, that he felt it to be his duty to watch over the operation of the act, and to see that it was carried into execution in a manner consistent with the dictates of humanity. His right hon. Friend had gone as far as it was possible for one in his situation to go. He had gone to the very brink of that caution which it was his duty to preserve. He stated that he approved of concessions to public opinion and that he was anxious to promote the relaxation of rigid rules. He (Mr. Wortley) took his right hon. Friend at his word, and upon the assurance, that he objected to the rigid enforcement of rigorous rules, would consent to take the bill now proposed upon trust for the interval that must elapse between the present time, and the period at which the amended act would be brought forward. He was quite aware, that the real question before the House, at the present moment, was not whether the Poor-law Amendment Act should be continued, but whether that portion of it should be continued which established the Poor-law commission. That was the real question, and under ordinary circumstances, he should not have felt it necessary to say any more than he had already taken the liberty of offering to the House upon the subject. But it appeared to him, that the circumstances under which they were discussing the question were not of an ordinary character. This bill to continue the commission for a year, was introduced in order to give a new Government time to consider the whole subject. It was introduced into a Parliament lately returned by the country, and which comprised within its ranks many Members who had never before had an opportunity of taking part in the discussions upon the subject of the Poor-laws. He stood in that situation himself, and he owned, that having only lately met a large body of his constituents, with whom this question possessed an intense interest, he felt it his duty to ask the House to permit him to extend his remarks upon it. It was necessary, that he should do so for two reasons—first, that he might not himself be misrepresented, as he found he had been—having opinions ascribed to him which were of a stronger and more sweeping character than any he had ever entertained or uttered; and, secondly, because he was anxious to exculpate himself from the imputation that he had used language in reference to this subject upon the hustings, which he shrunk from repeating or adhering to, when he came into that House. He owned, that with respect to the first of these difficulties, he might make up his mind to remain silent; to allow the mere misrepresentation of private opinion to pass. But he trusted that the House would not think him irrational if he felt the deepest anxiety to acquit himself wholly and entirely even of the suspicion, that he was capable of deceiving those from whom he had received the great trust which he held, and of representing himself to them in a character which he was not prepared to maintain in that House. He had been the subject of specific attacks and insinuations in that respect. The hon. Member for Halifax had last night talked of the language which had been used—of the war-cry of "No Poor-law" which was to be heard throughout the district for the representation of which he (Mr. Wortley) was a candidate. But was there not, at the same time, a war-cry of "No Corn-laws," and "untaxed bread?" If these matters were to be taken into consideration at all, it was only fair to look at both sides. He had never used the expression, "no Poor-law," himself; but he knew, that the war-cry of "no Corn-laws," and "untaxed loaves," was made use of in support of Gentlemen who proposed to lay a duty of 8*s*. a-quarter upon corn, and in support of a Government which had been five years in office, not only doing nothing for the Corn-laws, but opposing every possible resistance to any alteration of them, the head of the Government little more than a year before, having pronounced it madness to attempt an alteration, and that even the agitation of the question of a fixed duty, would shake society to its foundation. That being the case, he asked whether it was just to impute to him expressions of the same description, that were used by his supporters, whilst expressions of a contrary kind were as freely used by the supporters of the hon. Gentlemen opposite? Then the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Charles Buller) last night, in a speech which no doubt was intended to be facetious, and with a series of the complacent sneers which formed a frequent characteristic of his oratory, seemed to insinuate that he (Mr. S. Wortley) had made use of violent expressions upon the hustings as to the course he intended to pursue with reference to the Poor-laws, but that he was now ready to abate his opposition to them, and to allow the question to stand over for fear of embarrassing his Friends the Government. If that hon. Gentleman were present, he would give to him and to the House in general the most solemn assurance that he had never to his knowledge, upon any occasion whatever, made use of any one of the expressions to which the hon. Gentleman referred. During his canvass he was frequently asked whether he would go against the whole law and vote for its repeal? He had invariably answered that he would do no such thing—that he believed it required amendment, but that he would not consent to make it a party question. He felt that he ought, perhaps, to beg pardon of the House for the seeming egotism of the remarks he had just made. He should gladly have avoided it; but it appeared to him, that after what had passed within those walls, after the sneers and insinuations which had been thrown out merely because he had been returned by a large body of constituents who rejected two of the party opposite—after that it appeared to him that he might, perhaps, not be considered as trespassing too much upon the patience of the House if he availed himself of the opportunity to set himself straight. He would now take the liberty of explaining as briefly as he could, the view which he took of the subject immediately before the House. In the first place he conceived that in point of strict order and regularity the House was perfectly justified in going into a discussion of the administration of the law upon that occasion; because it must be recollected that the greater number of points to which objections were taken were not integral of the Poor-law act, but parts of the regulations of the commissioners, whose existence was about to be prolonged by the bill upon the table. With respect to the existence of the commission, he was not one of those, and never had been, who said that the constitution of the board was altogether inadmissible, and that it was wholly and totally unjustifiable that such a board should be established. He could conceive that there were parts of the country (parts with which he was not at all acquainted) where grievous and extensive abuses under the old system rendered it indispensable that some such superintending body should exercise a general control. But granting all that, he thought no man would hesitate to concede, at least, this much, that the powers given to the commissioners were very unusual and extensive, and that in some degree they were unconstitutional. He did not pretend to say that in cases of emergency unconstitutional powers should not be given to certain functionaries for certain purposes. But, admitting that, he must take leave to say, that the Legislature, finding itself compelled to establish such powers, was bound not only to watch over the execution of them, but to guard against the undue continuation of them. Such powers were not justifiable for one moment beyond the period that they were absolutely necessary. There was another point upon which he felt very strongly. In his opinion, one of the most valuable parts of the social institutions of this country—one of those which we might well prize amongst the very best, was the habit of local self-Government which we had enjoyed from the earliest ages. This was not his opinion alone, it was the opinion of many of the best and wisest men of all times. On this subject he could quote no higher authority than that of a great foreign writer, M. de Tocqueville who showed that this system of local Government was one of the most valuable principles attaching to the British constitution. At the same time, there might be occasions when it would be necessary to interfere with this practice of self-government; but all he asserted was, that in deliberating on such powers as those given to the commissioners, they were justified in considering that those powers were in themselves unconstitutional, and unusually extensive, and in declaring that they should not be maintained longer than the necessity existed. Now, with respect to the administration of the law by the commissioners, he would first of all ask the House to attend to what appeared to him to be one great objection to it. The enormous size of the unions which were established was a point greatly objected to. He thought, that the extent of the unions in many parts of the country was wholly unnecessary, and totally unjustifiable. Let the House consider what had been the language used by those who, at the time of the passing of the act, explained the intentions of its authors. In May, 1834, Lord Althorp, in talking of Marylebone, which it was suggested might be thrown into a union, said,

> "The parish of Marylebone has quite sufficient to do with paying attention to its own affairs; and it is utterly absurd for hon. Gentlemen opposite to think of there being any union formed with a parish of that description and extent."

In the House of Lords, the Chancellor, Lord Brougham, used language still stronger. He said,

> "There never was such a bugbear conjured up to fright men's minds as to suppose that the parishes of a whole county are to be united, and that all the paupers of large districts, whether agricultural or manufacturing, are to be brought together and to be placed in one immense prison. If the commissioners be not absolutely deranged they will never attempt anything of this kind. The sole object of this clause is to put a convenient number of parishes together—probably some six or seven—for the purpose of having a common workhouse, and of managing it economically."

And yet they found, that unions now existed, consisting of from fifty to sixty townships, and superintended by seventy or eighty guardians. In the appendix to the reports of the Poor-law commission it was stated by Sir John Walsham, that the number of elected guardians in Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland, was not less than from fifty to eighty: the number of townships was from thirty-nine to seventy-seven, and the amount of population from 14,000 to 31,000. The commissioners had lately been forming unions in the north of England, and the strongest instance he could quote was that of the union of Manchester. From the last report it appeared, that the township of Manchester contained 142,000 souls. One would naturally have thought, that this was a tolerably sufficient population for one union, and as large as any board of guardians could manage with any degree of satisfaction. However, the commissioners had added to it no less than eleven townships, with a population of 22,000 souls. He did not think, that in thus acting the commissioners were executing the provisions of the act according as they were originally represented to the country; and the commissioners seemed to have altogether mistaken the spirit with which authority was conferred on them by Parliament. With regard to the second instruction which was to be submitted to the consideration of the House, that was also a point depending on the regulations of the commissioners, and with respect to it the commissioners had, in his opinion, taken a wrong course. They seemed to lay down the principle that the workhouse should be the rule, and out-door relief the exception. He maintained, that they ought to lay down precisely the reverse principle. He thought, that out-door relief should be given wherever it possibly could be given without mischief; and the workhouse should never be made a condition of relief wherever it could be safely dispensed with. He never pretended to be one of those who denounced the workhouse system altogether. It had not been created for the first time by the New Poor-law, but had been established by the 9th of George 1st. Still he thought, that if the guardians appointed to dispense relief could satisfy themselves by any reasonable proof, that the applicant for relief was a *bonâ fide* applicant, having by law a right to assistance from the state, in that case relief should be afforded out of the workhouse. But the workhouse might be used in cases where it was necessary to offer a check to the applications of those who were ascertained to be impostors, or in those parts of the country where abuses of the Poor-law existed most extensively. He could conceive that in many parts of the country such was the extent of intimidation, and such the impediments to the administration of the Poor-law, that it was unavoidably necessary to introduce some check to a corrupt system. On referring to what took place in the course of the discussions on the original introduction of the bill, he found that assurances were given, that in parts of the country where no change was required, the commissioners would have the discretion of withholding the application of its enactments. In June, 1834, Lord Althorp observed:—

> "It certainly will not be a part of the duty of the commissioners to include all the parishes of this country in unions. They will have the power of forming parishes into unions wherever they may think it desirable to do so; but there is no clause in the bill which makes such a duty imperative on them."

He believed, from what he had heard, that some of the commissioners entertained different views, and considered the act compulsory on them. With respect to those parts of the country where the Poor-law was already well administered, additional assurances were given by Lord Althorp that the then existing system should not be interfered with. That noble Lord said:—

> "With respect to the hope expressed by the hon. Member for Marylebone, that the commissioners would not interfere with parishes which are well regulated, I will only say that I hope so too. All the interference that need be had with them will be to follow their example."

He (Mr. Wortley) came from a part of the country in which, though he did not pretend to say that no abuses existed under the old system, yet he would state that there was not that extensive prevalence of abuse which called for a violent change; and, therefore, it was unjust to introduce there all the provisions of the New Poor-law. There was a great difference with respect to the administration of the old system in different parts of the country. In the southern parts, where great abuses existed, there was a desire on the part of the population to have a change introduced and supported by the Executive. But in the part of the country with which he was connected there was no one single class of the population, from the highest to the lowest—from the ratepayer to the pauper (he did not speak of individuals)—that desired the introduction of the new system in accordance with the theory of the commissioners. Those parts of the country had therefore a right to claim an exemption from the operation of the law. The only argument he had ever heard urged against their exemption was, that it was desirable to provide uniformity of system. Uniformity might be very well, but they should consider the price they paid for it. He feared, that in endeavouring to attain uniformity, they would be violating the strongest feelings of the people, and committing an injustice on the several classes of the population. On what principle was uniformity insisted on? Under the present bill they had anything but uniformity, for with respect to unions formed under local acts, and with reference also to the Gilbert unions, the commissioners were not allowed to interfere. So much for the principle of uniformity in those cases. The Government who passed the measure had equally discarded the principle of uniformity in framing the Rural Police Act; so that it was too much to put forward this principle as a reason for such great changes. Then, with respect to the advantages which were to be gained by the population of those parts of the country where the commissioners were seeking to intrude their system, he would undertake to say that the advantages which would be derived there from the adoption of that system would be so small, that not only would they prove no compensation, but, in his opinion, they afforded no justification for the violence which the introduction of that system would do to the feelings of the people. There was one other point on which he had a few remarks to make, although he was ready to admit that it could not be discussed on this occasion so correctly under the forms of the House as those points to which he had been referring. Hitherto he had been speaking of those parts of the Poor-law which depended on the continuance of the commission; the discussion of these was in strict order. But there was one more point on which he begged the indulgence of the House while he said a few words, and which related to an independent part of the act; he meant that part of the act called the bastardy clauses. He knew very well that under the old law very considerable abuses had crept in relative to this subject. The change had been made, as was said at the time, in order to follow the course of nature, its operation being to throw on the woman the whole weight of the crime. He owned he was not quite able to see the matter in this point of view. What did the commissioners themselves say? "Bastardy cases will no doubt occur of much hardship and cruelty; but the object of the law is not to punish but to prevent." Now, this sounded very plausibly, but what did it amount to in reality? When the commissioners said, that the object of the law was not to punish but to prevent, that amounted to saying what appeared to him to be perfectly unmeaning. How did men proceed when they wished to prevent crime, but by punishing crime as it arose. If they had said, that the object of the law was not to revenge but to prevent, there would have been some meaning in what they said. But he held, that the object of this and all laws having anything of a penal character, was to prevent by punishing, and he said, therefore, that this reasoning furnished no support for the conduct of those who had recommended the introduction of this provision into the act. His firm conviction was, that the working of these clauses, perhaps not in the agricultural districts, with which he did not profess to be minutely acquainted, but certainly in the manufacturing parts of the country, had been very pernicious. There it was the case, he believed, that by a portion of the male population they had been considered as a free charter conceded to them by Parliament. He thought, that great evil had been produced by this part of the act, and that it was right, therefore, that it was but fair, that Parliament should consider the wide difference that existed between the states of society in the agricultural and manufacturing districts, when they come to legislate on the subject. In the agricultural districts the young woman was in some degree fortified against this species of delinquency. He knew how difficult it was to speak on this subject without exciting the risible faculties of some hon. Members, still the subject must be discussed as a matter of business. The truth was, that in the manufacturing districts the female was far more thrown in the way of temptation, than in the agricultural; she was shut up in factories with the other sex, as they were told by the Factory Commissioners, for very long periods together; she was thus exposed, when very young, to great temptations, and she was thrown into that situation without any safeguards of virtue;

and being so thrown in the way of temptation, he believed it to be unquestionable as a matter of fact, and it was not unnatural, and quite to be expected, that the consequence was, these clauses worked perniciously in the highest degree among such a population. This was nearly all that he had to address to the House at present, but before he sat down he wished to repeat what had been said by him before, and adopted by one of his late opponents—that he thought in this discussion the House ought to take for its guidance a spirit of tenderness and kind feeling for the poor; and was it not reasonable, that they should do so? Who were the parties whom this law most affected? Who, but the poor, who formed the main portion, the bulk of the population of this country, and on whom, as a class, they were most dependent? He, therefore, was not using too strong language, and, in his opinion, it was no exaggerated language to use, when he said, that it was the duty of the House to approach the consideration of this subject with tenderness to those classes of the population whom they intended principally to be affected by the law. Saying this, he could not refrain from adding, that when it was imputed to him, that he had employed sentiments of this kind for occasional purposes, that was imputed to him which he had not ever been guilty of. He repeated, therefore, that he thought the discussion of this measure ought to be conducted by the Legislature keeping this principle clearly and steadily in view, and that if the Legislature should adopt the same view of the obligation to do so as himself, it would be better, that they should err on the side of tenderness than on that of too much rigour.

Mr. *R. Yorke* rose amidst cries of "Divide" and "Question," and a cry in an undertone of "Yorke, you are not wanted." He begged the attention of the House for a few minutes while he addressed to them a few words, not in answer to the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, for to answer the hon. Member he should not attempt, because, having a Parliamentary connexion with that part of the country, and knowing, therefore, the great power of lungs, and great facility of expression without an adequate power of comprehending a continuous idea, which was sometimes found in persons who came thence, he should not venture to trespass so far on the time of the House. He would only say, in reference to the speech of the hon. Member for the West Riding, that to a portion of it he acceded—he thought that part was conceived in an admirable spirit; from another portion he disagreed, and as to the rest of it, he would say nothing, because he had not the faculty of understanding it. There was one statement, however, which had been made that was either truth or falsehood; if it was true it ought to be attended to immediately; if false, it ought to be exposed. The statement was, that great distress prevailed in the country—not that kind of distress which he feared was incident to any state or country, but distress of a kind which formed an epoch in human misery. If this was so he said the time was come when the Legislature ought to depart from laws which might be beneficial perhaps if left to exercise their legitimate effect in ordinary times, but were not suited for a time like this, and he should therefore support the proposition for giving to guardians on the spot the opportunity of assisting immediately cases of pressing misery as they came before them. The guardians on the spot were the persons best qualified to judge of the fitness of administering or withholding relief.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that an hon. Member had been talking something about the luxurious enjoyment in the Poor-law union workhouses, and that hon. Gentleman had asked him in what part of Lincolnshire it was that the independent labourer—for independent labourers he asserted that there were in that county—ever took those luxuries, namely, meat, except on Christmas-day and one other day in the year. Now, he (Colonel Sibthorp) could tell him that in the very parish in which he resided, and in other parts of Lincolnshire, the independent labourer had from 12*s.* to 15*s.* a-week. There was scarcely a day in the week on which he and his family did not partake of this luxury, as it was called, of meat. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would do him the honour to pay him (Colonel Sibthorp) a visit, and see how these things were in Lincolnshire. Though he had said last night, and he had no objection to repeat it, that he placed great confidence in her Majesty's present Ministers, yet he must say he had heard with some regret the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department (Sir J. Graham) state his determination to adhere to the principle of the Poor-law Amendment Act. To that act he had given his constant opposition. It was well known in this House that the very name of commissioners was odious to him, and to this commission he had given the greatest opposition of any that ever came before the House. He confessed he thought that when the right hon. Baronet told them that he should adhere to the principle of the measure he was pursuing a consistent course, if he showed some consideration for that class of people whom this law principally affected, and voted against extending the operation of the law. To the whole system of the Poor-law he objected, considering it most unconstitutional, most degrading, and most unsatisfactory to the people at large, and to those in a somewhat higher class, who had shown no inaptitude that he knew of for the local management of the affairs of their own poor. With such feelings as his in regard to the commissioners, he could not support any measure which went to maintain the power of that body. He, therefore, felt it his duty, though he had supported the Government in their resistance to what amounted to an interference with the internal management of the poor, to support the hon. Member, as he should to support any one who interfered to prevent any additional attempt to extend the powers of the commissioners.

The House divided:—Ayes 49; Noes 131: Majority 82.

List of the AYES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Beckett, W.
Borthwick, P.
Broadwood, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Buckley, E.
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Colville, C. R.
Dick, Q.
Egerton, W. T.
Escott, B.
Fielden, J.
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Grimsditch, T.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Hardy, J.
Harford, S.
Hayes, Sir E.
Heathcote, J.
Hanley, J. W.
Hollond, R.
Johnstone, A.
Lawson, A.
Leader, J. T.
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Murphy, F. S.
Napier, Sir C.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Connell, M. J.
Paget, Colonel
Paget, Lord W.
Pechell, Captain
Rennie, G.
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Wakley, T.
Watson, W. H.
Wigney, I. N.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Crawford, S.
Ferrand, W. B.

List of the NOES.

A'Court, Captain
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Bagge, W.
Baird, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Broadley, H.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buller, C.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Campbell, A.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cochrane, A.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Courtenay, Viscount
Crosse, T. B.
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Emlyn, Viscount
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ferguson, Colonel
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forbes, W.
Forster, M.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt hn. W. E.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Greene, T.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Guest, Sir J.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Holdsworth, J.
Hope, G. W.
Howard, hon. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Ingestrie, Viscount
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Ker, D. S.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Knight, H. G.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Layard, Captain
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lindsay, H H.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
MacGeachy, F. A.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Morgan, O.
Munday, E. M.
Neville, R.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Pakington, J. S.
Philips, M.
Planta, right hon. J.
Polhill, F.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.
Rawdon, Colonel
Reade, W. M.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, right hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stanley, Lord
Stanton, W. H.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Tennent, J. E.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Vane, Lord H.
Verner, Colonel
Vesey, hon. T.
Vivian, hon. Captain
Ward, H. G.

	TELLERS.
Wood, C.	Fremantle, Sir T.
Wood, Colonel T.	Baring, H.

Mr. *Crawford* moved the second instruction, of which he had given notice as follows:—

"That it be an instruction to the committee, that they have power to make provision in the bill, that it shall not be lawful for the commissioners to disallow, by any general or other order, any payments which shall be made by the authority of a board of guardians for the relief of any poor persons or their families out of the workhouse, notwithstandiag any powers given to them by the Act 4 and 5 Will. 4, c. 76, to the contrary."

Mr. *Wakley* said, that he should support the amendment, and he thought, that the House was bound to support it. The House had been informed from several quarters, that distress prevailed in particular parts of the country, and he thought that the House ought to show some disposition to take measures for relieving that distress, by giving to guardians authority to exercise a discretionary power, according as circumstances might require. He should not have troubled the House with any further observations, were it not that the hon. Gentleman opposite, the Member for Sheffield, had addressed the House just now in a tone which did not indicate a kindly feeling on his part; and the hon. Member had, he thought, given him just cause of complaint, for he had imputed to him expressions which he had not used; and the hon. Member for Sheffield had thought proper to read him a lecture, in the course of which he imputed to him cowardice for not having divided last night in conformity with the sentiments which he had expressed in the course of the debate. He supposed, that the language of the hon. Member was Parliamentary—that such language was admitted in debate. He should be the last in the world to wish to curtail the freedom of debate; but he must take the liberty to say, that the hon. Member ought not to have taken upon himself to read such a lecture to any one. The hon. Member ought to have been the last man in that House to have done anything of the sort. It would be recollected, that at the commencement of the present Session the hon. Member for Rochdale had moved an Amendment to the Address, and on that occasion who amongst the hon. Members opposite was the first to resort to a cowardly flight? Who was the first to betray that sort of moral cowardice, of which he now took upon himself to be so severe a censor? But that was not all. If the case simply affected the hon. Member for Sheffield, it would be of very little importance. But there was not only cowardice in that House, there was cowardice amongst the board of guardians, to which that hon. Member belonged. The House had heard the hon. Member detail a conversation which had taken place between himself and one of the members of the board of guardians to which he belonged. If any such conversation did take place, perhaps the hon. Member would be at the trouble of stating who the individual was with whom he had held it. If he recollected right, that hon. Member had stated that the guardian to whom reference had been made, expressed an anxious desire that he and his fellow-guardians should be relieved from all responsibility. They cried out, "For God's sake don't alter our position, we don't want to take upon ourselves any responsibility; we want to have the Poor-law commissioners to fall back upon." What a valiant group! He had now nothing more to say, but this, that if the House discharged their duty, they would throw upon the guardians that responsibility from which no men in their situations ought to shrink.

Mr. *Ward* hoped, that the House would, under the circumstances, allow him to say a few words. If he had used the word "cowardly" in any unparliamentary manner—if he had used any language that was too strong, he now begged to express his regret. He had not forgotten the course which he had himself pursued on the occasion of the amendment to the Address moved by the hon. Member for Rochdale. He neither forgot that occasion, nor desired to apologise for his conduct, or to retract anything that he had said, and he was now prepared to say, that under similar circumstances he should again pursue a line of conduct precisely similar. With respect to the hon. Member for Finsbury, what he endeavoured to do on the former occasion, was to contrast the boldness of his language with the diffidence of his acts. He had told the House that he, above all men, was the best enabled to give them advice—that he had paid the closest attention to the working of the Poor-laws; yet this hon. Member, so well qualified to form a judgment, declined to vote. The hon. Member did what he had done in a very different case, when the question was not so simple and obvious as that on which the hon. Member refused to vote, but when it was one which involved the whole course of conduct pursued by a Ministry going out, and that which was expected to be pursued by one coming into office—the cases were totally different. As to the conduct of the board of guardians to which it was said, that he belonged, he felt bound to say, that he attended its meetings very rarely, except during the first year of his connexion with it, and for these reasons—that he had not time to be a constant attendant, and that he did not think it right for *ex officio* guardians to attend occasionally, and interfere with the proceedings of those who, from being frequently present, were the best qualified to carry on the business of the union. He desired to repeat, that the conversation, which he stated to the House on a former occasion, had been held with himself, and it was only fair that he should then say, that the person with whom he held them had not expressed any fear of responsibility, but a reluctance to undertake the duty of determining principle, in dealing with every individual case. He wished for the sanction and authority of the commissioners, lest, as he said, some Mr. Wakley should denounce him. These were the sentiments of that person, though he would not mention his name without his permission.

Mr. *Darby* wished it to be understood, that the vote he then intended to give, was not to bind him on any future occasion. He was glad, that the Government intended to communicate with the commisioners, and he wished to give them the full benefit of that opportunity.

The House again divided. Ayes 32; Noes 146:—Majority 114.

List of the AYES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Baldwin, C. B.
Borthwick, P.
Broadwood, H.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Colville, C. R.
Dick, Q.
Fielden, J.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Hardy, J.
Harford, S.
Heathcoat, J.
Hollond, R.
Howard, hon. H.
Johnston, A.
Leader, J. T.
Morris, D.
Murphy, F. S.
Napier, Sir C.
O'Connell, M. J.
Paget, Lord W.
Pechell, Captain
Rennie, G.
Sibthorp, Colonel
Wakley, T.
Watson, W. H.
Wigney, I. N.

TELLERS.

Crawford, S.
Yorke, H. R.

List of the NOES.

A'Court, Captain
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Bagge, W.
Baird, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bowring, Dr.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Bruce, Lord E.
Ruckley, E.
Buller, C.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Campbell, A.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clive, hon. R H.
Cole, hon. A. H.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Courtenay, Viscount
Crosse, T. B.
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Egerton, W. T.
Emlyn, Viscount
Escott, B.
Escourt, T. G. B.
Ferguson, Colonel
Fitzroy, Captain
Fleming, J. W.
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forbes, W.
Forster, M.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt hn W. E.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Grahan, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, E.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hodgson, R.
Holdsworth, J.
Hope, G. W.
Howard, Sir R.
Ingestrie, Viscount
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Ker, D. S.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Knight, H. G.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Lawson, A.
Layard, Captain
Legh, G. C.
Leicester, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
MacGeachy, F. A.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, C. W.
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Neville, R.
Newry, Viscount
Nicholl, right hon. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Pakington, J. S.
Pemberton, T.
Philips, M.
Planta, right hon. J.
Polhill, F.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.

Reade, W. M.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W J.
Rose, rt. hn. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sandon, Viscount
Scarlett, hon. R. C.
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, right hon. F.
Sheppard, T.
Smith, rt. hn. R. V.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stanley, Lord
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, T. E.
Tennent, J. E.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Vane, Lord H.
Verner, Colonel
Vesey, hon. T.
Vivian, hon. Captain
Ward, H. G.
Wood, C.
Wood, Colonel T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel

TELLERS.

Fremantle, Sir T.
Baring, H.

Bill went through a committee, and report brought up.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, September 29, 1841.

Minutes.] New Members. Sir George Cockburn, for Ripon; Lord Leveson, for Lichfield.

Bills. Read a second time:—Exchequer Bills; Exchequer Bills Funding.—Read a third time;—Expiring Laws.

Petitions Presented. By Mr. H Berkeley from Kingswood, Wooton-Under-Edge, North Nibley, and Bristol, and by Mr. Beckett, from Leeds, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By an hon. Member from Northern Central British India Society, for Inquiry into the case of the Rajah of Sattara,—By Mr. Gibson, from George Beacon, for the admission of Provisions to Poor-law Unions duty free.

Mr. Warner's Invention.] On the Order of the Day for the second reading of the Exchequer Bills Bill being read,

Mr. *Wakley* said, he wished to put a question to the gallant Secretary of the Board of Ordnance, relating to the invention of Mr. Warner. The subject had been brought before the House last Session, on which occasion many Members had borne evidence to the extraordinary nature of the invention; and in the debate on the estimates the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had admitted that he had seen one of the experiments, and that he had witnessed the most extraordinary effects. Statements had been made the other night by the hon. and gallant Member for the Tower Hamlets, and by some other hon. Members, that Mr. Warner had objected to the appointment of a Committee to investigate the nature of his invention. Mr. Warner and his friends complained of that statement. The fact was, that Mr. Warner was most anxious to have a committee appointed to investigate his invention, and he was most desirous that the Government should be fully satisfied as to the nature of his invention before they adopted it. Mr. Walseby said, that shortly after Mr. Warner's return from Portugal, the subject had been mentioned in the House of Commons, but had been stopped by the then First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir J. Graham), who suggested that a committee should be appointed to investigate it. A committee had been appointed accordingly, but Sir R. Stopford, the chairman, thought it was too numerous, and some alterations were suggested in it, but Sir Robert Stopford shortly afterwards left England for the Mediterranean. Sir Richard Keats, another member of the committee, died, and his Majesty, who had taken a great interest in the subject, also died shortly afterwards, so that the subject had never been investigated. The gallant Captain, the Member for Gloucester, had stated that captains in the navy might object to admit the invention on board their ships, for fear of being blown up; but he understood that when the subject should be investigated, it would appear that such apprehensions were groundless. When the subject was discussed in June last, the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies had stated that some explanation ought to be given, and had promised that further negotiations with Mr. Warner should take place. He was anxious to know if any investigation had been instituted?

Colonel *Fox* said, that he believed that the Master-General of the Ordnance, Lord (lately Sir Hussey) Vivian, had wished to refer Mr. Warner to the usual committee at Woolwich, for the investigation of inventions of the nature of that brought forward by Mr. Warner, and that Gentlemen had refused to submit his invention to that committee. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for Marylebone the other evening, in relation to the muskets supplied to the navy, he supposed that the observations of that gallant Officer applied only to the old arms formerly issued, and not to those which had recently been given out. His noble Friend's (Lord Vivian's) attention had been most closely directed to the subject for the last three or four years. He knew that upwards of 50,000 muskets, with the percussion lock, had been constructed—most of them had been distributed. They had received the approbation of officers of every branch of the united service. Complaints had been made with regard to the Royal Marines, but he believed that 4,000 or 5,000 of those muskets had been given to that corps, which had received the unqualified approbation of the officers. His reason for making the statement was, that it might not go forward to the public that the late Master-General of the Ordnance had neglected his duty.

Captain *Boldero* said, that the only answer he could give to the hon. Member's question was, that since the formation of the present Board of Ordnance, neither the Master-General nor the Board itself had received any communication whatever from Mr. Warner respecting the weapon of destruction which he had invented.

Mr. *Wakley* would put another question, which he hoped would be answered more satisfactorily. The gallant general, at the head of the Board of Ordnance, had witnessed the operation of this weapon, and had expressed a favourable opinion of it, an opinion which all must admit was deserving of attention. He was anxious to know, therefore, whether there was any intention, founded upon the information which the Board of Ordnance already possessed, to investigate the matter any further?

Captain *Boldero* had already stated that the Board of Ordnance was ignorant of the views and wishes of Mr. Warner. He had the authority of the Master-General for stating, that he did not feel himself authorised to take upon himself the responsibility of appointing a committee upon the subject, without the previous sanction of her Majesty's Ministers.

Mr. *Brotherton* said, in the debate referred to by the hon. Member for Finsbury, he had entered his protest against the Government giving their sanction in offering a reward to men who exercised their talent and ingenuity in discovering some infernal machine for the destruction of human life. If a man used his talents to promote the happiness of his race he was entitled to reward, but not for using them for an opposite purpose. He had heard, with great delight, the announcement of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) that he would use all his influence to diffuse those sentiments in society which would lead men to discourage war. He must say his heart had burned within him, when, on a previous evening, he heard the House debating about locks and guns, and various other instruments used in war. What would the next generation think of the present when they read that the House of Commons of that day had debated for hours about implements of destruction? He believed, that until war and warriors were held in less estimation, there was no hope of good for this country. Certainly, on all occasions, he should enter his protest against reward being granted for inventions of the nature then under discussion, because he conceived that the more they discouraged war, the more would civilisation advance throughout the world.

Mr. *Wakley* observed, that both humanity and economy might recommend the use of such weapons as that invented by Mr. Warner.

Subject at an end.

Dr. Madden.—Mission to Africa.] Mr. *Forster*, seeing the noble Lord the Secretary of State in his place, wished to ask him a question. He observed in the estimates which the House voted the other night a sum of money charged as paid to a Dr. Madden towards the expenses of a mission to the west coast of Africa. He understood that gentleman had returned to this country, and, after a very short stay in Africa, had made a very long report to Government. The question he wished to ask the noble Lord was simply this, when we might expect to see that report laid on the Table of the House?

Lord *Stanley* said, that Dr. Madden having been sent out as a commissioner by the late Government to make various inquiries of a confidential nature with reference to the state of our settlements on the western coast of Africa had furnished four reports, one relating to Sierra Leone, another to the Gambia, and another to the Gold Coast. The fourth was confined exclusively to medical subjects. To the production of that he believed there was no objection; but the other three treated of matters of the greatest importance and secrecy, of matters connected with individuals, affecting our foreign policy, and our relations with the trade legally and illegally carried on on the coast of Africa. In the present position of the Government he should not feel himself warranted in laying on the Table of the House, the whole of these matters, but he could assure the hon. Member that they were under the most anxious consideration of her Majesty's Government.

Bill read a second time.

POOR-LAW COMMISSION.] On the Order of the Day being moved for the bringing up the Report on the Poor-law Commission Bill,

Mr. *Wakley* begged to ask the hon. Member for Sheffield whether he was prepared to state to the House the name and address of the Poor-law guardian with whom he said in his speech the night before he had held a conversation in which his (Mr. Wakley's) name had been introduced.

Mr. *Ward* was not prepared to do so. He gave his word to the House that the conversation was as he had stated it. It took place six months ago, and it was very improbable that the Gentleman would give permission to have his name mentioned.

Mr. *Wakley* had no objection to the course taken by the hon. Member, if the House thought fit that Members should state conversations which they had held with parties, those conversations involving calumnies of the most atrocious kind against other Members of the House. If this was to be permitted, he was content to yield to such a species of warfare. If he was to be attacked by unfair weapons, and the use of them was considered quite correct, lawful, and parliamentary, he presumed he would be admitted to defend himself with weapons of a similar description. The hon. Member for Sheffield, in stating, the conversation last night, admitted that the language was not respectful with regard to him (Mr. Wakley). Now he (Mr. Wakley) considered the matter of so much importance that, without entertaining any enmity or hostility to the hon. Member—as he trusted he should always be enabled to conduct himself without entertaining such feelings towards a political opponent—he should feel it his duty to sift the matter to the bottom. He felt it due to the character of the House to do so. It was a matter of safety and security with regard to hon. Members. If conversations of the kind he referred to were to be related in that House by persons under no responsibility he should like to know what was the protection for individual character. The hon. Gentleman objected to give the name and address of the guardian with whom the conversation occurred. He begged to know whether the hon. Member would state the name of the union to which that guardian belonged. He would undertake to go to that board, or to write to every Member of it, to ask whether he was the person or not. And if it should so happen that every Member denied having held such a conversation, then they should know in whose honourable and courageous mind the calumnious insinuation originated.

Mr. *Ward* rose, but was interrupted by

The *Speaker*, who said he felt it necessary to call the attention of the House, to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Finsbury. The rule of the House was, that when an hon. Member stated, in his place in the House, anything which had occurred to him, such a statement was considered to be made upon the honour of the hon. Member. Such a statement was not to be questioned either in the House or out of it. Therefore he had to call the hon. Member for Finsbury to order for making allusion to steps to be taken to question a statement made to the House in the manner referred to.

Mr. *Ward*, with the utmost deference to the observations of the Speaker, hoped he might be permitted to say that there was nothing in the conversation he had repeated which could be called a calumny. There was nothing calumnious in the expression of an opinion, on the part of a member of a board of guardians who had seen the warm and violent speeches made by the hon. Member for Finsbury upon the Poor-law—that he felt great horror at having the interpretation of the new Poor-law left to boards of guardians, when they might have a Wakley at every board, putting his own interpretation on those principles, and forcing others to adopt it by raising an outcry against them if they did not, and denouncing them for inhumanity. Such a person was perfectly entitled to hold such an opinion, and express horror at such a prospect, and there was nothing in it to affect the hon. Member's Parliamentary conduct, or to prevent his discharging his duties in the House in any manner he thought proper. He disclaimed the idea of any calumny, in the matter. But he was connected with three boards of guardians, and after what had fallen from the hon. Member, he was less disposed than ever to give him the name of the person referred to.

Mr. *Wakley* was disposed to bow implicitly to the decision of the chair. The hon. Member opposite disclaimed the idea of calumny, but the hon. Member had not quoted all the words he made use of last night.

The *Speaker* said, the hon. Member was again out of order. According to the strict rule of the House, he could not refer to a former debate.

Mr. *Wakley:* Then I do not know how a Member is ever to get an explanation.

Report received.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, September 30, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read first time:—Expiring Laws.—Read a second time:—Administration of Justice (No. 2.)

Petitions Presented. By Viscount Strangford, from Inhabitants of Canada, against any alteration of the Timber Duties.—By Lord Brougham, from Protestant Dissenters of Middlewich and Trowbridge, and by Lord Kinnaird, from Abernyte for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.

THE CORN LAWS.] Lord *Brougham* presented a petition from Protestant Dissenters of Middlewich against the Corn-laws. The noble Lord in presenting a similar petition from the congregation of the Tabernacle chapel, in Troubridge, complaining (as we understood) of the sliding scale, said, that by the operation of that scale there had been suddenly thrown into the market a quantity of foreign corn, to the amount of from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of quarters of corn, at 1*s.* per quarter duty. This made an addition to our domestic stock of corn equal to the consumption of five weeks of the whole population of England and Scotland. Such a sudden importation of so large a quantity of corn could not be made under the fixed duty of 8*s.* No doubt it came in very favourably to the consumers, though not equally so to the farmers. He was not favourable to the sliding scale, nor to the Corn-laws, as they now stood, but he hoped that this effect of the sliding scale, would receive due attention from those who defended the agricultural interest.

Lord *Kinnaird*, on presenting a petition from Abernyte, for the repeal of the Corn-laws, stated his fears that the country would be disturbed in the winter months, in consequence of the distress which would be brought on by the Corn-laws. The noble Lord begged to call the attention of the noble Duke (of Wellington) to a pamphlet written on the subject of the Corn-laws and their probable effects, by a medical Gentleman, who showed that typhus fever was in most instances generated by an insufficient supply of wholesome food.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he had not seen the pamphlet alluded to, but he would say, that if the noble Lord who presented this petition had been in his place earlier, he would have heard, on the presentation of another petition, that there had been recently imported into this country nearly 2,000,000 of quarters of corn, at 1*s.* per quarter duty, and that, therefore, there could not exist any fear of distress from the want of a sufficient supply.

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION AT THE LATE GENERAL ELECTION.] On the motion that the House do adjourn,

Lord *Brougham* would take that opportunity of stating the course which he intended to pursue on a subject of great importance, to which he had called the attention of their Lordships on the first day of the Session. He had then stated, that bribery and corruption had prevailed to a frightful extent at the late general election, and he added that the House could not do a greater service, or more fairly discharge its duty to the country, than by taking the whole subject into its early and serious consideration, with the view of providing some remedy. Since that time he had maturely considered several cases of this bribery and corruption which had been brought under his notice; but, not to detain the house, he had selected, from a vast number of instances, three which were marked by the most odious of those features which, in some degree, were common to them all, and he would say, and would be able to show, from the information which had come before him, that those practices were not confined to one, but were common to each of the three great political parties which now divided the country. The first charge was brought against men who supported the views of the present Government, at that time in opposition, and over against whom he had then the honor to stand. The second case was brought as a charge against men who supported the late Government—now the opposition, as it was called—in front of which he had now the honor to take his place. [" *Hear*," *and a laugh from Lord Melbourne.*] His noble Friend, the noble Viscount lately at the head of the Government, laughed. He was at a loss to know what his noble Friend meant by the interruption. Was his noble Friend annoyed at the term " opposition."

Viscount *Melbourne* begged to say a word in explanation of what had fallen from his noble and learned Friend. He certainly had marked the term " opposition," used by his noble and learned Friend, because he remembered when he was a Member of the other House, that the alluding to a Member as one of the Opposition was held to be irregular, as it was declared by the Speaker to be unparliamentary to state of any Member that he had come into the House pledged to oppose the Government.

Lord *Brougham:* Well, this doctrine is new to me. The noble and learned Lord then went on to say, that the third charge of this bribery and corruption was made against a party which did not belong to either of those whom he had named, but acted independently of both. Now, if he were to make known the evidence which had come before him, he would say, that this third party was more lavish of its means of bribery and corruption than either of the others. It might, and perhaps would be said, that this general corruption had arisen from the Reform Bill of 1832. He would not say that it had, though perhaps his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack might claim some credit to himself for the prediction which he had made at that time, that if the Reform Bill passed, it would have the effect of producing greater corruption amongst the constituent body than had ever existed in the worst times of the old system of Parliamentary representation. That was the opinion of nis noble and learned Friend at that time, and no doubt at the present. But let him say, that the tendency of the Reform Bill was just the reverse; and if Parliament had done its duty, the public would not have heard of such bribery and corruption as he had referred to. What was his ground for saying this? It was well known that candidates at the late general election had expended many thousand pounds, which, of course, the candidates considered to be required only for the " legal" expenses of the election, but it had so happened, that by the Reform Bill the " legal" expenses had been reduced to a comparatively small amount. The whole expenses of bringing voters from a great distance, and other expenses attending their transit, had been done away with. The candidate therefore, who was called upon for the expenditure of many thousands must know that the greatest portion of those thousands was expended in bribery and corruption, or, at least, he must know that they were not required as the " legal" expenses of his election. If Parliament did its duty, it would put down these nefarious practices, and if it did not, the fault was not in the Reform Bill, but in Parliament, which did not take the necessary steps for instituting inquiry into the subject. He had consulted some of the highest legal and constitutional authorities on the subject, and it was their opinion that such an inquiry by their Lordships would not in any degree infringe on the rights and privileges of the Commons, provided the measures to be introduced as founded on such inquiry were prospective legislative measures, and did not interfere with individual seats. Now, he would state that his reasons for not instituting such inquiry at the present time were two-fold—first, that in the short time which remained of the present Session there would not be time for it; and the second was, that there were now about eighty election petitions to be decided upon by committees of the House of Commons, and it would not be convenient that an inquiry should be going on in a committee of their Lordships' House, on the same matters on which, in a great degree, election committees of the House of Commons would be sitting. These reasons would justify him in abstaining for the present Session from moving for the inquiry, but he would do so in the next Session, and he was sure that that inquiry would produce most important information as to the extent of the bribery and corruption to which he had alluded. It was not material to what persons or to what places this might be traced; it would be sufficient to show that it did exist, and that it called for some immediate legislative remedy.

Motion agreed to.

The House adjourned.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, September 30, 1841.

Minutes.] New Member. Right hon. H. T. L. Corry, for Tyrone (County).

New Writ. For Wilton in the room of Viscount Fitzharris, become Earl Malmsebury.

Bills. Read a third time. Population Payments; Marlborough's Estate; Riddell's Estate; Clayton's Name.

Petitions Presented. By Colonel Verner, from Armagh, to place the Spirit trade on the same footing as in England.—By Sir G. de Larpent, from Inhabitants of Bombay complaining of the Supreme Court there, and praying for redress.—By Mr. Cobden, from Ministers of Baptist Churches in Cheshire, and Lancashire, and from Stockport, Staley-Bridge, and Middlewich, and, by Mr. Thornely, from Holt, and Edwin Noon, complaining of public distress, and for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. Ewart from Baptist Ministers of Cheshire and Lancashire, for the substitution of Affirmation for Oaths, and for making trading in female purity, a punishable offence.—By Sir C. Napier, from Inhabitants of St. Pancras, to redeem the Metropolitan Bridge Tolls.—By the Attorney-General from prisoners for debt, for the Amendment of the law of Debtor and Creditor.

Compensation — Explanation.] Sir *T. Fremantle* moved, that a new writ be issued for the borough of Wilton, in the room of Viscount Fitzharris, who has been called to the House of Peers as the Earl of Malmesbury.

Sir *James Graham* begged for the indulgence of the House, which had before been given on a similar occasion, whilst he gave an explanation of a remark of his in a former debate, which had been hurtful to the feelings of a noble Lord. An observation that had fallen from him in the course of the debate on the Administration of Justice (No. 2.) Bill had given great pain to the feelings of a noble Lord, inasmuch as it touched the memory of a departed brother, and as he (Sir James Graham) was a Friend of that Gentleman he felt hurt by the same allusion. Nothing generally could be more accurate than the reports of what passed in that House, and therefore, if the expressions which were reported to have fallen from him were inaccurate, he would take the inaccuracy upon himself rather than impute it to any misrepresentation in the report. The hon. Member for Sheffield had asked, with reference to the compensation to be given to Mr. Scarlett for the loss of an office in the Court of Exchequer, whether that appointment was not of the same character as that given to Mr. W. Brougham who received an appointment to an office in the Court of Chancery in 1832, which the Lord Chancellor intended to abolish at the time of the appointment. The hon. Member for Sheffield said, the cases were strictly analogous; and he rose after that, and contended that there was a striking difference between them. He had stated on the allusion made to the case of Mr. Brougham, that the Lord Chancellor, the author of the Reform of the Court of Chancery, had at the time he made the appointment contemplated the abolition of the office, and therefore, that his brother was not entitled to the compensation. He was reported to have said, "The question arose, was he entitled to compensation?" and that mode of expression would give rise to the opinion that the question of compensation was raised, and that he as a colleague of Lord Brougham, was aware of that being the case. Nothing, however, was further from his intention than to state this, and it was entirely inconsistent with the fact. The question never was raised. Nothing could be more honourable or generous than the conduct of Mr. Brougham. Nothing like pressing for compensation had entered his head, the Lord Chancellor having forewarned him that no such compensation would be given. He hoped the House would pardon him if he had said anything which had been inconsistent in the slightest degree with the honourable memory of a departed friend, or anything which should wound the feelings of a nobleman.

Subject at an end.

Mr. Warner's Invention.] Viscount *Ingestrie* said, in allusion to a statement which had been made by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets in regard to Mr. Warner's invention, he begged to be permitted to read a letter from Mr. Warner to Lord Melbourne, written on the 8th of May, 1840. His Lordship read the letter, which set forth the readiness of Mr. Warner to refer his invention to one of the Lords of the Admiralty and an engineer officer, and requesting that the inspection should take place in the presence of Lord Ingestrie. He had nothing more to add. This was all that Mr. Warner wished for.

Sir *C. Napier* begged to observe, that in the remarks he made some evenings ago, relative to the imperfect state of the arms in use in the army and navy, he did not mean to include those which were now being issued, which he had the authority of a noble Lord connected with the Ordnance Department for saying had never yet been equalled. He must again express a hope that the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth would take into his consideration the propriety of appointing, upon the first vacancy, a naval officer to the Board of Ordnance.

The writ ordered.

FALKLAND ISLANDS.] Captain *Fitzroy* begged to ask the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies, what were the reasons for appointing an engineer officer to be governor of the Falkland Islands?

Lord *Stanley* said, that Lieutenant Moody, an engineer officer, had been appointed to the Falkland Islands; but as that appointment had taken place before his accession to office, he could not tell what were the reasons for making it.

FINE ARTS.] Mr. *Hawes* wished to put a question to the right hon. Baronet. The committee which had sat for the purpose of seeing how far the fine arts might be promoted in connexion with the new houses of Parliament had pointed out some means of making further inquiry; and he was anxious to know whether the Government had any intention of acting upon the recommendations of that committee, or whether the right hon. Baronet had any information to give to the House upon the subject.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that he had read with the greatest attention the report of the committee referred to by the hon. Member, and the very interesting evidence taken before that committee. He certainly thought that the opportunity afforded for the encouragement of the arts, by the building of the Houses of Parliament ought to be taken advantage of, at least for the purpose of fully investigating, upon mature reflection, whether or not the construction of these Houses might not be made conducive to the encouragement of the higher branches of the arts. It was, doubtless, a subject deserving of the most serious attention. He thought that the committee which had been appointed last Session, had conducted the inquiry, as far as time had permitted, in a very satisfactory manner, and that it would have been most useful to have carried that inquiry further. That, however, the committee were prevented from doing by the close of the Session, although there were many more persons whose opinions they would have been glad to receive, and many points which they had not an opportunity of fully considering, which they gladly would have considered. He would have no objection whatever to the re-appointment of that committee, in consequence of the manner in which they discharged the duty with which they had been intrusted, did he not feel that inquiry in that shape was somewhat unsatisfactory. It could only be carried on during the sitting of Parliament. The prorogation, or adjournment, of Parliament necessarily terminated the labours of the committee. He was, therefore, of opinion that this inquiry, which it appeared to him it was of the greatest importance to continue, might be continued with the greatest advantage, by a commission appointed by the Crown, without reference, in the slightest degree, to party distinctions. And considering that the buildings now in progress were for the accommodation of the House of Lords as well as Commons, considering that joint committees, although not without precedent, were rather cumbrous tribunals, and that a commission to be appointed by the Crown was the most advisable, he conceived that such Members in each House of Parliament as had turned their attention to the question of the fine arts, might be invited to constitute that commission. Another advantage to be derived from the appointment of a commission, acting in concert with the executive Government was, that the inquiry might be made with reference to the progress of the arts in other countries, through the intervention of the Crown, in a much more satisfactory manner than it could be effected by a committee of the House of Commons. Above all, the appointment of a commission would enable the inquiry to be continued during the recess, when the Parliament was not sitting; and was, he thought, upon the whole, the most advisable and expedient. He was sure the House and the country would hear with great satisfaction, as this commission would in no respect partake of a party or political character, and as also the new building, when completed, would comprise a part of her Majesty's ancient palace of Westminster, that his Royal Highness Prince Albert had willingly consented to become a member of such a commission, and to add to its labours the advantage, not only of his station and character, but also of his knowledge and taste in all matters connected with the promotion of the fine arts. [Mr. *Hawes:* I hope the commissioners will not be paid.] The hon. Member hoped that the commission would be unpaid. It certainly would. He was sure that such Members of both Houses, as he suggested, might be invited to assist upon that commission, would find sufficient in their love of the fine arts, to induce them to do so. He thought it would also be desirable to include in the commission some persons not in either House of Parliament, but well known for their admiration and encouragement of the fine arts, which, indeed, he was sure would be a sufficient stimulus to every member of the commission, to apply himself sedulously to the discharge of the duties connected with the inquiry.

Mr. *Hawes* said, that he had asked if the commission were to be a paid one, thinking, perhaps, that a number of professional gentlemen would be appointed, whom it would be reasonable to remunerate.

Sir *R. Peel* was happy at the opportunity afforded him of publicly stating, that there would be no remuneration.

Subject at an end.

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE LEGION.] Viscount *Sandon* rose to move for certain papers relating to the Anglo-Spanish Commission, and the Anglo-Portuguese Commission, which he said would fully prove to the House, that while the claims of the Anglo-Spanish Legion had been settled in one year, the Anglo-Portuguese Commission, which had already been sitting for one year, presented no prospect of its termination for two years longer, and that the instalments which might then be agreed on, would not be all paid off before the expiration of two years more. The Anglo-Portuguese claimants were now enduring great hardships, and if their claims were to remain so long unsatisfied, they would derive but little benefit from the settlement of them. The noble Lord concluded by moving for the following papers:—

"Date when the Legion was disbanded; copy of the mixed British and Spanish Commission, relating to the claims of the British Auxiliary Legion in the service of Spain; copy of rules for the guidance of the commissioners; the date when the commission commenced the reception of claims; the number of claims sent in and adjudicated upon, and the respective dates of such adjudications; the mode in which such claims were agreed to be paid, and have been paid and satisfied; the number of commissioners, secretaries, and clerks engaged in such commission; the amount of the expenses of such commission, specifying the commissioners' salaries, and those of the secretaries and clerks; return of the expenses, if any, which were allowed, and to whom, in respect of the prosecution of such claims, and how paid; was any and what deduction made from the claimants for the purpose of paying agents, or any other expenses?

"Date of the disbanding of the respective naval and military forces; the date of the mixed British and Portuguese Commission, appointed to examine and decide upon the claims of British subjects who served in the army and navy during the war of restoration in Portugal; copy of the rules for the guidance of the commissioners; the date of the installation in office of the commissioners; the date of the decision of the Belgian Minister on the question of contracts; the date of the commencement of the reception of claims; the number of days, and of hours per day, during which each commissioner respectively has been engaged in the labours of the commission; whether any accounts have been examined by one commissioner in the absence of the other; the number of claims received, and the number, if any, investigated and adjudicated upon, and of claimants to whom notice of such adjudication has been given; the number of secretaries, clerks or others, employed under the commissioners, the dates of their several appointments, with their respective salaries; the salaries of the commissioners, and from what source paid, together with an account of all other expenses incidental to the commission."

Sir *R. Peel* said, that he thought the motion had very much the appearance of having been suggested by a claimant who felt disappointed at the delay. To some of the returns he had no objection; but he certainly could not consent to those which implied any reflection upon the commissioners. What he should suggest to his noble Friend was, to withdraw the motion for the present, that he might have an opportunity of considering, with his noble Friend, to what extent he should limit it. If his noble Friend would withdraw the motion until the next day, he would then be prepared to give him all the information he could fairly require.

Viscount *Palmerston* begged to observe, that the delay had arisen from the difficulty which the British and Portuguese Governments found in coming to an arrangement about some of the details.

Lord *Ranelagh* expressed a hope that the British Government would take steps to procure the restoration of Don Carlos to liberty. He had never taken up arms against the French; and there was a time when France would have scorned to be the prison-house of princes.

Viscount *Sandon* had no objection to acquiesce in the arrangement proposed by his right hon. Friend. The noble Lord accordingly postponed his motions.

Distress at Bolton.] Dr. *Bowring* observed, that if as had been declared by the Speaker, it was one of the Privileges of the House, that nothing stated by any of its Members should be called in question either within or without its walls, it became a peremptory duty to make no rash or unsupported averments—and if betrayed into any error to take the earliest opportunity to correct or to explain it. He had, some time since, stated an incident of very great distress, which had so much excited the sympathies of the right hon. Baronet, the head of her Majesty's Government, that he had been induced to establish local inquiries, with a view to the investigation of the melancholy facts to which he had called the attention of the House. And he was ready to acknowledge, that it was peculiarly incumbent on him not to come forward with an exaggerated statement; though to say the truth, such was the distress of the people, that it stood in no need of exaggeration, in order to awaken the deepest interest. His connection with Bolton was a very peculiar one. He went there without local knowledge or influence, and though his being sent to that House as the representative of Bolton was in itself an abundant and striking evidence of the distress that prevailed amongst the inhabitants, still he owned, that the circumstances under which he had been elected, did, in themselves, impose upon him the obligation to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the people, and to state to Parliament such facts as he could rely on. He could have wished, indeed, that his hon. Colleague had been present to confirm his assertion as to the extent of distress existing in Bolton. But he repeated, the statements he had made were substantially true. One of the guardians of Bolton, he must say, had, in an uncourteous and uncalled for manner, ventured to impeach his personal veracity, and to represent him as unworthy of belief. He would tell the House how he had proceeded, and leave it to judge whether he had acted unbecomingly. At a public meeting held in Bolton he heard tales of sorrow told to him, that harrowed up his very heart. Hearing them, it became his duty to inquire into them, and if he found them borne out by evidence, to represent them in Parliament—to plead the cause of the suffering poor in the presence of the privileged and the opulent, One gentleman, who had been a guardian of the poor, brought forward several cases of extreme distress. He asked for the assistance of that gentleman and of Mr. Edmund Ashworth, to inquire into the condition of the people. Mr. Ashworth, as well as the religious body to which he belongs, has been honoured with the disparaging notice of the hon. Member for Knaresborough. He spoke almost sneeringly of a sect that professed benevolence; but in his (Dr. Bowring's) judgment, it would be difficult to find a community who professed so little, and who practised so much of genuine Christian beneficence—and Mr. Ashworth, in particular, was one of those men who "do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame"—one whose history might be recorded in daily acts, by which sorrow is solaced, and happiness augmented. He (Dr. Bowring) visited the cellars of the poor. He made many memorandums; he would read to the House one of these records which he then wrote down, as it would be found to throw some light upon the condition of the poor, and he had not selected it, but it chanced to be the very first on which he had laid his hand, when turning over his papers. It was that of a poor man, aged 40 years, his wife 36. They had had ten children, seven of whom were dead. He had been twenty-one weeks without work. He had 2*s*. 6*d*. per week, parish relief, and some time before, 50*s*. had been given them, but all that money was, before his visit, spent, and they had pledged everything they possessed. Their eldest boy was 13 years of age, and when employed got 4*s*. per week. The family was in nearly a perishing condition, and they had sold all their furniture to procure the necessaries of life. In these inquiries they were accompanied by such a multitude that he was at length obliged to give them up, lest he should be accused of ostentation. He was not of the opinion of the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Ferrand) that benevolence should sound the trump before it, or come down to that House to parade its own great doings. He found the distress to be very great, and the demands upon his charity larger than he could supply, for he had not the privilege of wealth, and he could say, without shame, that having known many vicissitudes, and been disciplined by many afflictions, they had taught him, at least, to listen willingly, and to feel deeply for the afflictions of others. But having been thus compelled to abandon his personal investigation he had requested Mr. Naisby to give him a statement as to the facts, which had elicited the sympathies of the right hon. Baronet. Under his direction an assistant Poor-law commissioner had been sent to Bolton in order to examine into the facts which he had reported to the House, and he had to thank the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of the Home Department, who had kindly and courteously communicated to him the report that had been made on this subject by the gentleman who had been sent. That report proved that what Mr. Naisby believed to be the case, that a coroner's inquest had been held, and which represented that the man had been found dead at his loom, was undoubtedly erroneous. But the House would forgive him if he read a quotation from the letter that Mr. Naisby sent to him, as it would fully excuse that gentleman from making an intentional misrepresentation. He said that, not being a guardian at the time, he was not called upon till the man was dead. The widow stated to the assistant Poor-law Commissioner that no application had been made to the Poor-law guardians; but then he (Dr. Bowring), it would be recollected, had brought no accusation against the Poor-law guardians. He had not stated that they had refused relief. He thought now he could show the House that the substantive fact of a man perishing from want, and being found dead on his loom, was borne out by irrefragable evidence. A jury had been called together, but owing to some circumstances, they did not record any verdict, and the only erroneous impression which he would have conveyed to the House was, that the verdict of the jury had been recorded. Why it was not recorded it was not for him to say. He understood the reason alleged was, that no blame attached to any party. But that a jury saw the body could not be denied—for one of the jury called upon Mr. Naisby, the day after the inquest, and stated that they had returned a verdict of "died from want of food." A reporter of the Conservative paper stated to the board of guardians that he was one of the jury, and they had returned a verdict of "died from want of food." Mr. Naisby had sent with his correspondence two letters. The first was from the Secretary of the Benevolent Society, which existed in that town, for inquiring into and relieving distress. This letter was dated September 17, 1841, and was as follows:—

"Allow me to lay before you a few facts respecting the case of William Pearce, late of Howell-croft, in this township, who died from want of the necessaries of life. Being a visitor as well as one of the committee of the Benevolent Society, established in this township, for the purpose of relieving sickness and destitution, I was called upon to visit the case of William Pearce. When I found the cellar, he was dead, laid out on a pair of looms; there was no bed, only some little sacking, the whole of the furniture, an old stool or two, an old table, and a set of bedsteads, all of them not worth carrying away. I inquired into the cause of his death, and it was my opinion that the man had died for want of food, though he had been sick some time previously. The earnings of the family were only 4s. a week, unless the man's wife got something by begging. I reported the case to the committee that night, and after stating the particulars, it was the unanimous opinion of that meeting that he died for want of the necessaries of life, and that is their opinion still, the case having been again brought before them on the 10th instant."

This was strong evidence, and another man, who was a neighbour of the sufferers, sent this additional corroboration:—

"I state this as facts, respecting a man that lived a neighbour to me, of the name of William Pearce, late of Howell-croft. The first time that I had any acquaintance with him, he called to see if I had an old pair of shoes that I could give to him; I told him that I gave my old clothes to one of my apprentice's parents, who I thought was in great distress; and he said to me, if they were as bad off as he was, God help them, for he nor his family had not broke their fast since yesterday. So I questioned him, and I found him in a state of starvation. He invited me in, and I found them in the greatest distress. One pair of bedstocks for him, and wife, and two daughters. No bedding at all. They were obliged to sleep in their clothes. The seats they sat upon were bricks and stones, before I gave to them two old stools. This was about six months before the person died. He died on Sunday, on which his wife came to my misses and said that her husband had given over stirring. She thought he was dead. I was sent for, and I found him dead. I went up to the relieving officer and brought him down. He was laid out on a pair of looms, and we found a sheet to lay over him, and when it came back I was obliged to burn it, on account of the hundreds of filth that had crept on it. Their earnings was about 4*s.* per week, and 1*s.* 9*d.* for rent out of that. It was all, with the exception of what his wife got by begging. I have actually seen the man pick potatoes off the midden which had been thrown away on account of being rotten, and I have gone into the cellar in about an hour after and I have found them boiled up together, and they have been seen eating them for dinner. There has been no deceit about it, for I often went in unknown to them. The person actually died from want."

This letter was signed "William Coop, Ashburner-street." He considered it would not have been becoming in him if he did not bring forward such statements as these, for the purpose of showing to Parliament the condition of the people. He had stated, on a former occasion, that there were 1,200 houses unoccupied in Bolton. He dared to say, that in Bolton, as in other places, the rage for building had gone beyond the demand. But then, since he had made that statement, there were 1,400 houses unoccupied, while none had been built. Now as the population was increasing, could there be a more incontestable evidence of distress than that two hundred additional houses had been abandoned in so short a period? Of the poor-rates, only two-thirds could be collected, in consequence of the great distress that pervaded the town and neighbourhood. By a letter which he had received, it seemed that the work people in iron and machinery were only employed half time; that engineers were nearly in the same situation; that masons, bricklayers, and joiners were only one-third employed, and that tailors, shoemakers, and hand-loom weavers were even worse off than that. On Friday, a meeting had been held at Bolton, when it was unanimously resolved, that a memorial should be presented to her Majesty. It stated the existing and increasing sufferings of the people, and entreated of her Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until there had been a thorough and searching inquiry into the causes of the present embarrassment and distress. At that meeting, an appeal had been made, whether the statements he had made were true, and there was a general cry that the state of things was such as he had represented them to be. Three reverend gentlemen attended that meeting, they were all known to him, and he would venture to say of them that they would not deviate a hair's breadth from the strictest veracity. The rev. Mr. Baker, at the meeting, thus spoke:—

"He could appeal to every class for evidence that the distress was universal. He would make no selection; he could go from the capitalist to the labourers of every class—from the hand-loom to the power-loom—from the foundryman to the spade-labourer—from the master-spinner to the operative. He would make no distinction, for the distress was known to be universal. It pervaded every class; it had made large properties small, and small properties had become extinct. Many had sunk from one class to another, until they had become paupers. The cheerful and good-tempered artizan had become sullen and suspicious; they were driven from the markets, and almost from the streets, to hide their poverty and their wretchedness in some corner, the resort of misery, removed from the public eye. It had driven many, and that his professional duties had enabled him to know, from the house of God. They had parted with, or worn out, the decent clothing in which it was once their pride to appear, and they could not obtain other clothing in its place, for it required all they obtained to maintain existence, any man could not do that without contracting debts, and falling into the paths of guilt and misery. The employers were also suffering; they were filling the *Gazette*, and many who had not appeared in that record of falling trade had made quiet compositions, in the hope of being able to keep on a little longer."

Another clergyman was reported to have stated—

"Several heart-rending cases of distress, to which the audience listened with breathless silence. One of them was a case where a deserving family wanted for two days. He defied Sir Robert Peel to deny the statement he was making."

He begged to repeat the expression of his gratitude to the Government for having sent down a commissioner to inquire; but then he trusted the inquiry would not be a partial one. He understood that the commissioner who had gone to Bolton had remained there only twenty-four hours. Perhaps it was to make but one particular inquiry. He hoped, however, that it would be more extended, in order that the Government might learn the urgent necessity there was upon them to make inquiry into the cause of, and to provide some remedy for, the sufferings of the people. The right hon. Baronet had made a statement with regard to savings banks, from which he had drawn the deduction, that already there might be considered to be an amelioration in the condition of the working classes. It would, he believed, be found, on examination, that the savings banks would lead to very deceptive results, if it were supposed that artisans were the principal depositors. The number of artizans, he believed, was comparatively few. The principal contributors he imagined, were domestic servants, a class who did not suffer much in periods of distress, but who at those periods can live cheaper, as the articles they consumed were at a lower price. It would too be well for the Premier to consider, that at the period to which he referred, there was a great deal of money circulated at the elections, and perhaps some of that had found its way into the savings banks. It would, he thought, be desirable that the professions of the depositors at savings banks should be generally stated. It was so done at one of the best-conducted savings' banks in the kingdom. By looking to an extract from its accounts, which was for 1840, they would see how many of the operative classes were contributors. And though the savings banks in the heart of manufacturing districts, was not perfectly analogous, yet the details would serve to illustrate the subject generally. There were, in the Devon and Exeter Bank, 29,643 accounts. Of these there were, 6,130 domestic servants, 11,538 connected with trade, but of these there were 5,445 children. There were 9,252 agriculturists, 1,320 belonging to the army and navy, 1,433 public servants, making in all 29,643, but of these 12,604 were children, while the whole number of artisans classed under the heads of artificers and handicraftsmen was but 2,200, making one-thirteenth of the whole number of depositors. The amount deposited was no less than 868,032*l.* of this 194,175*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* belonging to domestic servants and 86,168*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* to artisans, making about one-tenth of the whole money amount. He knew that it was very difficult to argue from particulars to generals, but the fact he stated showed how little reliance could be placed upon savings banks returns, to prove the prosperous condition of the operative classes. He would next direct their attention to the last report of the registrar-general. It was one that must strike them, as showing the mortality that existed amongst the manufacturing population. By that return it appeared that the number of deaths was, in the metropolitan district—

In 1837-38 . . .	53,597 deaths
1838-39 . . .	46,758
1839-40 . . .	45,132

Thus they saw that there was a decrease of 16 per cent. in deaths. Let them take the whole country, and what was the result:—

In 1837-38 . . .	335,956 deaths
1838-39 . . .	331,007
1839-40 . . .	350,101

This made a general increase of deaths in the whole country of four per cent. But what was the return for Lancashire, south of Morecamb? There were—

In 1837-38 . . .	22,932 deaths
1838-39 . . .	26,606
1839-40 . . .	31,983

This showed an increase in the deaths of 40 per cent. What, then, were the facts that these documents presented to them? That there had been in the metropolis a decrease of deaths—that in England and Wales taken together there was an increase of 4 per cent., while in the manufacturing districts, excluding Manchester and Liverpool, for which special returns were made, there was an increase in the deaths of 40 per cent. There could be no doubt that many of these localities had been visited by pestilential and mortiferous diseases; but was it not evident that those diseases were the companions of and the testimonies to the great misery and excessive distress of the people—that this continual increase of mortality was an evidence of still extending sufferings. He looked next to the return of deaths of children under one year of age, for the year 1839-1840, and he found the general average of 1,000 registered deaths was 151—in the metropolis 161, in the manufacturing district of Lancashire 191 in the thousand, and of 1,000 births, the general average was 218—in the metropolis 194, in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire 248. He stated these facts these indisputable facts; he felt it to be his duty, and for this he had been accused of fomenting popular passions, and of fanning the flame of public discontent. But the danger to the public peace was not in the statements of existing misery—it was in the existence of the misery. Had he however sought to flatter prejudices and to connect himself with the most excited agitation of the working classes, he should have pursued a very different course on the subject of the Poor-laws. On that matter he held a strong opinion, but he had come to the conclusion that the Corn-law and the Poor-law could not long exist together. He was willing that her Majesty's Government should take the question of the Poor-law into their hands, as he did not see any paramount motive which ought to prevent them from doing that which was just and equitable. It was desirable to protect the rate-payers; it was necessary to aid the suffering; and he agreed with those who thought that the measure ought not to be interfered with in any of its details, for he would not give to her Majesty's Government the power of turning round upon them, and saying that the Opposition had taken the measure into their hands, and thus throw from their own shoulders the responsibility that ought to attach to them. Again he thanked the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary of the Home Department, for the personal kindness that he had shown to him in this matter. He heard from him that there was some technical objection to the production of the documents he desired to see laid before the House. He felt it necessary however in his own justification to say, what he had said, and he had only now to express the wish that no respect for his position as a Member of Parliament—that no apprehension of wounding his feelings, would induce the right hon. Baronet to withhold the report, either as to the particular fact he had mentioned, or as regarded the general condition of the poor. The hon. Member concluded by moving for copies of correspondence between the Home-office and the Poor-law commissioners on the subject of distress in Bolton; with the report of the assistant-commissioner sent by her Majesty's Government to inquire into alleged cases of destitution and death, referred to in the debates in Parliament during the present Session.

The *Speaker* said, that the granting of the latter portion of the motion would be a breach of the privileges of the House.

Sir *James Graham* said, that if it had not been for the technical difficulty referred to by the Speaker, he would gladly have seconded the motion. He would, however, suggest an amendment which would avoid this difficulty. He would propose, that the words "or extracts" be inserted, and as the hon. Member for Bolton had in his hands the entire report exactly as it had been received, he would see that the extracts given would exclude nothing from the report that in any way bore upon the facts of the case. With this single reserve, therefore, out of deference to the privileges of the House, he would consent to the motion of the hon. Member. If such caution was to be observed on account of the privileges of that House in giving answers to statements of facts, he must in passing observe, that the obligation was much more imperative on Members who made those statements, that they should be as careful as circumstances would allow of, to inform themselves accurately of the facts of a case before they brought it before the House. Because it was one thing to make a statement to that House of a very harrowing description, exciting the feelings of the House and the country to the greatest extent, and to allow that statement to go forth uncontradicted under the sanction of that House; and it was another thing, after a lapse of time, when the statement might receive a perfect contradiction, to prevent its having the same authority given to the contradiction, under the plea of privilege. He hoped, therefore, that hon. Gentlemen would feel the cogent necessity for using the utmost caution in making statements calculated to excite and irritate the public mind. He would suggest to Members who had statements to make with regard to the administration of the Poor-law, and affecting the conduct of those who were officially charged with the relief of the poor, that they would have the kindness to transmit their statements of facts to him in writing, and he would take care that those statements should be strictly investigated. He had taken this care with regard to a statement of the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Ferrand), and he had adopted a similar course with regard to the hon. Member for Rochdale. Those Gentlemen had readily consented to furnish him in writing with the facts which they wished to have investigated, and he should take care that the strictest investigation should take place. Now, with respect to the statement of the hon. Member for Bolton, he appeared to think that the inquiry had been conducted in a most bungling manner, and, because the assistant Poor-law commissioner, Mr. Mott, had only occupied twenty-four hours in the inquiry, he could not have properly investigated the facts. He was not sure as to the duration of the stay of Mr. Mott at Bolton; it was urgent to have an answer to the statements that had been made, but whatever might have been the duration of the stay, in the report which he would present to the House it would be seen that he had brought before him all the leading officers, the members of the board of guardians; he went through all the statements *seriatim* which had been made in the House on the occasion referred to; and in the report would be found, point by point, an answer to every statement. The hon. Member had introduced some fresh statements that night. When the matter really was the accuracy of former statements, it was somewhat extraordinary to introduce new matter to change the issue; and although he did not for a moment mean to say that he had any doubt as to the accuracy of those statements, still he thought he might say, without offence, that he hoped that, with regard to these new statements, the hon. Member had exercised greater caution than on previous occasions. The first case was with reference to a man of the name of Pearce, who was said to have died of extreme want. In this case, the coroner for Bolton was called upon to hold an inquest, but he satisfied himself that there were no grounds for holding an inquest—that there was not even a *prima facie* case. The coroner for the county was not so scrupulous; he held an inquest in the absence of the relieving officer, and he himself admitted afterwards, that had the evidence of the relieving officer been received, the jury would not have returned the verdict they did. Now, what was the statement of the hon. Member for Bolton? He stated, that he went to the House of Pearce, who had a wife and four children; that he found two of the children lying upon straw, without covering; that he went up stairs, and found the father dead on the boards, without bed or bedding, and that the wife said before he died he wished for a little bread and cheese; that she could not get any from the neighbours, and that he died entirely from want of food. Now he would read the evidence of the wife respecting the death of her husband, as taken by Mr. Mott, the assistant Poor-law commissioner. Mr. Mott stated, that:—

> "He visited the widow of the deceased, and the statement made by her certainly did not justify the original statement of the hon. Member. She informed him that her husband died in February, 1840, a year and a half ago; that he was sixty-five years of age, that he had been ill for eighteen weeks, that he had plenty of work when he was well, and worked at intervals while he was ill; that she herself and her two daughters were fully employed, and earned 9*s.* 6*d.* a week at the time of her husband's death, and that they had not applied to the parish for relief because they were comfortably off."

The second case, which the hon. Gentleman had not touched upon that evening, but which he referred to on a former evening, was that of a man of the name of Bristow. The following was the statement, namely, that this man, his wife, and two daughters, slept upon straw, that the wife and daughters were out of work, that the man could earn only 4*s.* a week, and that they were reduced to the greatest distress. Now the fact was, that in August, 1839, the case of Bristow was reported to the relieving officer, and he then received 7*s.* a week; that the case was subsequently reported to the board of guardians, and they directed 10*s.* a week to be sent to him, and ordered him a supply of bedding. Now, with respect to the inquiry generally, into the state of the poor at Bolton, he was very far from denying that severe distress existed. He admitted that it did exist unhappily in some parts of Bolton, but gross exaggeration had been employed with regard to the extent to which it did exist. The hon. Member had truly stated that an investigation had taken place into the state of the poor at Bolton; and he had in his hand the report of the assistant Poor-law commissioner on the subject of that inquiry. He believed, however, it would be more satisfactory to the House that he should read, not the statement of the Poor-law commissioner, but of one of the relieving-officers, whose evidence had been taken by the assistant-commissioner, Mr. Mott, within these few days; it was as follows:—

> "I recollect about Christmas last some of the ratepayers formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the poor at Bolton."

He did not know whether this was prior to the inquiry referred to by the hon. Gentleman or subsequent to it. [Dr. *Bowring*: I made no inquiry.] Then he (Sir J. Graham) would inform the House of the inquiry which had taken place, its nature, and its results.

> "A statement was made that several families had been visited. I thought it my duty to examine these cases and compare them with what I knew to be the correct state of the facts. The result was, that in every case representations had been made which were not true; the amount of their earnings was incorrectly stated, and in every case a colour-

ing had been given implying a greater degree of want than really existed. I charged one woman with telling untruths, and misleading the ratepayers as to the state in which she was, when she confessed she had told falsehoods, and endeavoured to make her case as bad as she could, thinking they were about to distribute blankets, and she owned, if I had not interfered, she expected to get something from them. Very slight dependence can be placed on statements thus obtained. I am told they were published in other districts extensively, and they have had a most mischievous effect. A large meeting was held with reference to the Corn-laws, when those statements of the committee were read and commented upon."

This was confirmed by Mr. Mott. 300 cases were investigated for the purposes of an Anti-Corn-law meeting about to be held at Bolton. There was the grossest exaggeration in all of them; they were got up for a particular purpose; these exaggerations served their object; they were quoted and commented upon at the Anti-Corn-law meeting. They were detected, but they were even now re-produced in Parliament to serve a somewhat subsidiary purpose. He would only observe on one other point which had been touched on by the hon. Member—the number of uninhabited houses at Bolton. That subject also had been investigated by the Poor-law commissioners. It was attempted to be shown that the number of uninhabited houses at Bolton was attributed to the extraordinary distress and great poverty of the inhabitants. Now, the statement made by Mr. Mott was this:—He said,

"If the number of houses were taken with reference to the given proportion of the population, they would amount to 16,836. Or if the number of inhabited and uninhabited houses had increased in the same ratio as the population, they would be 17,584; but actually the number was 20,292, being 3,490 more than were required, and 2,700 more than would have been built if the number had increased only with the rate of the population, comparing 1831 with the present time."

He then instituted comparisons with other towns, and said,

"The number of uninhabited houses in Bolton, whether taken in reference to the increase of population, or viewed in comparison with other large districts, cannot be fairly considered as having any bearing on the question of depression; but, I believe, must be attributed to over-speculation in houses, or, in other words, to over-production."

How did he prove that? He showed, that whereas the number of houses altogether at Bolton, with reference to the population, and in comparison with Liverpool and other towns, should have been only 17,500, in point of fact there were not 17,500, but 20,000, being one-eighth more than was absolutely required with reference to the population of the town. The hon. Member had referred to the increased number of deaths in the county of Lancaster, as evinced by the reports of the registrar-general, which had within these few days been laid on the Table. The hon. Gentleman was versed in statistics, and should have recollected that until the registration of births, deaths, and marriages had been established in this country, there were no returns of sufficient accuracy to be relied on. Great allowance must, therefore, be made for a larger number of deaths being brought to account. At all events, they must not attribute that fact to a larger number of deaths really taking place than at any former given period. If the hon. Member would favour him with any additional facts, he promised that an inquiry should take place. The report he held in his hand should certainly be laid *in extenso* before the House, when he trusted hon. Members, bearing in mind the statements which had been made, and contrasting them with the facts adduced in evidence before the assistant Poor-law commissioner, would see how much abatement was to be made on the score of truth and misrepresentation.

Sir *R. Peel* wished to take this opportunity for making some reference to statements which were made on a former evening as proofs of the distress prevailing in certain districts of the country. He was sure the House would recollect that no man could admit more fully than he did that in certain districts of this country, particularly the districts connected with the cotton manufacture, considerable distress existed, and that the manufacturing population had to submit to severe privation and suffering, which no one could deplore more sincerely than he did. But the question was not as to the extent of the distress, but as to the accuracy of certain statements of it. The distress was not denied; but he did venture to state, that he thought there was great exaggeration on the subject of that distress in certain statements of individual facts, and he ventured to caution hon. Members against aggravating the discontent which naturally prevailed by such exaggerated representations. Before he proceeded to refer to the two points to which he had particularly to call attention, he wished to notice one statement which had been made by the hon. Gentleman who had introduced this subject, with reference to the extent of mortality, and to caution the House against drawing at once an inference. Even if the rate of mortality had unfortunately increased, which he believed to be the fact, notwithstanding the amendment of the system of registration, yet he believed it could not be denied that in those counties which were the chief seats of manufactures, there had been an increase of mortality; at the same time it must be borne in mind, as a proof that conclusions on that subject should not be hastily drawn, that in the very same report to which the hon. Gentleman had referred as evidence of increasing mortality in some of the districts of the country, a caution was given which the hon. Gentleman, after a careful perusal of the report, ought not to have overlooked. The registrar-general stated expressly, that,

> "The prevalence of increased mortality in those counties which comprise the largest proportion of manufacturing population, may probably arise from the circumstances to which the manufacturing classes are peculiarly exposed; but a further examination showed, that not only has the increase varied very much within those counties, but that there has been a decreased mortality in some of those districts which are peculiarly the seats of manufactures. Such has been the case in Manchester, Salford, Ashton, Oldham, Stockport, and Leeds."

Now, he did say, when referring to mortality as an indication of severe manufacturing distress, it would have been but fair in the hon. Member, who was evidently master of this report, to have informed the House, that although there had been an increase, yet in those towns which were peculiarly the seats of manufacturing industry—namely, Manchester, Salford, Ashton, Oldham, Stockport, and Leeds, the mortality had decreased. On a former night he had referred to the returns from the savings-banks—not as a proof that there was no distress, that he never doubted—nay, more, he expressly said, that he did not think the returns from the savings-banks could altogether be relied on as a test of the comfort or privations of the working classes; but at the same time no wise Government, in attempting to collect information as to the condition of the labouring poor, would disregard these returns as one of the elements of inquiry; and, so far as they could be relied on, he thought they rather tended to induce those who felt a deep interest in this subject, to take a less discouraging view of the condition of the poor, than some Gentlemen were inclined to adopt. He gave an account of the state of the deposits for the last three months of the present year. The hon. Member for Stockport, following him in the debate, said, that the returns of the savings-banks were entirely delusive. [Mr. *Cobden:* I said fallacious.] Well, that the returns from the savings-banks were entirely fallacious, and that, at all events, instead of confining himself to the returns for a few months of the present year, he should have brought forward the returns of 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840. [Mr. *Cobden:* I included 1835 and 1836.] Why, those were the two years which the hon. Gentleman had himself constantly spoken of, as years of a fictitious and delusive prosperity. He had not at present the returns for 1835 and 1836. He would, therefore, satisfy himself with quoting the returns for 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, four years, which the hon. Gentleman had certainly challenged him to compare with 1841. And lest it should be again urged, that his statement had especial reference to the agricultural population, he had made inquiry with respect to the manufacting districts, and had selected as of most importance, Manchester and Stockport. Here, then, was the result of the information which had been sent to him. The return, he admitted, began with 1837; the omission of 1835 and 1836 was certainly not intentional. The information was spread over the last five years, including the months of July, August, and September for 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841. In 1837, 1838, and 1839, taking the number of deposits and the number of withdrawals in the months of July, August, and September, the average for the quarterly period was 22,600*l.* placed in the bank by way of deposit, and the amount of withdrawals for the same term, 21,030*l.*, leaving a balance of 1,570*l.* in favour of deposits over withdrawals. In 1839 and 1840, taking the average of these two years, the amount of deposits during these months was 24,300*l.*, and of withdrawals, 23,800*l.*, leaving a balance in favour of deposits of only 500*l.* In 1841, the deposits amounted to no less a sum than 28,103*l.*, for the months of July, August, and September last, giving an increase, as compared with the average of the first period, of from 22,600*l.* to 28,103*l.*, and as compared with the average of 1839-40, of from 24,300*l.* to 28,103*l.* The amount of withdrawals for the quarterly period of 1841 was 25,356*l.* leaving a balance in favour of deposits, as compared with withdrawals, of 2,847*l.* on the latter period. The balance on the first period was 1,570*l.*; on the second, 500*l.*; and on the last period, 2,847*l.* But it might be asked, what was the number of depositors? The number of depositors, in this instance, was of great importance. It might happen, certainly, that in the latter period, although the amount of deposits had greatly increased, still, if the number of depositors had diminished, an argument might be founded on it, that the depositors were of the wealthier classes, and the reduced number compensated for the increased deposits. Now, in the first period to which he referred, in 1837, 1838, and 1839, the average number of contributors was 4,300; in 1839-40, the average was 5,103; but the average of contributors in the last three months of the present year, was 6,319. He did not wish to push this argument further than he could legitimately follow it. Again, he admitted the returns of the savings-banks were not a criterion on which they could safely rely; but so far as they went in instituting a comparison, he must say, he thought the comparison was a favourable one. In the course of the same debate, the hon. Member for Manchester referred—

Mr. *Gibson* rose to order. The Speaker had laid it down from the Chair, that it was contrary to the rules of the House, and would be very inconvenient in practice, for hon. Members to allude to remarks made by speakers in former debates; and he felt this was precisely one of those occasions in which the inconvenience of the practice would be most strikingly manifested. This was his case. Let the House sbserve what was going to take place. The right hon. Baronet, after a week's preparation, with all the means a Prime Minister had at his disposal, having made every inquiry, came down to the House to attack statements which had been made by an hon. Member. He well recollected what had been stated by the noble Lord, the Member for North Lancashire, that no Member in that House could so well dress up a case for temporary effect as the right hon. Baronet. [*Hon. Members:* You are contravening your own rule, by referring to what took place in a former debate.] The passage he had quoted was from a debate in a previous Parliament, and it was perfectly regular to refer to that. He had no wish to shrink from the fullest investigation into everything he had stated on the subject of the distress in the country; but for the purpose of arriving at the truth it was very desirable, that Members whose statements were about to be attacked, should have time given them to supply themselves with the necessary data for a reply.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that if he had referred to former debates for the purpose of argument, or for the purpose of infringing upon the wise rule of the House, he should be subject to the animadversion of the hon. Gentleman, but when a statement of great importance with respect to the distress of the country was made in that House, he did not think, when his sole object was an explanation of that statement—an explanation which it was his duty to make—he did not think that in attempting to ascertain the truth of that statement by inquiry, and in stating what the result of that inquiry was, that he would be called to order as he had been. Whether he was referring to any argument he left the House to judge; whether he was about to be guilty of any infraction of the rules of Parliament which would justify any Member in protesting against the course he was pursuing, he left the House to judge. It had been asserted in that House, that with respect to Manchester, thousands were deprived of employment, and thousands were actually suffering from typhus fever, produced by the want of sufficient food. He appealed to the House whether it were right that a Minister of the Crown should hear a statement so appalling as that without inquiry, and whether the result of his inquiry should not be in some way or the other communicated to Parliament? He left it to the House to judge whether it would be a wise enforcement of technical rules that should permit this country and other countries in Europe to labour under the impression that thousands were actually suffering from typhus fever, produced by the want of sufficient food, and that when a Minister of the Crown merely attempted to administer consolation and satisfaction to minds grieved by such a statement, a Member should get up and appeal to the rules of the House to prevent any statement being made. He only wished to make a single remark, and had thought the hon. Gentleman himself, from his connexion with Manchester, would have been the first to hail with satisfaction the statement he was going to make, and would have admitted at once, that in the heat of debate he had made a statement which might have been exaggerated, and that he was perfectly right to correct an erroneous impression, though he would not have done it in any way whatever to justify the species of interference by which the hon. Member would have prevented his statement. He was about to state that he had received, not a report made in consequence of any commission, but a voluntary communication from a gentleman of the highest respectability in Manchester, who stated that he had been much surprised by observing that it had been asserted in Parliament that thousands in that town were suffering from typhus fever, brought on by want of food. His correspondent continued:—

> "I beg to send you that which appears to me to be the best document upon such a subject—namely, the returns of the Fever Hospital at Manchester. The report from the Fever Hospital is conclusive on the point, as that charity is open to all the population of Manchester and the surrounding districts, and is the general resort of the poor in cases of fever, both on the recommendation of the subscribers, and also as the place to which the workhouse patients are generally brought, so that the annexed comparative statement of the amount of patients admitted in the last five year appears to be conclusive on this point. The year of the House of Recovery, or Fever Ward, commences in June of the past year, and terminates with May inclusive in the next. In 1837, 799 patients were admitted; in 1838, 1,372 were admitted; in 1839, 1,040 were admitted; in 1840, 848 were admitted; in 1841, 691 were admitted."

His correspondent also added the number admitted in the months of June, July, August and September, in order to make the return complete. During those four months of 1837, 340 were admitted; during the same period of 1838, 430 were admitted; during the same period of 1839, 203; during the same period of 1840, 268; and during the same period of 1841 only 196 were admitted. Now, could any man deny that it was of importance that facts of this kind should be known to the House? He was not about to make any comment upon them; he wished to make no comment upon them; but he must say that if a Minister of the Crown was to be debarred by technical rules, not from referring to a past debate, but from attempting to correct an erroneous impression, and that without the unnecessary imputation of political motives—then the country was liable to labour under the greatest delusion, and public discontent might be magnified to an incalculable degree. These consequences, he said, might be expected, if statements were to be made in that House with respect to public privations and suffering, but above all, with respect to typhus fever caused by actual famine, and if a Minister of the Crown, after having caused an inquiry to be made, and having received information respecting them, was not to be allowed an opportunity of stating what he had found the result to be.

Mr. *Gibson* thought the right hon. Baronet misunderstood what he had stated. It was not that he wished to enforce any technical rule of the House in order to prevent notice being taken of statements that had been made. But what he objected to was, that due and sufficient notice was not given to hon. Members upon whose statements an attack was to be made, because want of notice was just the very thing that would bring about what the right hon. Baronet so much deprecated—namely, spreading delusion in the country, and preventing it from ascertaining the truth. If the right hon. Baronet was disposed on any future day to make a distinct motion, to appoint a committee to inquire into the distress of the people, he should be most happy to justify on that occasion the statements he had made, or if on any future day the right hon. Baronet would enter into the particular question of typhus fever, he should be happy to meet him. As to what the right hon. Baronet had said about fever hospitals, of them he (Mr. Gibson) had said nothing. He had been told by medical men that they did not put persons who had got typhus fever into hospitals, because it was infectious. He did not know whether that was the case at Manchester. Whether he had used the word "thousands" or not he was not aware, but he had in his possession letters which used the word. By the word "thousands" it was not meant to say that there was exactly a thousand, but that there was a considerable number. [*Much laughter from the Ministerial benches.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite were so much disposed to laugh, and take up things in a party way, that they could not see it was a mode of expression commonly used when a considerable number was meant. There might be thousands suffering in this way. He dared to say there were. He did not know there were not. But he had in his possession letters from physicians and surgeons which said, that numbers were brought to a premature death from want of sufficient food, and he had been informed by medical men that when death was brought on in consequence of living in unwholesome habitations, or wanting a sufficiency of food, it was generally preceded by typhoid symptoms. He drew this consolation at least from the disposition apparent among Ministers to disbelieve the statements of distress brought forward by Members in discharge of their duty—that if those statements were proved to be correct, the right hon. Baronet would be prepared to adopt a remedy, and to act on those great principles which had been advocated by her Majesty's late Administration.

Mr. *Cobden* said, that having been referred to by the right hon. Baronet, he wished to say a few words, and he must express his concurrence in what had fallen from the hon. Member for Manchester as to the great inconvenience of those incidental allusions to statements which involved matters of great importance, requiring much time and pains to verify the truth of them. With respect to the savings-banks of Manchester, if the right hon. Baronet had taken the trouble to inquire whether they had formed any new district branches, he believed the right hon. Baronet would have found they had done so, and thus any increase in the amount of deposits would have been accounted for by the extension of their branches. As to the case of Bolton, the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department had referred to a great mass of statistics, none of which he happened to have an opportunity of verifying, bearing on the comparative number of houses and amount of population in Bolton and Liverpool. The right hon. Baronet had totally omitted to take notice of the very material circumstance, that at the latter town a very considerable number of people lived in cellars. He happened to attend the statistical section of the British association, in which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Sandon) presided, during its meeting at Liverpool. It was there stated, that 50,000 or 60,000 of the inhabitants lived in cellars. The assertion was disbelieved, but the authorities of the town set their police to work, and it was found, that the number of persons inhabiting those abodes was still greater. That was not the custom at Bolton to the same extent, and, therefore, any comparison between Bolton and Liverpool as to the number of houses relatively to that of inhabitants must be fallacious. With respect to the date of the returns, the right hon. Baronet had commenced with 1837; he had said 1835. The right hon. Baronet said, it was not fair to take 1835 and 1836, because they were years of inflated and fallacious prosperity. Suppose it to be so; what were 1837 and 1838 but years of revulsion, and comparatively great depression? So that the right hon. Baronet refused to commence with his year, because it was one of prosperity, and took the year when the country was in the lowest state of revulsion. With respect to the diseases in the fever ward of Manchester, he would prove to the right hon. Baronet the complete fallaciousness of the argument he had brought forward. In 1838, a year of revulsion, 1,402 patients were admitted into the Fever Hospital; but if the right hon. Baronet had gone back to the preceding year, he would have found, that the number of admissions was only 799. [Sir *R. Peel:* I mentioned it.] He was not aware, that the right hon. Baronet had started from that point; but as to the argument about the savings-banks he believed it to be exceedingly fallacious. Knowing the distress into which the manufacturing districts were now plunged, he believed, that the conduct of Government on this occasion had a tendency to irritate the public mind in those quarters by trifling with this great and pressing question. He had that very day presented a petition, signed by the mayor of Stockport in the name of the inhabitants in public meeting assembled, praying, that before the prorogation took place the subject of the Corn-laws should be inquired into; many other petitions from various parts of the country to the same effect, were crowding in upon them; yet Ministers were about to take on themselves the awful responsibility of advising a prorogation without any inquiry into the question. Returns of deposits in the savings-banks were brought forward, he would not say garbled for the purpose of deception, but stated in a most unsatisfactory way, while at the same time, it was admitted, that they afforded but a fallacious test of the state of the country. What would the public think but that this was done to disprove the existence of any distress? As he might not have another opportunity, he would now exhort the right hon. Baronet, instead of nibbling at these details, to take the question up as a Prime Minister ought to do, and move an inquiry into the state of the nation, and he would venture to predict, that the right hon. Baronet would find, that great meetings of his fellow-citizens had not assembled to bear witness to a lie, and that the evidence of distress was of a character too painful to be questioned.

Mr. *Darby* complained of the manner in which general statements of distress were mixed up with other subjects. The hon. Member for Stockport had just said, that 1837 and 1838 were the years in which distress had reached its lowest point, in which the admissions into fever hospitals were most numerous, and the receipts of the savings-banks least considerable; but that in 1839 and 1840 things had mended, and an increase in the amount of receipts at the banks, and a decrease in the number of patients at the hospitals took place. The hon. Member had thus himself admitted, that an improvement had taken place since 1837 and 1838. The ground of the hon, Member's complaint seemed to be, that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had caused an inquiry to be instituted in consequence of the statements that had been made, and the hon. Member was now angry when it turned out that a considerable improvement had taken place, and that too by his own admission.

Mr. *C. Buller* thought there was great disadvantage in thus contradicting statements that had been made, without giving due notice to the hon. Member who made the statements. He had heard enough in the House of contradictory statements, as to the existence and non-existence of distress. He had heard Members get up and make statements, and he had always found the Government of the day prepared with statistical details and reports of commissioners, to prove that no distress existed. He was afraid the course taken that evening would entail the disagreeable consequence of a succession of statements and counter-statements, so long as the Session lasted, with the lapse of a week between each, because those who were not now prepared to meet the statements of Ministers would write to their friends in the country to get information, and make statements in answer. He must confess, he thought the House a very bad place for discussing questions of this kind; but he would say, after the statement of the right hon. Member for Dorchester, that he was not very well satisfied with the discrimination of Mr. Mott in this inquiry; for a more extravagant and absurd argument he had never heard from any public functionary than that about the houses at Bolton. He thought it was a very good *primâ facie* evidence of distress, when several persons well acquainted with the town asserted that a great number of the houses were empty. How was that met? By the assertion that in the course of two or three years there had been an enormous over-production of houses, to the extent of 2,000 or 3,000. He must say that was a statement which to him appeared very improbable; but when he saw that this commissioner took Liverpool as the standard by which the number of houses in proportion to the population was to be regulated in any place, and when he remembered that ever since he had attended to public affairs or examined Parliamentary returns he had heard Liverpool mentioned as of all others the town where the greatest masses of people lived huddled together in the most uncomfortable manner, he was inclined to think the judgment of that person must be of very little value. The right hon. Baronet had admitted the existence of great distress, but if credit were to be given to his returns, it must be believed that this was the year of the greatest prosperity and comfort to the working classes that had ever been known, for his facts and arguments went to persuade that there was no distress at all. He was not disposed to dwell on the subject of distress;

he thought that the existence of it should not be made a subject of party debate in that House, but that every statement brought forward with regard to it should be well weighed. Thus, Government would avoid the mischief that would be created, if by any fallacious reasoning or inaccurate statement an impression should be created that they underrated the amount of distress which really existed.

Viscount *Sandon* said, he would advise hon. Members opposite, henceforth, when speaking of the distresses of the people, not to indulge in vague rumours and exaggerated statements, multiplying thousands into tens of thousands. In making statements respecting the condition of the people, which were intended to go forth, not only to this country, but to the whole world, nothing could be more reprehensible than the practice of indulging in conversational looseness of expression. It was absurd to object to the right hon. Baronet bringing forward his statement that evening without notice. It must be expected that a Minister would take the opportunity of replying to such assertions as had been advanced upon this subject. Distress to a great extent doubtless prevailed, but exaggerated statements upon the subject could have no other effect than to excite alarm, and shake public confidence.

Mr. *Aglionby* did not object to the general tone of the lecture which the noble Lord had been pleased to address to his side of the House; but he did object to its exclusive application. The noble Lord ought, in justice, to have addressed part of it to hon. Members on his own side of the House. If the noble Lord had been in his place not many nights ago, he would have heard from a Member on the Ministerial side of the House, a speech characterised by considerable violence of expression, exceeding anything he had ever heard from the Opposition side. He entirely concurred with the noble Lord in thinking that highly coloured statements, such as the House had lately heard, exaggerating the distress of the people, were calculated not only to do harm to the public interests, but to the very cause which they were intended to serve. Many Members were very anxious that a remedy should be found for the distress which prevailed; but they mistook the best mode of effecting their object, when they indulged in exaggerated statements and violent expressions. The distress of the people was, unfortunately, so severe, as not to require high colouring. As he had before said, he approved of the tone of the noble Lord's remarks, but he could not admit that all the blame was due to one side.

Mr. *Hardy* said, that an hon. Member on the Opposition side, had condescended to go into particulars of the distress that existed, and made a statement with regard to a certain poor family whom he named. Now, what did the right hon. Baronet do as to this particular statement? Why, he sent an officer into the country to make inquiry at the fountain head, and ascertained from the family itself whether the facts were such as had been stated in that House. The result was, that the information thus derived did not bear out the statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite. Then an hon. Member made a general statement, of thousands dying of typhus fever, induced by a want of the necessaries of life. And what did the right hon. Baronet do with respect to this statements. Why, he sent to that source which was the best, and indeed the only one to apply to. He sent to the Fever Hospital to learn the number of patients, and so forth. What other step could the right hon. Baronet take? And the result was similar to that in the case of the family which had been particularised. As to what had been said on the subject of empty houses in our manufacturing towns, no information had been given as to what was the description of those houses, whether they were old ones which had been inhabited before, or recently built. The fact was, that in the manufacturing districts, as trade flourished, new mills and new houses might be seen rising all round, and when a flatness took place in the market, the mills stopped, and the houses in the vicinity became uninhabited. He believed that the cause of all this was over-production. The conclusion hon. Gentlemen opposite drew from houses being uninhabited was, that the people had been obliged to abandon them to take care of their stomachs. He thought it to be unfair, also, to impute the distress that prevailed in any part of the country to the operation of the Corn-law; in his opinion, they could not properly attribute consequences to the Corn-law in 1841 which it had not produced in 1835 and 1836.

Mr. *Aldam* did not wish it to go forth to the world that the woollen manufacture was in a perfectly satisfactory state. During the summer there had been much complaining amongst the persons engaged in manufactures. The state of things was now, however, much better, because the trade always improved in autumn on account of the winter demand. But this autumn there had been indications of a different nature from those observed heretofore at the same season. At this season there was usually a rise in price, and a scarcity of goods; but these results had not taken place this autumn, and a person who had been in the business for forty years, had informed him that he had never known such a state of things to exist before. When the winter demand ceased, as it naturally would, in the course of trade, prices would fall, and there would be less work, and therefore it was probable that there would be distress in the woollen manufacturing districts, as there now was in those which were the seats of the cotton manufacture. He found by Mr. Porter's tables, that the value of the exports of woollen manufactures for the year 1840, was nearly 1,000,000*l.* less than the exports for 1839; and that the value of the same exports for the former year was between 500,000*l.* and 1,000,000*l.* less than the average of the five years beginning with 1820. He found that the population of the West Riding of Yorkshire increased between each two of the three last censuses by twenty-two per cent.; that the population of Leeds, the centre of the woollen district, increased by one-half between the last two censuses; that of Bradford, the centre of the worsted district, in the same interval, doubled itself—thus, while the population of the Riding had increased by, probably, forty per cent. in the last twenty years, and that of Bradford and Leeds in a much higher ratio; the foreign trade had not increased, but diminished. The increase of the population of the whole country had been 30 per cent. in the same period of twenty years, supposing the rate of increase to be uniform; the home trade can hardly have increased in a greater ratio than this of 30 per cent.; thus, the population of the seats of the woollen manufacture has increased in a more rapid ratio than the home trade, and there has been no increase whatever in the foreign trade; a state of things which would appear almost to demonstration, to involve a great deterioration in the condition of the manufacturing population.

Papers moved for, ordered to be laid on the Table.

FUNDING EXCHEQUER BILLS.] On the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that the House should resolve itself into Committee on the Exchequer Bills Funding Bill,

Mr. *Williams* said, that, in reading over this bill, he found that it would add five millions to the permanent funded debt of the country, and on looking through the cumbrous machinery of the bill, he had come to the conviction that a more straightforward course might have been pursued. If the right hon. Gentleman had gone into the market with the proposition of a loan, he was impressed with a belief that a better bargain might have been made for the country, at the same time that the right hon. Gentleman would have secured his own object more effectually. He might have funded two millions and a half of Exchequer bills, and have issued an equal amount of new Exchequer bills to replace them; and, though he did not now expect the right hon. Gentleman to adopt such a course, he felt assured that if it had been adopted, it would have been found a much easier course than that now proposed. The present amount of outstanding Exchequer Bills was twenty-one millions, which was less than the average for many years past. Too large a floating debt, no doubt, was dangerous to the public service, but on turning back to the experience of former years, it did not appear to him that the present amount of twenty-one millions of outstanding Exchequer bills could be deemed too large.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that he wished to impress it upon the attention of the House, that what he proposed to do was not to create a new debt, but rather to convert one kind of debt into another. The House had determined that certain expenses should be incurred, and the natural consequence was, that the House must make good the means by which those expenses were to be provided for. The only question, therefore, that remained, was, whether those means should be raised by an augmentation of the funded or the unfunded debt. The hon. Member for Coventry said he would have preferred a loan; but the hon. Gentleman was probably not in the House a few evenings ago, when the right hon. Gentleman who preceded him (Mr. Goulburn) in his present office admitted that nothing could be more impolitic, under the existing circumstances of the country, than to advertise for a loan. In no instance had a loan been obtained for the country on better terms than those on which these Exchequer bills had been funded, and, therefore, he certainly could not admit that the course which he had adopted was an impolitic one. The hon. Gentleman had made a comparison of the amount of Exchequer bills now outstanding, with the amount that had been outstanding in former years; but he must contend that it was not merely the numerical amount of Exchequer bills that constituted their pressure upon the money-market. Under some circumstances, a floating debt of 20,000,000*l.* might be felt to be a greater burden than 30,000,000*l.* would be at another time. If, then, he referred to the ordinary tests by which this question was usually judged, namely the demand for money and the premium on Exchequer bills, he certainly found that there were at the present moment great indications that there was too great an amount of Exchequer bills in circulation, as compared with former times.

Sir *Charles Napier* said, he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Baronet to the fact, that the trial of Mr. M'Leod was to come on on the 27th of the month, and it was, therefore, to be hoped that Parliament would not be prorogued before means had been taken to protect Mr. M'Leod, who might else be exposed to the danger of Lynch-law.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he was unable to give the hon. and gallant Member any assurance on the subject.

Mr. *Yorke* trusted Parliament would not be prorogued till a question so important to the peace of the country had been placed on a safe footing. He himself would rather have seen the House remain together for the purpose of taking the public distress into consideration; but if they could not be induced to postpone the prorogation by a motive of charity, if they could not be influenced by a feeling of abstract benevolence, he would appeal to their patriotism, and implore them not to prorogue Parliament while a question of so much difficulty remained undecided.

House in Committee. Bill went through Committee.

The House resumed. Report to be brought up.

EXCHEQUER BILLS APPROPRIATION.] The House in Committee on the Exchequer Bills (10,626,360*l.*) Bill. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an appropriation clause was added.

House resumed. Report to be brought up.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, October 1, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a first time:—Population Payments; Poor-law Commission.—Read a second time:—Expiring Laws.—Read a third time:—Administration of Justice (No 2).; Lunatics; Navy Pay; Frogmore Lodge; Royal Gardens.

Petitions presented. By the Earl of Radnor, from New Sarum, and other places, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.

THE CORN LAWS.] The Earl of *Radnor*, on presenting some petitions which had been sent to him from New Sarum and other places, praying for the total repeal of the Corn-laws, said, he would take that opportunity of expressing his deep regret at finding that Parliament was about to be prorogued without entering into the consideration of that most important subject—the state of the Corn-laws. Ministers, he thought, incurred a fearful responsibility in allowing the two Houses to separate without entering into some inquiry on that question, to which he considered the Government pledged by what fell from the noble Duke (Duke of Wellington) opposite in the discussion on the amendment to the address on the first day of the Session. The noble Duke had given what he had considered a pledge on that occasion, that the question should be referred to a Committee, by saying that he should not object to an inquiry in the usual way. But now it seemed that the Government intended to postpone any consideration of the subject until next Session. He presumed that the Parliament would not meet before February. He therefore looked upon this as virtually a postponement of any measure on the subject for a year, or perhaps a year and a half, for the experience which their Lordships had had of the very tardy manner in which the proceedings of Committees were conducted, would tell them that it was probable the inquiry, even if it should commence early in the next Session, would not be brought to a conclusion when the Session should be at its close. So that any measure which the Committee might recommend, could not be brought forward until the Session following. Was that the way in which this great subject was to be left, at a time when the people were suffering great distress in many parts of the country? Their Lordships had seen that the sliding scale was a most unsafe system, for it kept the price of corn most oppressively high in some instances, and in others it did not afford that security to the home grower which it was intended to give. If corn was at 66*s.* the quarter, foreign corn could not be imported at less than 20*s.* per quarter duty, thus making it 86*s.* to the consumer. By the last averages, the duty had come down to 1*s.* per quarter duty, and at that duty about 1,700,000 quarters of foreign corn had come into the country. Now, according to the returns made by several of our consuls abroad, wheat could be grown there, and sent to this country at 40*s.* 10¾*d.* per quarter; and if this were correct, what, let him ask, was the actual sum paid by the consumer on each quarter of this 1,700,000 quarters? Why, it amounted to not less than 31*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. This sum, he need not say, did not go to the Government in the shape of duty. No, but it went into the pockets of the foreign growers, to the grievous oppression of the poor consumers at home. But he did not believe that the returns of the consuls were quite correct. Taking, however, the price of foreign corn here at 12*s.* more than this 40*s.*, still the consumer here would have to pay 20*s.* per quarter more than the 52*s.*; that was, he would have to pay 72*s.* for every quarter of corn he consumed. Was this a price to which the poor people could reach, suffering as they were in the greatest possible degree throughout the country? He was in the country at the opening of Parliament, and on looking at the votes he saw, amongst the first objects of its attention, a Committee appointed on the ventilation of the two Houses of Parliament, and a bill for uniting Frogmore Lodge to Windsor Castle. Could he have done otherwise than turn from the perusal with disgust, when he found no mention made of the distresses of the people, or of any measure calculated for their relief? The distresses of the people were not denied, yet nothing was done, or even promised, for their relief, if it were only to show them that Parliament did not turn a deaf ear to their prayers. He could not give any more fit name to such a course than the height of folly and of cruelty. When the noble Duke was in office before, there was great distress in the country, and nothing was done to relieve it. The result was, that the greatest discontent prevailed. He would not detain their Lordships longer, but would conclude by again expressing his deep regret that Ministers should have advised her Majesty to prorogue Parliament without entering into the consideration of the distress which prevailed, with the view of providing some relief.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he would not follow the noble Earl into any discussion on the Corn-laws on the present occasion, for the reason which he had assigned on a former evening—that it would be impossible to enter into any inquiry at the present period which would lead to any practical result. He did not mean to deny, that there was distress in some parts of the country, but it was not arising from want of food. There was a large supply of corn in the country, though it might be somewhat dear. The noble Earl had referred to what he had stated on a former evening, as implying a pledge for an inquiry.

The Earl of *Radnor:* What he said was, that the noble Duke had said he would not object to inquiry in the usual way.

The Duke of *Wellington:* What he said on the occasion referred to was, that if the subject (of a change in the Corn-laws) were to be considered as a measure of finance, it should be considered in a committee; but by that he did not pledge the Government or himself, or anybody, to take that particular course, and most certainly he should not be understood as being favourable to an inquiry at the present time, which, he would repeat, could lead to no practical result. Under these circumstances, he was ready to take his share of the responsibility of advising her Majesty to prorogue Parliament until the measures were ready, which would be submitted for its consideration; and until due time could be afforded for that consideration. It would be impossible to consider the subject to which the noble Earl referred at this time, or to get that attendance of Members which would be desirable; and let him add, that he had no reason to believe, that the public would be in any degree inconvenienced by postponing the question till full time should be given for its discussion.

The Earl of *Radnor* felt sure, that if important measures were brought under the consideration of the Houses of Parliament, there would be found no deficiency of attendance.

Petition laid on the Table.

MANSFIELD MAGISTRATES.] The Duke of *Portland* rose to submit a motion founded on the papers which recently had been laid before the House, containing the correspondence between the magistrates of Mansfield and Lord John Russell, the Marquess of Normanby, the Duke of Portland, and others, on the subject of an action brought against one of their body, who was defendant in an action brought against him for trespass in the discharge of his duty. The noble Duke was understood to say, that the magistrates of Mansfield had received information, that on August 12th, 1839, it was probable there would be an eruption of Chartists into the town. The magistrates had met, and a Mr. Unwin, one of the body, had told them that he had certain information, that in many houses there were arms concealed for treasonable purposes; and that if those houses were searched, they would find them. Now, the magistrates had great doubts as to whether they possessed any authority to search for arms, and the clerk to the magistrates gave it as his opinion that they had no such authority. The apprehended meeting of Chartists took place. They were dispersed without difficulty, and some of them were taken up; but in the evening, constables, under the superintendance of Mr. Unwin, a magistrate, went to the house of Joseph Broyan, in order to search for arms. No arms were found; but many letters signed Pitkeithley, which Mr. Unwin considered to be of a treasonable nature, were seized, copies of which he forwarded to Lord John Russell; and Mr. Phillips, by the desire of Lord John Russell, acknowledged the receipt, thanked the magistrates for their zeal, but stated that the noble Lord had no directions to give them. Not one word was then said against the perfect legality and order of the proceedings taken by them. Two months after that, Broyan gave notice of action against Mr. Unwin for trespass, and that gentleman applied to Lord John Russell to undertake his defence. The Government declined. Mr. Unwin was now dead; but there never was a more active magistrate. He certainly was no partizan of her Majesty's late Government; on the contrary, he was strongly opposed to them; but, had he been their warmest adherent, he could not have done more to repress Chartism. The answer given to his application by the Home-Office, was a letter from Mr. Phillips, by command of the Marquess of Normanby, in which the noble Marquess regretted, that the magistrates had proceeded to the search of any house without having had a sworn information before them, or without previously communicating with the Secretary of State, as it was at variance with his previous instructions to the magistrates. Before that period, not one word had ever been said against the conduct of the magistrates. In his opinion, it was the duty of the Secretary of State at all times to support the magistracy; but in this case, the noble Marquess had gone out of his way, and had invented facts, in order to cast blame upon them. This was a most extraordinary case, and one which, he thought, deserving their Lordships' attention. The noble Duke concluded by moving—

"That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be pleased to take into her Majesty's gracious consideration the case of the late Edward Unwin, Esq., of Sutton, in Ashfield, in the county of Nottingham, late a magistrate of the said county, and the defendant in an action for trespass, brought against him by one Joseph Broyan, of Sutton, in Ashfield aforesaid, for acts done in the discharge of his public duty, as a magistrate, in obedience to the instructions contained in a circular letter of the 7th May, 1839, from the right hon. Lord John Russell, then one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and in furtherance of the purposes of her Majesty's Government."

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, he could not help regarding the motion of the noble Duke as an unprecedented one—that, upon an *ex parte* statement, without the knowledge of the facts before the executive Government, their Lordships should be called upon to take upon themselves the responsibility of advising the Crown to indemnify a party. The noble Duke knew that he was most unwilling that this case should come before the

House. One reason was, that he should have to speak of the conduct of a person now no more. The noble Duke had stated that every one of Mr. Unwin's acts had been founded on the letter of Lord John Russell. If that noble Lord was to bear the responsibility of the proceedings of Mr. Unwin, why was he not informed of them? [The Duke of *Portland*; He was.] He begged the noble Duke's pardon. He was not informed that there had been a search for arms till Mr. Broyan brought his action. The House was not searched under a warrant; it was distinctly admitted on the trial that there was no warrant. Mr. Unwin, a magistrate, was present at the search, but there was no warrant, although the letter of Messrs. Parsons and Benn stated, that "a copy of the warrant, under which the search and seizure of papers was made," had been forwarded to him (Lord Normanby.) If Lord John Russell and the Government were to bear the responsibility of the proceeding, at least the magistrates should have stated all the circumstances under which it took place. It had been the opinion of the jury at the trial, under the direction of the judge, that Mr. Unwin had not been justified in the seizure. He had told their Lordships that no communication had been made to Lord John Russell at the time; but he went a step further; no communication had been made to him for two months after. This was a period of considerable anxiety, when there was more of organization for purposes of unlawful violence and for illegal acts than he ever recollected; and amongst other sources of disturbance of the peace, those who lived on the outskirts of the seditious districts propagated unfounded reports. The information respecting the collection of arms was of this description: many of these statements were founded upon mere hearsay—a person saying, "I should not wonder if there were arms in such a place." In the instance before their Lordships, the magistrate had acted on insufficient information; a house was searched, and no arms were found there. The letter of Messrs. Parsons and Benn, the clerks to the magistrates, dated the 15th November, showed they felt that Mr. Unwin had acted wrong.

"Although it may appear," they said, "under the peculiarly difficult situation in which the magistrates have been placed, they may have exerted a rigour beyond the law, yet, as their determined resistance to the Chartists has obviously secured the peace of this county, they trust that your Lordship will favour them with your counsel and assistance on this trying occasion."

In reply to this application, he had acquainted the magistrates with his opinion regarding the conduct of Mr. Unwin, and he had declined to take any part in the business, or to offer any advice. Now, if the magistrates had expected that the Government should bear the responsibility of their acts, was it not extraordinary that they should not have stated that they had acted in conformity with the directions of Lord John Russell? But no such a thing. The notice of action by Joseph Broyan was to this effect.

"For having on the 12th of August last, illegally and with force of arms broken and entered the dwelling-house of Broyan, and illegally searched the rooms, drawers, and presses, and seized and detained certain papers."

He had directed the magistrates to be told that

"He regretted very much that before Mr. Unwin issued his warrant for entering the house of Broyan, and for the seizure of arms, information was not given to the Secretary of State, in which case Mr. Unwin would have been informed that such a course was not to be justified in point of law, and dangerous."

Messrs. Parsons and Benn referred to the warrant under which the seizure had been made, but the search was not made under that warrant. It had been distinctly admitted by the counsel on both the trials that there had been no warrant, and the judge had commented upon that fact. [The Duke of *Portland*. It referred to other houses.] The noble Duke was in error; it did not refer to other houses. The information on which the search was made merely stated, that

"Ephraim Sills, hath good cause to suspect, and doth suspect, that certain fire-arms and other offensive weapons had been collected for treasonable purposes by John Tomlinson, Thomas Hunt, Benjamin Brandreth, Joseph Broyan, and others."

It did not state where collected. The warrant stated that Sills had given information upon oath, that they were concealed in Broyan's dwelling-house; but these important words were not in the information.

Lord *Wharncliffe*.—That was sufficient to justify the search of the house. The warrant set forth the information.

The Marquess of *Normanby.*—The warrant says, "concealed in the dwelling-house;" but the information stated no such words, and it was upon the information that the search was made. The noble Duke objected to the letter he had sent on the 19th of November; but he was ready to justify it under the circumstances of the case. In that letter Mr. Phillipps said—

> "Gentlemen—I am directed by the Marquess of Normanby to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, with its enclosures, and to inform you that Lord Normanby regrets very much that before Mr. Unwin issued his warrant for entering the house of Joseph Broyan and for the seizure of arms, information was not given to the Secretary of State, in which case Mr. Unwin would have been informed that such a course was not to be justified in point of law, and dangerous, and that it would be contrary to the course which the Secretary of State has recommended, and at variance with the opinion which he had generally made known among the magistrates.
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> "Under these circumstances Lord Normanby cannot take part in this business, nor offer any advice with reference to the action of which Mr. Unwin has had notice; but in case an action should be brought, and the party should proceed to trial, Lord Normanby will be ready, after the conclusion of the proceedings, to take the matter again into consideration, upon a review of the whole of the evidence which shall have been laid before the court."

Everything that had since occurred had convinced him of the propriety of that letter, and that Mr. Uuwin had acted rashly, inconsiderately, and illegally, and not, according to the words of the noble Duke's motion, "in conformity with the instructions of the Government." The letter of the 25th of January, to which also the noble Duke alluded, established an additional ground for confirming him in the view he took of this case. He never saw Mr. Unwin but once in his life, and that was towards the end of December or beginning of January, when Mr. Unwin came late in the evening to his office, and entered into details of the alarming state of his district; to all which his reply was, that this was all very serious, provided it was authentic; but that it was to be regretted that much of the information from that part of the country was derived from sources to which no credit ought to be attached. A few days after that he received a letter from the noble Duke, stating that he could not learn anything more about the fire-arms. This was after the riots at Newport. On the 25th of January, 1840, he directed Mr. Phillipps to write the following letter to Mr. Unwin:—

> "Whitehall, Jan. 25, 1840.
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> "Sir—Lord Normanby directs me to inform you, with reference to a statement made by you as to the fact of a large number of arms being kept in the house of a person, who has been in the habit of attending Chartists meetings, (to which statement the Duke of Portland has called his Lordship's attention), Lord Normanby advises, in case you can obtain information upon oath that a large number of arms are kept in the house of such a person for an illegal use and purpose, as the informant believes, that a warrant should be issued for searching for the arms; and that the arms, if found, should be taken possession of, and kept safely by the magistrates."

To that advice he still adhered. But nothing was done in consequence of that letter; Mr. Unwin found that he had been deceived, and no steps were taken. The noble Duke had also alluded to the charge of Mr. Justice Littledale at the trial, but he had not said one word respecting the charge of Lord Chief Justice Denman at the other trial. The noble Duke called upon their Lordships to assent to the motion, because the act had been done in conformity with the directions of Lord John Russell; but Lord Chief Justice Denman said:

> "It has been stated that Lord John Russell's letter had been acted upon; but Lord John Russell's letter was not the law, and if it had been, it did not go to the defence of Mr. Unwin. The information did not state that the arms had been seen. It was a mere suspicion on which the magistrates acted, and this fell far short of what was required by Lord John Russell."

This was Lord Denman's language, and it fully confirmed him in his opinion of the propriety of the course which he had pursued when he promised to reconsider the case after all the facts should have been laid before a jury. No doubt Lord Denman and Mr. Justice Littledale said there were circumstances in the plaintiff's case which were not above suspicion, and which might have been and which ought to have been explained; but Lord Denman observed also:—

> "It excites surprise in my mind, that the man who gave this information is not here today. This appears to me to be the result of 'management,' and that the object was not to search for arms, but for papers."

It was sworn on that occasion that Mr. Unwin, on seizing some papers, said :—

"This is what I all along wanted."

Circumstances came out on the second trial which corroborated the suspicions arising from this transaction. A Doctor M'Neish, who was examined for the defence, on being cross-examined by the plaintiff's counsel, said that he lived in Sills's house, and that he could not believe him (Sills) on his oath; and that Mr. Unwin had told him that his reason for not calling Sills on the first trial was, that he feared he would only injure the defence and disgrace himself (Sills). What did Mr. Justice Littledale say on the first trial ?—

> "The defence set up is, that the country was in an excited state. It appears that warrants were granted for searching other houses, but that no warrant was granted for searching Broyan's, and that Mr. Unwin reserved that for his own personal search; for what object does not appear."

Some stress had been laid upon the documents found in Broyan's house, and particularly on the copy of the address from the general convention. But it was evident that this latter document was not much prized, when it was used to wrap round stockings. It had been also said, that Broyan had attended meetings of riotous persons. But surely this could not be a justification for breaking into his house to search for arms. The noble Duke wanted the House to address the Crown to do that which had never been done before. It was not the fact, that Mr. Unwin's conduct was in exact conformity to the rule laid down by their Lordships and Lord John Russell. No one could say, that the dignity of the Bench was improved by what came out on the trial about Mr. Unwin searching the drawers of this man's daughter. When he coupled with that, that Mr. Unwin acted on his own authority without warrant—without having taken the opinion of the Bench, that other houses were searched upon warrants by magistrates, and that Mr. Unwin took away not what he was instructed by Lord John Russell to search for; all these circumstances combined, justified him in maintaining that this was an exception to the invariable practice. He was not inclined to throw suspicion on Mr. Unwin's motives. He happened at one period to live in Mr. Unwin's neighbourhood, and he knew that his character was, that he had a constitutional infirmity of wishing to take the law into his own hands, not that he perverted the law, but he liked to execute it. Mr. Unwin would much rather take the poacher himself than commit that duty to any other person. He considered all these to be irregularities. There was no instance in which a magistrate, under such circumstances, had been indemnified. It was, however, open to his noble Friend to make an appeal elsewhere for the revision of his decision. If his appeal was successful, he should think that he was wrong. He was satisfied with having discharged his duty in the situation which he then filled. As he was obliged to proceed to the country after to-day, he was anxious that Government should consider whether it was fitting that they should annul an appointment which, under the circumstances of the case, he had felt it right to make. He felt that any person who should come to the decision of the question whether there should be a legal adviser to the Home Office, from a view of the present state of the business, would form a very inadequate idea of the business at the time to which he alluded. He thought he could prove that, at all times, it would be an economical thing. The Home Office had most multifarious, numerous, and important business to transact. They should have ready access to legal advice. He was only expressing Mr. Phillips's opinion when he stated, that, at the time this correspondence passed, he felt his hands overloaded with business of this description. Business increased during the latter part of the year. The trials at Monmouth took place, and circumstances occurred which convinced him (Lord Normanby) that it would be good policy to have a solicitor for the Home Department. He was satisfied that he did right in making the appointment. As to some charges he had made considerable saving. The reference to the law-officers was conducted in a much more satisfactory, efficient, and speedy manner. He regretted very much that the noble Duke should have felt it his duty to bring this matter before the House. He considered the state of the country now to be different from what it was at that time. He had the consolation to think that the law was vindicated without any violation of the regular march of the constitution. Misguided men were brought to justice, and juries throughout the country performed their duties in the most exemplary manner. From the noble Duke and the magistrates of Mansfield, he appealed to the magistrates of the rest of the country. This circular was addressed to all the magistrates; all had acted on it, and none of them had got into this scrape except Mr. Unwin.

Lord *Wharncliffe* was far from denying that his noble Friend opposite had always shown himself ready to attend to the business of the Home-Office, and that he showed every disposition to perform his duty; but he could not help thinking that his noble Friend had in this country been influenced by the same sort of feeling which he manifested in Ireland, namely, a disposition against the country gentlemen and magistrates, rather than an inclination to look favourably and kindly upon their actions. Now, he conceived that it was the duty of a Secretary of State to put himself, in the first place, upon a footing of confidence with the magistrates of the country; but it was impossible for him to perform that part of his duties, if, upon every occasion he was betrayed into a leaning against them, and in favour of every one who thought proper to complain of their conduct. To betray a feeling adverse to the country gentlemen and the magistracy, was, in all respects, inconsistent with the character and duties of a Home Secretary, and no country could be well governed where such a state of feeling and the practice consequent on it could be suffered to exist. His noble Friend, the noble Duke near him, had said, that Lord John Russell's letter gave no authority for the seizure of arms; now, he (Lord Wharncliffe) distinguished between the seizure of arms and the seizure of papers. It was true that no warrant had been issued in the case for the seizure of papers, but if the magistrate made a *bona fide* search for arms it was clearly matter distinct from the search for papers. Was he laying down the law upon this subject unsupported by sufficient authority? He could show from the words of Mr. Justice Littledale that the law was clearly with him; and here he must take the liberty of saying that the noble Marquess ought not to place implicit reliance upon the statements of newspapers known to be the organs of the party opposed to that to which Mr. Unwin belonged. In districts so circumstanced as those to which the present conversation referred it almost always happened that the newspapers on both sides went great lengths; their reports even of the summing-up of a judge might not be strictly impartial, they might be distorted; he had known such things done, and he believed done for party purposes. To return, however, to the position which he sought to sustain, he had said, that if the magistrates possessed any information which gave them good grounds for thinking that any individual was unlawfully in the possession of arms, they might go to his house and make a search for such arms, and that a magistrate might go without a warrant, and might in his own person make a search for arms. He would show their Lordships that in saying this he was supported by the authority of the learned judge who tried the cause. As their Lordships knew, the judges in such cases were accustomed to state the evidence *pro* and *contra*, then to give a general view of the question at issue, and to conclude with a statement of the law as applicable to the case. Now, he should quote the charge of the learned judge, not from the reports of any country or any party print, but from a report transcribed from the notes of a professional short-hand writer, who had been employed to take down the proccedings:—

"Now, Gentlemen," says Mr. Justice Littledale, "it will be material for you to consider the question about the arms and the question about the papers. With regard to arms, it appears there had been a regular information laid before Mr. Unwin, (the defendant), that there was reason to believe arms would be found in different people's houses, and accordingly warrants appear to have been granted, and several houses were searched, and nothing found in them; but as to the plaintiff, Mr. Unwin thought he would take the responsibility himself, and, instead of granting a warrant, he would go and execute the duty himself, and that he certainly had a right to do. Then, gentlemen, they find no arms in the House; well, but had he a well-grounded reason for supposing the plaintiff had arms? You see information is laid before him, and it is the duty of a magistrate, when information is made, to consider whether that information is sufficient for him to act upon; if the information is slight, or if it does not look like the truth, he ought to discard it; he ought to watch the information he receives well before he grants a warrant. However, he goes for arms, but no arms were found. Still you will recollect it is in evidence that on Broyan's being told there was a report abroad there was to be a search for arms, and being advised to get any arms he might have out of the way, he said he had already taken that precaution, that he had already got them out of the way; therefore it does appear there was reasonable ground for supposing there had been arms in the house. Now, any man may keep arms in his house if they are kept for lawful purposes, there is nothing illegal in that; but he is not entitled to have arms if he means to use them for illegal purposes, but the question is whether he did. If a man have arms in his house, meaning to use them for legal purposes, the magistrate would not be justified, I imagine, in taking them away; but if he had grounds to suppose he intended not to use them for legal purposes, but that his purpose was to join with others to subvert the Government and constitution of the country, and to banish all good order—then, in that case, it would be lawful to seize them. It appears that Crabtree and Pitkeithley came to the house of the plaintiff, and Crabtree produces from a bag, this dagger and two knives, which he said he was going to take to the convention. Now, gentlemen, these knives, and this dagger are not such as could be used for common household purposes, or for cutting sticks or bushes or anything of the sort; they are evidently arms of force. You will look at them and judge for yourselves, and see whether they could be used for common purposes, or whether they are not arms of an offensive nature. Gentlemen, you see, as to arms, it will be for you to consider whether the defendant had good reason to believe the plaintiff was concerned in these proceedings of the Chartists and to act as he did, and that he acted *bonâ fide* in going into his house."

Their Lordships must now see very clearly that the judge distinctly laid it down that the conduct of Mr. Unwin was according to law. He asked, did he act *bona fide*? [Lord *Brougham*: He left it to the jury to say whether he had done so or not.] He clearly told the jury, that if his search for arms was not used as a pretext with a view to the accomplishment of some other subject, but was a *bona fide* search, that in such a case his conduct was perfectly legal. It might be doubted, perhaps, whether he had a right to institute any search for papers, but there could be no sort of doubt that upon the information he had received, he was fully entitled to search for arms; he might not have had a strict right to search for papers; but let their Lordships look at the state of the country, and especially at the state of that district, during the time to which those proceedings had reference. It was well known that there existed a dangerous conspiracy; that numbers of men were in the habit of assembling, armed in an illegal manner, and for illegal purposes; that they carried on correspondence with other parts of the country; that the magistrates believed that the person whose house they searched was one of the leaders of that conspiracy. Mr. Unwin went most certainly for the purpose of searching for arms; and being engaged in that duty he found certain papers of which he took possession, and if in the search for arms he took possession of those papers, some of which belonged to other parties, he might perhaps have done that which rendered him amenable to the courts of law; but he (Lord Wharncliffe) took upon himself to say that no magistrate could be considered to have done his duty who neglected the opportunity of taking possession of papers on which the peace of the country depended. The lives and properties of our fellow-subjects were at stake, and were they to be told, that under such circumstances the magistracy of the country must be tied down by the strict rules of a severe and unchangeable system of law? In such circumstances the Government ought to take the consequences upon themselves. It would not do in times of such difficulty and danger as those in which the circumstances in question took place to withdraw support from the magistracy. If in such times the magistrates went beyond the strict line of their duty were the Government to say, "We will take away all protection from you?" The noble Marquess opposite seemed to think that the instructions of Lord J. Russell formed no sufficient defence for the conduct of the magistrates; but to him (Lord Wharncliffe) such a letter did not so appear. If he, as a magistrate, received a letter from the Secretary of State desiring him to do certain things, he admitted that he should do them on his own responsibility, for, as had well been said, "the Secretary of State could make no laws—thank God, he could not." Here, however, was a case in which the magistrate had not adhered strictly to the law; but, yet, if he had done so, he must have transgressed his duty. There were times in which magistrates could not do so, for an over-scrupulous observance of forms would destroy the efficiency of the magisterial office. Now, he begged the attention of the House to the language held by Mr. Justice Littledale upon this point:—

"Now, with regard to papers, nothing is said in the information about them; but, when he gets there, on looking into various drawers, it appears there is a letter in which is the name of a person, who says 'has been going about the country inciting people to acts of rebellion and treason, and who ought to have been hanged long ago, this is what I want and I shall take them all away.' Now, I do not know whether he had a right to take them all away. Now, what are the letters? There is a letter which alludes to—

"Mr. Serjeant Adams.—There are eight letters, and there is one which talks of 'Bloody butchers.'"

"Mr. Justice Littledale—(having read the letters given in evidence)—Gentlemen, I have pointed out the distinction as to arms being kept for legal and illegal purposes; and, as to these letters, you will say whether the defendant was justified. If you are of opinion he is not, the plaintiff is entitled to compensation if the defendant has acted illegally. You will say, upon the whole, whether you think the plaintiff is entitled to a verdict, and if so, then to what damages. Gentlemen, I have pointed out the distinction to be observed between arms kept for legal and illegal purposes. Every man has a right to have arms in his house, but if there is reason to believe such arms are kept for an illegal purpose, for the purpose of aiding and assisting in the overturning of the Government, and that this gentleman had an honest, just, and reasonable ground that arms were kept by the plaintiff with some such evil design, then he was justified in going to the House as he did, and either taking a constable, or granting a warrant to a constable. Then, gentlemen, with regard to the papers, that stands upon a different ground, because these papers, you see, cannot of themselves be used for any purpose; it is only that they are there, and that they may chance to afford information of what the plaintiff's proceedings are. I must own I have great difficulty in saying he can be justified in seizing papers, whatever he may do about arms. I do not know that a magistrate having a suspicion, has a right to go, upon a mere suspicion, and take away papers that may have a tendency to overturn the Government. You see the magistrate acts entirely on his own head; he does not go to search for papers, and he finds no arms; but, on looking over some papers, he finds the name of a person, and his attention is thus directed to them, and he takes them away. Now, I have great difficulty in saying that a magistrate, whatever notion he may have of acting *bonâ fide*, has a right to take away letters. You do not find that the plaintiff had taken any steps in consequence of these letters, or corresponded with the persons? it is merely that he receives some letters; it may be a ground for proceeding against Pitkeithley, but I have great difficulty in saying, upon the whole of this case, that with regard to these letters, the magistrate was justified in taking them away, though I have no doubt, with regard to the arms, he had the power, if he had reasonable grounds for believing the plaintiff had arms for the purpose of being used in an improper and treasonable manner; he would have no right to seize arms kept in the house for the purpose of poaching, it must be for an illegal purpose, having a tendency to overturn the Government. With regard to the papers, the defendant had no information as to them; it was merely that he sees some person's name, and then he takes them away; he did not find what he went for, but having seen an allusion made in a letter to a person, who, he said, ought to have been hanged years ago, he takes them away. In my opinion, he is hardly justified in seizing the papers: however, the matter is for you, and you will consider your verdict.

"The jury thereupon consulted, and after conferring together for a few minutes, one of them addressed his Lordship as follows:—

"Juryman.—The jury wish to know, whether a magistrate, while searching for arms, finding treasonable papers, has a right to seize them?

"Mr. Justice Littledale.—I cannot say he has such a right; only see, if he comes to search for arms, it cannot give him a right to go into the house and seize papers; it seems to me to be exactly the same thing as if he suspected there were treasonable papers, and while searching for them, he finds arms. He did not go for arms, it has nothing to do with it. So, if he was searching for arms, that would not give him a right to search for papers.

"Juryman.—But if he discovered such papers, was he justified?

"Mr. Justice Littledale.—I do not think he had a right to take away these papers; it seems to me, Gentlemen, he had no such right.

"The jury having conferred together very shortly,

"Juryman.—My Lord, we find for the plaintiff, with nominal damages."

He had now read to them the words of the judge, he had stated to them the result of the trial, and he must be permitted to say, that it did not appear to him to be a case in which the Government should show the sort of feeling which the Home Office had manifested in the course of this affair. It was true that Mr. Unwin went for the purpose of making a search for arms, and it was equally true, that, technically, he went beyond the law. His noble Friend opposite had said, that Mr. Unwin was in the habit of going beyond the law. [The Marquess of *Normanby*: I said that Mr. Unwin liked to take upon himself the execution of the law.] His noble Friend had spoken of

Mr. Unwin as being much in the habit of executing the law himself, and being active in the pursuit of poachers. His noble Friend had not, perhaps, sufficient practical acquaintance with these matters. That mode of disparaging the magistracy was very common; their supposed activity against poachers was often used as an *ad captandum* argument. Counsel frequently took advantage of it in the examination of witnesses; they were in the habit of saying, "Oh, he is a magistrate very active against poachers, is he not?" Now, it was really not worthy of his noble Friend's situation that he should by means such as these, try to catch a little approbation, and join those who endeavoured to make it appear that the magistracy of England occupied themselves principally with the prosecution of poachers. He presumed that very few noble Lords then present could have forgotten the events of the 12th of August, 1839, the violent assemblages which then took place, the consequences of those assemblages, the apprehension of a great number of persons, and the fact that seven persons were tried, convicted, and punished. In such a state of things he was sure their Lordships would agree with him, that the conduct of Mr. Unwin constituted no very grave offence, and therefore ought not to be taken out of the pale of all protection; at the same time, he could not support the motion of his noble Friend near him, and he thought that no appeal ought to be made on such a subject to the Government now in office. Such proceedings would take from the stability of the executive power in this country; what had passed, however, ought to satisfy his noble Friend. For his part, he was clearly of opinion, that in some cases, magistrates could not discharge their duties, if they were to be confined, with undeviating precision, to the strict letter of the law.

Lord *Brougham* observed, that what had fallen from the noble Baron who last addressed their Lordships, relieved him from the necessity of stating the objections which he entertained to the motion then before them. The noble Baron talked of "protection for the magistracy." No one knew better than he did the ample protection which they enjoyed. It was well known, that if they acted *bonâ fide*, their errors were very lightly visited; but under all circumstances, they were largely protected. If an action were brought against them, that action must be tried in the county where the occurrence took place. It must be brought within six months, a month's notice must be given, the defendant might plead the general issue, and under that, all evidence justifying his conduct might be let in. Yet now their Lordships were called upon to say, that if the magistrate loses his cause, the Crown should pay the expenses. That, with him, would be a sufficient ground for objecting to this motion, if there were no other ground. But he must say, that Lord John Russell did not appear to him to have misstated the law in any degree; it must also be observed, that the report of what had fallen from Mr. Justice Littledale at the trial was probably incorrect, because it made that learned judge mis-state the information. However, the information omitted to state, and he (Lord Brougham) believed designedly, that the arms were collected in the dwelling-house of Joseph Broyan; then it did not say when, it did not say where those arms had been collected for illegal purposes. This information, therefore, would hardly give the magistrates the right to search for arms; but it was absolutely silent about papers. Mr. Unwin, therefore, was not entitled to search for papers; and although the whole gist of Mr. Unwin's defence was, that he did what he did by warrant of the Secretary of State's letter, yet that letter did not say one word about searching for papers. But if it had been otherwise, and Lord John Russell's letter had commanded a search for papers, it would most clearly not have been a justification of such search, still less surely was it a justification when it did not command any such thing. Then the judge and jury had declared the magistrates to be wrong. In every view, therefore, it was evident that this motion ought not to be agreed to, and this address to the Crown, which he believed to be perfectly unprecedented, ought not to be sanctioned by their Lordships. From accidental circumstances, he had had an opportunity of knowing Mr. Unwin, and he could bear testimony to his great ability and zeal, and it could only be through an over zeal that he had been led into this error of judgment. He should be most sorry, especially now that Mr. Unwin was dead, if anything he had said could be supposed to bear hardly upon that Gentleman.

The Marquess of *Normanby* had not intended to say anything against the character of Mr. Unwin.

The Duke of *Portland* would act upon the suggestion which had been thrown out by his noble Friends, and withdraw the motion.

Poor-law Commission.] Messengers from the Commons brought up the Poor-law Commission Continuance Bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that if the House were to sit to-morrow, it would be for the public convenience, as he could then move the second reading of this bill, so that they might go into committee upon it on Monday, with the understanding, that any discussion which noble Lords might wish to go into upon the measure might be taken on going into committee on Monday.

Agreed to.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, October 1, 1841.

Minutes.] New Member. The right hon. G. L. D. Damer, for Portarlington.

Bill. Read a third time. Poor-law Commission.

Petitions Presented. By Sir H. Fleetwood, from Preston, and by Mr. Cobden, from Trowbridge, and New Sarum, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Colonel Acton, from Sir Harcourt Lees, for the Expulsion of the Jesuits.—By Mr. Litton from Richard Harpur, for inquiry into the cause of his dismissal from the situation of tide waiter in Dublin.—By Viscount Sandon, from Miramichi, against an alteration in the Timber Duties.—By Mr. Gladstone, from Charles Miller, for an alteration of the Tithe Commutation Act.—By Mr. Wakley, from Finsbury for the construction of Public Walks on the north side of the Thames.

Commissions in the Navy.] On the Order of the Day for the bringing up the report of the Exchequer Bills Funding Bill being read,

Lord *Ingestrie* said, he had intended moving for a return of all the Commissions (with the names attached) signed by the Board of Admiralty since the 4th Day of June last, up to the issuing of the patent of the present Board of Admiralty, distinguishing those Commissions signed after the 30th day of August; also, return of the ships put in commission during the same period making the like distinction, and of the probable date of each ship being ready for service; but if the Secretary to the Admiralty had any objection to grant it, he would not press the motion.

Mr. *S. Herbert* said, it was not usual to grant such returns, and it might create an inconvenient precedent.

Lord *Ingestrie* would not press his motion.

Motion withdrawn.

Poor-law Commission.] On the motion that the Poor-law Commission Bill be read a third time.

Mr. *Fielden* rose to oppose the third reading of the bill, and to move that it be read that day three months. The right hon. Secretary for the Home Department had distinctly told the House that he is pledged to the principles of the new Poor-law. A dogged perseverance in adhering to the new law had overthrown his predecessors in office, and the present Government might rest assured that if they imitated the example of the last, they would not long hold office. To hear from a Cabinet pledged to govern on constitutional principles, that they will hold to the principle of a despotic law was what he could not understand. The delegation of extraordinary and undefined powers to a board of commissioners was declared by many learned persons on the passing of the bill through Parliament to be unconstitutional; and Mr. Scarlett, now Lord Abinger, stated distinctly, that—

> "The clause by which the affairs of the poor are to be placed in the hands of delegates or commissioners, who are to exist as a sort of central board, appeared to him to establish such an *imperium in imperio*, that he thought the people of England would never consent to it."

He hoped the people never would consent to it. The continuance of these powers were considered so despotic that Lord Althorp consented to limit the term of the commissioners to five years. But with this limitation the bill was thought so bad, that many attempts were made to stop it, and Lord Althorp, after having been repeatedly desired to postpone it to another Session, because it was not understood out of doors, uttered these remarkable words:—

> "He trusted that they would not lose the opportunity they now possessed of passing the bill; for if it were postponed to another Session, he must be a bold man who would then undertake an amendment of the Poor-laws."

The country now understood it and detested it. The electors, backed by the non-electors, had at the past election marked their displeasure of the Whigs, and given the Tories a large majority in that House, who might, if so disposed, repeal that law. If they lost the opportunity they would show themselves undeserving of confidence. In the petitions on the Poor-law we had the most conclusive evidence of the nation's dislike to the law. In two successive Sessions, in the latter of which he had moved for a repeal of it, the signatures to the petitions for repeal, numbered nearly half a million. Those petitions came from all parts of the country, and the letters he received on the subject, from persons in all parts, whom he had never known before, or seen at all, were very numerous. The petitions in the last Session, after the noble Lord, the Member for London, had given notice of his bill to amend the Poor-law, were worthy the notice of the House. There were 6 petitions in support of the Poor-law, with 130 signatures to the whole; 21 petitions, with 247 signatures attached in favour of the bill then under consideration; 44 petitions, with 66 signatures, against any clause for out-door relief; for repeal of local-acts, 1 petition, with 24 signatures —in all 72 petitions, to which were annexed 467 signatures, somewhat in favour of the Poor-law. But what petitions were presented to that House against the law? There were 185 petitions, with 48,300 signatures for repeal; 86 with 11,621 signatures for alteration; 2 petitions, with 1,026 signatures for repeal of the Poor-law and the County Constabulary Act; 264 petitions, with 135,290 signatures, against the bill then under consideration; 281 petitions, with 61,375 signatures, for alteration of the bill; 73 petitions, with 28,717 signatures, for provision for freedom of religious instruction and attendance at places of worship; 4 petitions, with 317 signatures, against the proposed clause relative to casual poor. In all 895 petitions, with 286,646 signatures attached, against the New Poor-law and the bill to amend it. Here were a host of petitions to that House from those who did not understand the matter when the bill was before the House in 1834, but whose experience had brought them to beseech them to repeal it. The petitioners thought, and he (Mr. Fielden) agreed with them, that they were capable of distributing the sums raised for the relief of the poor amongst whom they lived in a manner more satisfactory to both parties than could be done by any directions of the central board at Somerset-house, and that involved the whole question. He knew that much was said about the abuses that had prevailed in the administration of relief to the poor, that they were lazy, profligate, and would eat up the rental of the land. If the administration had been bad, that was not the fault of the old law. When abuses did exist, it was the effect of either inadequate wages or want of work, and why punish the poor for that? It was the fault of the owners of property, and only just that they should suffer. Property was forward enough to claim its privileges; let it perform its duties. But it was a libel on the poor to say they would not work. Look at your roads, canals, railroads, buildings, and the labour they performed in the fields and in factories, in mines, and elsewhere, all of which bore testimony to the unrivalled industry of the people, and gave the lie to their traducers. Much had been said of the principle of the new law. If it had any principle, it was the 15th clause which enacted the board of commissioners, and gave them the powers which the bill before the House proposed to continue for six months longer. That principle the Home Secretary told the House he would maintain. If it were really intended that the central board should be permanent, which it must if the principle were maintained, why not make it so at once, and cease to trifle with the House? Now, what had the commissioners done to entitle them to the confidence of the country? They formed unions almost everywhere complained of—they directed immense workhouses to be built which were a disgrace to the country—they had issued peremptory orders to refuse relief to the able-bodied out of the workhouse, and required the separation of husband and wife, and parents and children, on entering those dreary abodes—they had obtained force to compel obedience to their orders—they had fixed and persevered in dietaries that had caused death—they had promoted emigration and emigration schemes, and had obtained acts for disposing of parish property, the conveyances of which amounted to upwards of 3,900—they had caused a reduction of wages—deaths of mothers in childbed—suicide of widows and others, whose relief was withdrawn—they had so well succeeded in exciting a terror of their workhouses that death by starvation was constantly suffered rather than resort thither for relief. Even that morning he had received a letter from Manchester, accompanied by the *Manchester Advertiser* of the 18th ult., in which was given a letter detailing the particulars of two deaths by starvation, caused by horror of the workhouse, in one of which the verdict of the coroner's jury was, "Died of disease of the lungs, accelerated by starvation;" and the second was, "Died of the want of the common necessaries of life." They had increased the number of vagrants to an alarming extent. In a table published in the sixth annual report of the commissioners there was a column containing the number of vagrants and paupers relieved, not belonging to any parish of the union, and it gave the number in the Christmas quarter of 1838, and the number for the Christmas quarter of 1839, in fourteen counties of England and Wales, arbitrarily selected, as was said. In the county of Nottingham, in 1838, the number who received relief was 197, and in 1839, 328, being an increase of 131. In Sussex, the number relieved in 1838 was 236, and in 1839, 302; increase 66. In Bedford, the number relieved in 1838 was 64, and in 1839, 158; increase 94. In Kent, the number relieved in 1838 was 821, in 1839, 1,254; increase 433. In Leicester, the number relieved in 1838 was 291, in 1839, 789; increase 498. In Salop, the number relieved in 1838 was 96, in 1839, 280; increase 184. The total relieved in these six counties in 1838, was 1,705, and in 1839 it was 3,111—increase 1,406, or 82 per cent. It was to be observed, that that table by no means showed the number of applicants. If a table of all who applied could be obtained, he had no doubt that the result would be an awful development. The increase of beggars was remarked by almost every one, and he had drawn attention to this fact to show the working of the Poor-law and the poverty of the people. The increase of crime was not less alarming, as shown by returns on the Table of that House. He must again express his regret at the determination of the Home Secretary to continue the commission, and he hoped the country would send up their petitions to that House early next Session in number sufficient to induce a change of that determination, when the House was promised a consideration of the whole subject; for the people might rest assured, that they had no weapon so effective for good as the constitutional exercise of the right of petition. The hon. Member concluded by moving as an amendment that the bill be read a third time that day three months.

Sir *C. Douglas* wished to state the reason why he could not support the present motion of the hon. Member for Oldham, in order to protect himself from misconstruction. The occasion appeared to him scarcely a fit one for the speech of the hon. Member, because the question before the House did not involve the general merit of the Poor-law Amendment Act, but only the continuance of the commission for a given period. When on former occasions, votes of a similar nature to the present had been brought forward, he had felt it his duty to oppose them, because they had been introduced under different circumstances, having emanated from a Government that had had ample opportunity of acting on the official information which they had been able to collect. Last year the noble Lord, then at the head of the Government in that House, proposed to continue the commission until the end of the then next Session of Parliament; but the proposition being vehemently opposed by him and other hon. Members, the noble Lord gave way, and fixed the end of the present year for the duration of the commission, upon which he said, that the noble Lord had better have named some time of the year when Parliament usually separated, such as August or September. The proposition of the right hon. Baronet to continue the commission only until July next, showed a disposition to afford an opportunity for considering the principle of the measure; and he (Sir C. Douglas) only feared that he might lay himself open to a factious opposition, and whether his (Sir C. Douglas's) suggestion of last year might not be adopted by him with advantage. In opposing, as he had done by his vote, the proposition of the hon. Member for Rochdale, the other evening, he had not been actuated by any less strong opinion against the refusal of out-door relief, but he had done so because he did not think it necessary then to vote on such a subject as he would otherwise have done, when the proposition of the right hon. Baronet was only to continue the commission for five months, and because he thought it would have been wiser not to have brought the subject forward at a time when there was likely to be so slight an attendance. He hoped the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Home Department would inquire into the management of those unions where complaints had arisen. There were many cases in which the boards of guardians had acted in opposition to the rules of the Poor-law commissioners. He knew one union in particular where out-door relief had been given, where there had been no separation of the sexes, and where the food was such that no better could be given. During the four years he had sat in Parliament he had never heard of a single complaint from that union, though a strong feeling existed there when the act first came into operation, and he felt quite sure that some expression of that feeling would have reached him, had not the guardians acted as they had done in violating the rules of the commissioners.

Captain *Pechell* had never made this question the subject of party feeling, and on the present occasion he had quite sufficient reason for opposing the bill to relieve him from any such necessity. He alluded, among other things, to the manner in which the powers of the commissioners affected the parishes incorporated under Gilbert's Act. He could speak as to one parish, where the commissioners had issued rules and regulations which went to forbid the poor from going to church on Sunday and to prevent their being trusted out of the workhouses. Thus, the power of the guardians only extended to giving out-door relief to persons whom they might not think it necessary to send into the workhouses; and the Poor-law commissioners, though they had not the power to dissolve the union, nevertheless, could make such rules and regulations as produced the utmost dissatisfaction to the guardians, to the rate-payers, and to the receivers of the rates. This fact afforded to his mind a very strong reason for limiting the powers of the Poor-law commissioners. In the town which he represented (Brighton) the commissioners had not the power to make these regulations, and they had not attempted to introduce them, because they knew there was a watchful constituency who would prevent them, but they had succeeded in appointing a paid chaplain to the union, though the public refused to pay him a salary. He considered this power of the commissioners to interfere in the Gilbert unions, a sufficient reason for opposing the third reading of this bill, and also for opposing every similar proposition, in whatever shape it might come.

Mr. *Borthwick* felt it his duty to those constituents who had with unexampled generosity elected him in his absence without any pledge, to state why he could not now vote with the hon. Member for Oldham. At the same time he would say, that were the question before them simply one of principle, he should have had no hesitation in supporting the hon. Member. The objection of the hon. Member for Oldham, did not apply to the present measure only, but also to the general principle of the Poor-law Act—a subject that was not now under discussion. Hon. Members did not seem to agree as to what the principle of the Poor-law Amendment Act was. The hon. Member for Finsbury declared the principle to be that of centralization—to gather up the power from the local authorities, and repose it in the commissioners; and he maintained that all the other principles of the bill were subordinate to this. The commissioners, however, declared the great principle of the measure to be to train the poor to a love of independence; and the hon. Member for Droitwich, adopted the same principle. To such a principle every one must cordially assent; but at the same time the operation of the present Poor-law was calculated to offer to it the most formidable opposition. The principle of the old Poor-law of Elizabeth was, that every member of the community, so long as he was industrious, was entitled to eat and to be clothed; but the kind of independence the commissioners seemed to contemplate was of a very different character. They seemed to desire to invest relief with so much of the character of harshness, as that the poor man would rather prefer independence, even if accompanied by actual misery. To such a principle he must offer his most strenuous opposition. He did most solemnly entreat the Government not to adopt the interpretation put upon the principle of the measure by either the one side or the other, and particularly not to adopt that of the hon. Member for Halifax, but that they would apply themselves to the consideration of it without being influenced either on the one side or the other. He (Mr. Borthwick) objected to the power of legislation with which the present law invested the Poor-law commissioners, as being contrary to the spirit of the constitution. So extraordinary were their powers that their control over certain subjects, and for certain purposes, was as absolute as that of Queen, Lords, and Commons, over the general interests of the country. The reason why he should vote against the hon. Member for Oldham on the present occasion was simply this:—The Government had come down to the House and solicited a conditional confidence, to enable them, with the advantage of ripe experience, to mature a measure for the amendment of the law which should give satisfaction to the country. He should give them his confidence for the period and to the extent required for this purpose, but he reserved to himself the full liberty of considering the subject when brought before the House in the course of the next Session. In the meantime he hoped that Ministers would not yield unduly to the opinions either of the hon. Member for Oldham, or the hon. Member for Finsbury, but would leave the country to look to themselves for such a measure as they should consider just and effectual for the relief of the poor.

Mr. *C. Wood* said, as he had called on the Government on a former occasion, for some expression of their opinions, he wished to take this opportunity of mentioning that the declaration of the right hon. Member for Dorchester, made two or three nights ago, was to him perfectly satisfactory. Such a declaration was necessary to enable the commissioners, who were intrusted with the superintendence of the Poor-law, to discharge their duty in a manner fitted to give confidence to the public. Before the intimation to which he had alluded, it was generally thought that Government were shrinking from the general support they had given to the principles of the law. That impression had now been entirely removed by the declaration of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Home Department, with which he, for one, was perfectly satisfied. He thought it would be exceedingly unreasonable to ask the Government to pledge themselves to anything more, or to expect that they should not leave themselves perfectly unfettered for the consideration of any amendments which might be proposed next Session. It appeared to him, that hitherto, anything that there might be to find fault with, had arisen more from defects in the Administration of the law than from defects in the law itself. He did not stand there to say that no amendments might be introduced into the law with advantage to its operation. It would be perfectly absurd, with the experience they had had of its working, for any one to say that it was not susceptible of improvement. He was not prepared to say that there might not be equally grave errors in the administration of the new as there had been in that of the old law. He would without hesitation say, that he should be glad to have it administered in the most considerate and kindly spirit towards those persons who might have the misfortune of becoming the objects of its provisions. That was the spirit in which he was most anxious that it should be applied. He would even say, that so far as his experience went, that was the spirit in which he had always seen it administered. He observed, from the returns laid before Parliament, that in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the expense to the rate-payers had lately been increased one-fifth in some parts, and one-sixth in others. He considered that there was the best possible security that the law would, generally speaking, be so administered, because, independent of that feeling of humanity which, he believed, pervaded almost universally, with rare exceptions, those who were intrusted with its administration, there was this additional security, that while under the old law, abuses might take place which it was worth nobody's while to bring before the public, every one could see that throughout the whole of England the most vigilant inspection was exercised over the whole conduct of the commissioners and guardians. In that House, also, there were many who were not indisposed to bring forward every particular case that might appear to them to call for public notice. He would not say that they were disposed to exaggerate, but the true facts at least, in their full extent, were sure to be brought under the consideration of the House.

Mr. *Baldwin* said, he was going neither to support nor oppose the measure. He had objections to several provisions of the New Poor-law; but he would not go into the detail of them, because he was fully persuaded that hereafter there would be opportunities of expressing an opinion on the question. But he could not sit down without stating his anxious hope that the right hon. Baronet, the Secretary for the Home Department, would introduce such a measure next Session as would entitle the Government to his cordial support.

Mr. *Hindley* was aware that it was not regular to allude to what had passed in a former debate; but, as the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, had, on Monday night, made an attack upon him in his absence, he trusted he might now be allowed to say a few words in his own vindication. He would not complain that the right hon. Baronet had made that attack upon him in his absence, or that he had read a letter from an anonymous magistrate who had not ventured to give his name; but he would simply state to the House what he believed the circumstances of the case to be. With respect to the Poor-law, although, as the right hon. Gentleman in the chair well knew, he had opposed it in all its stages, yet he had never agitated the subject out of doors, and if the right hon. Baronet wished to have a proof of it, he could tell him that the Tory candidate who had opposed him (Mr. Hindley) at Ashton, was pleased to post on the walls a placard bearing a portrait of himself with an immense plum-pudding under it, and the motto, "If you wish this, vote for Harrop; if you wish for starvation in a bastile, vote for Hindley." Being in the country at the time when the right hon. Baronet made his statement, he had thought it his duty at once to go to the house of the family, and examine them as to the amount they had been receiving from the overseer, which he had stated at 1*s.* 6*d.* a-week. He found that they had not been in the regular receipt even of that sum. The woman told him she had been cursed by the overseer repeatedly. Whether that was true or not, he could not tell. Her husband had gone, when out of work, to the overseer, who had relieved him at various times, to the amount, he believed, of 9*s.* During the last six weeks the man had been about five weeks out of work, and had received about 15*d.* a-week. The woman had had a month's employment at reeling, but last Saturday the man with whom she had latterly been working failed, and now both of them were entirely out of work. The woman assured him, and her aunt, who was in the house at the time, confirmed her statement, that she had been at work the whole day at reeling, and from leaving the house in the morning to coming home at night she had never tasted either food or drink, and came on Thursday to potatoes and salt. On Friday she was in the same condition, and when she came home there were neither potatoes nor salt. The grocer who sold them articles had no potatoes, or, perhaps, did not wish to trust them. She, therefore, borrowed a shilling from a person in the neighbourhood, and bought some meal and buttermilk. He went to the grocer's and spoke to his wife, who told him that the whole money that the family had received during the last three weeks would not amount to 14*s.* 7*d.* Their chief food was potatoes; very little bread or articles of any other kind had been used by them. He was also told by a person who visited the grocer, that such was the condition of the latter, that while a few years ago he was worth a very considerable sum, he was now in such destitution as to be brought almost as low as his neighbours. He had also sent a person to inquire as to the amount of animal food the family had had, and he found that for two months they had not had more than 2*s.* worth of butcher's meat in the house, which was bought from the slink-butcher's on Sunday morning. He had, besides, written a letter to his solicitor, who wrote to the chairman of the petty sessions requesting him to examine the woman herself. His solicitor wrote to him in answer, that the case had been brought before the board, in the presence of Mr. Mills, a well-known reverend person, who, he supposed, wrote the letter which the right hon. Baronet had quoted in the House on Monday, The woman appeared, and was at first very reluctant to answer; she was very severely cross-examined by the overseer. It appeared, that on the 7th of April, the overseer gave her 4*s.*, on the 16th 3*s.*, on the 24th 2*s.* That was the last application, and for these small sums of money this person had to travel ten miles. The board was applied to to grant a copy of the depositions, which was refused. He (Mr. Hindley) thought it would have been but common courtesy on the part of the board to enable him to lay copies of the depositions before that House to-night. He could assure the House, that neither there nor out of doors, did he wish to exaggerate any statements of the distressed condition of the poor. He had in his hands letters from individuals, who were surprised that such a statement as he had made should excite astonishment in the House. He did not make these statements to increase the anti-corn-law cry. He had his own opinion about the propriety of altering the Corn-laws, but, at the same time, he never should endeavour to increase the feeling abroad, respecting public distress, to procure the alteration of any law whatever. He wished the Corn-law and the Poor-law to stand entirely on their own merits, and while he had a seat in that House, he never should lend himself to any exaggeration whatever.

Captain *Polhill* trusted, that when the bill came again before the House, it would be of such a nature, that opposition to it would not be called for. If it did contain the objectionable clauses of the present one, the House would then have full time and opportunity to discuss those clauses, and, if the majority thought proper, they might be thrown out. For these reasons, he should oppose the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham. He gave credit to that Gentleman for kind and humane intentions, and he would say in that House, as he had said out of it, that the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, had the cards in his own hands, and he had not the slightest doubt, he would play them judiciously. At the same time, he was of opinion, that some alterations, and very material ones, must be made in this bill to satisfy the country at large. Hon. Members, on the other side of the House, had taunted the Conservatives with endeavouring to create agitation at the late elections, by bringing forward the Poor-law; but, with respect to himself the could safely assert, that the only way in which he had mentioned the subject in his canvass was one which he considered perfectly constitutional—viz., asking his constituents whether they approved of the votes he had given on the Poor-law in the previous Session of Parliament, and to his satisfaction, they expressed their full assent to those votes.

Mr. *Cobden*, being a young Member, and not having, therefore, had an opportunity of delivering his opinion on this subject, wished to state why he should vote for the amendment. In common with a great number of individuals, he was persuaded, that the nature and effects, if not the object (for he did not wish to attribute improper motives) of this law, was to avert the consequences arising out of legislation, in another direction. He alluded to corn and provision laws. He should give a short extract from the debates of 1815, to show, that it was not for the purpose of mounting his hobby of the corn and provision laws, that he had said the abuses of the present system of poor-laws arose from our legislation on the former subject. The main objection to this bill was, that it refused relief to the able-bodied. That was an important invasion of the statute of Elizabeth. It was justified on the ground, that this part of the community should be thrown on their own resources. He had no objection, and he was sure, that the able-bodied labourers of the country had no objection to be thrown on their own resources; but it did appear to him most unjust to raise the price of food, and restrict the demand for labour, and then tell the able-bodied men throughout the country, "the time is arrived, when you must rely on your own resources." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 13th May, 1814, said;—

> "Other countries differed very materially from this, with respect to the consumption of corn. In other countries, when corn was high there was a much less consumption; but here, the price of labour rose generally in proportion to the rise of bread; and the poor-laws also enabled the poor to consume the same quantity, whatever the price was; as, if they were unable to purchase, the parish was obliged to provide for them."*

Mr. Calcraft again said:—

> "If you render the purchase of the poor man's means of subsistence beyond what his wages will afford, you must revert to the system followed during the war, of paying the wages of the agricultural labourer out of the poor-rate."†

Here he might, he hoped, be allowed to notice the manner in which a noble Lord took him to task for mentioning the "Corn-law," as if no change had been effected in that of 1815. Now, taking into account the depreciation of the currency, and the increase in the number of the people, he looked upon the Corn-law of 1828 to be as stringent, mischievous, and injurious to the people, as that of 1815 was to that race. The New Poor-law, however, broke the contract which was entered into with the neighbouring classes under previous laws. He did not mean to say, that the scheme of Elizabeth was a very enlightened one, or that the prophecies of Mr. Calcraft and other enlightened minds, as to the working of the old system, were not fully realized. In a period of twenty years, in some places, the greater part of the rental, in others, the whole was eaten up by the Poor-law. What was the conduct of the Legislature? Did they retrace their steps? Did they give access to the boundless field of employment which a foreign trade would open? No; instead of meeting the just demands for relief, they dissolved partnership, and left the whole consequences of their mislegislation on the shoulders of the people. He put it to the right hon. Baronet whether it would not be wiser, and more worthy of his high intellect, if during the recess, he took into his consideration the policy of opening the markets of the world to our industry, and, therefore, secure food to the people as the reward of their honest industry, instead of being doled out to them under the Poor-law.

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* Hansard, vol. xxvii. p. 875

† Hansard, vol. xxix. p. 1018.

Mr. *C. Hamilton* wished to state the reasons why he should vote for the third reading of this bill. He had not offered any opposition to the progress of the bill, neither did he intend to do so, as the question was merely "for a renewal of the present act for a limited period;" but his objections to many of its provisions were in no degree removed. He had not changed his opinions with his seat in that House, and treated with perfect indifference and contempt the insinuations that had been thrown out from the other side, that the late Opposition had used this as a party question, and were now prepared to support the measure they had so lately reprobated. Though a very humble Member of that House, he had ventured to express his opinion on this subject, and would do so again, knowing that he had every opportunity since the commencement of the New Poor-law Act, of observing its practical effect upon the condition of the labourer in the agricultural districts. He was not insensible to the crying evils of the old system. He could enumerate as many scenes of moral degradation produced by the old law, as had been depicted by the hon. Gentleman opposite, and to that system he never wished to return; but was this to render him blind and insensible to all the evils of the present bill? Because he was willing to admit that the New Poor-law Act had been of infinite service, and had proved a great boon to the agricultural interest and the master manufacturer, was he not to raise his voice against, or point out the evils which he knew existed? He gave utterance to his opinions with great submission, but if he did not know by this time the effect produced by the present law, who ought? for he had been chairman of one of the largest unions in the kingdom for several years, ever since the commencement of the act, and had closely watched its operation. He admitted, and was glad to state, that many good results had been produced, but there were many points, such as, in many instances, compelling aged or infirm persons and widows to be relieved in the workhouse, and the entire system of medical relief, to which he should never agree. He was not, of course, going now to propose any alterations; but, most assuredly, he should reserve to himself the power of doing so at a future period. He supported the principle of the bill, but he objected to many of its provisions, as inflicting unnecessary hardships on the poor man, and which, if persisted in, would eventually dissolve the connecting link between the landlord and his poorer tenantry. One effect of the bill had been to lower wages [*No, no*]; he repeated that, and could prove it; and those who maintained to the contrary could know very little of the working of the workhouse test, which caused the labourer to accept any terms rather than go there. He had never used this question as a means of agitation; on the contrary, he had on all occasions declared, that he gave the Whigs, who had conceived and carried out this measure, every credit for good intentions. He had never treated this as a party question, though he should follow precisely the same course that he had done now, were it so. He placed the same confidence in the right hon. Baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government as he did when he followed him as his leader in opposition; but he reserved to himself the right to use his humble judgment in this and every other question affecting the interests of the community. He differed from many hon. Gentlemen near him, for he did support the principle of the bill, and wished to see it fully and efficiently carried out, but he required justice to be meted out to the labourer as well as his employer. He was convinced both might be done, but not by "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." He knew that some relaxations had taken place in the orders from Somerset-house, and did not undervalue their importance; but those relaxations were exceptions, and not enforced. They did not say to the boards of guardians "You must afford such and such relief," but, "that in certain cases you may do so." He could not agree with those hon. Gentlemen who thought the services of the Poor-law commissioners might be dispensed with. As long as they had a Poor-law at all there ought to be a ruling power; but, whether the authority given the commissioners was too great, or their powers too undefined, he could not then undertake to argue, but, at all events, the House of Commons were bound to institute the most searching inquiry into this most important subject; they were the guardians of the rights of the people, as their representatives, and on the House of Commons would rest the odium of perpetuating imperfections in a law which might prove most injurious to those it was intended to serve. He was no advocate for Parliamentary reform or universal suffrage, but he would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they would have voted for this bill in all its bearings and for all the clauses if the paupers' names had stood on their poll-books? Let them not then afford this pretext to the unrepresented to say, that it is owing to their not having the elective franchise that you have passed such a bill so deeply affecting their happiness. There was a strong and growing feeling in the country on this subject, and he trusted that when a new bill was brought forward, without lessening its efficiency, it would be deprived of the appearance and the reality of many of those harsh and stringent features which then disfigured a measure good and praiseworthy in itself but rendered apparently odious and revolting by these acknowledged defects.

Mr. *Rennie* said, his impression was, that the effect of this bill was gradually undermining the good feeling which ought to exist between the poorer and the upper classes of society. If the administration of the bill as at present constituted were persisted in, ere long the lower classes would feel they were so unjustly treated by the Government of this country, that he very much feared the consequences that might ensue. But, in his opinion, the chief objection to the measure was one which he had not heard before stated to that House. He objected to the centralization system, not merely with reference to this bill, but he objected to it as bad in itself, as tending to despotism, and because he did not see where it would end. He could not see why the same principle might not be applied to all provincial institutions, and these institutions he had always considered as the bulwark of the constitution.

Mr. *Wakley* would detain them but a very few moments from more substantial enjoyments. He did expect a long debate, and that he should have had the satisfaction of hearing many hon. Members who had not spoken, express their opinions on the Poor-law bill. But the time was past; the die was cast, and the Government had resolved what course to take. The principles of this bill were to be upheld, but the power of the Government would not be sustained. It might be expected from him, situated as he was, unpleasantly situated in many respects, that he should state the course his party was going to pursue. It was usual in times like these, that persons having some influence over a party, should state the course they intended that party should take. In that respect, he was following the example of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, and in one respect his case resembled that of the right hon. Baronet very closely, for his was a perfectly united Cabinet. He was not in the slightest degree troubled by his Colleagues; they entertained the most perfect unanimity of opinion on all the great questions of state; and he, like the right hon. Baronet, had resolved most firmly not to bring forward any measure into the House, unless he conscientiously approved of it. He should not produce any measure there, whatever might be the entreaties or exhortations of any of his Colleagues. But, after all, it was amusing to be situated as he was, for he believed that no man had been more misrepresented; certainly none within so short a space of time had been more cordially abused. And why? Because he had not changed his place on the Benches in that House; not because his principles were unchanged, but because he had not changed his place. In former times, an adherence to a place indicated an adherence to principles; but now it seemed it indicated that some change of mind had been undergone. He hoped that, at least, the House would do him the justice to recollect, that when he entered the House of Commons, he took his seat on the Opposition side, the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth being then in office. That was in February, 1835. Three months afterwards, the right hon. Baronet resigned, and the Whigs of that day went over to the Ministerial side of the House. Did he go with them? No such thing; he had remained on the Opposition side of the House, where Mr. Hume had remained, along with Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey and Mr. Roebuck; and so late as the month of June, in that year, he had made a motion from the other side of the House for the recall of the Dorchester labourers. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government would recollect that he had asked him for a private view of the letter from one of the Lovelesses. Under these circumstances, it was unfair that a charge should be made against him, of having abandoned his principles, on account of his not having changed his seat. Now, what was the state of the case? The right hon. Baronet had declared it the intention of the Government to adhere to the principles of this, in his opinion, most odious and detestable law, a law which he believed to be hostile to the very principles of the religion they professed, and one which, if carried into effect—if carried out according to what had been declared its "principles,"—would endanger the constitution and the institutions of the country. He firmly entertained these opinions, and believing them, he did consider it his duty to oppose every Administration which should uphold the principles of such a law. The tactics of the Reformers—this was what he wished to refer to for a moment, if the House would permit him—the tactics of the constitutional Reformers were now clear. They had long contended, and the history of the country had proved, that the people of England had been long persecuted by the conflicts and the contests for power of the two great aristocratical factions, the leaders of whom had possessed talent and ingenuity enough to make the people the instruments of their purposes, and the means whereby they had obtained power, place, profit, and distinction. One of these factions, by the misconducts, most serious misconducts of ten years, having come into power with a majority in that House of about 500, had been laid prostrate before public opinion in the country. One of those factions, he repeated, had become—so far as regarded political power, and he thanked God for it—extinct. Consequently, in that respect, the Reformers (and the Conservatives had so far helped them) had gained a great, a signal victory. Should he, therefore, endeavour, as a Reformer, as a sincere Radical Reformer, devoted, earnestly devoted, to the cause of the people—should he contribute by any act of his to restore to power that party which had lost public confidence? No. He declared he would take no such course. On the contrary, he exhorted the people of England—he exhorted the Reformers of England to use every means in their power to keep that faction in its present impotent position. What would become of that faction, he might be asked? Why, their shattered forces—for they were now indeed a broken legion, might conflict in small parties as they pleased. At all events, let not the people of this country have two aristocracies to contend against, and if there was to be a contest for the public good let it be waged fairly and openly between aristocracy and democracy. That was the view he entertained of the matter; and that had been his reason for not going across the House, and making common cause with the Whigs, who, he hoped, trusted, and prayed (and would do so as long as he had life) would never, as a Whiggish party, acting on Whiggish principles, be restored to power. What then, he might be asked, was to become of the present Administration? Why, his answer was a short one—turn it out as soon as possible. [*Loud Laughter, and Hear, hear.*] To be sure—he repeated it—turn it out as quick as possible. But in the mean time, the public good demanded that they, the House of Commons, should fairly, honestly, and candidly, consider every subject that was brought before the House, and if the right hon. Baronet proposed a good measure—he had told him before he was a Minister, and he repeated it now—that he would view that measure, and consider it, precisely as though it were brought before them by the party to which he was most attached. This was a duty which the House owed to their constituents—a duty which they owed to the great national interests of the country, on subjects of this sort especially. To offer a factious opposition to any Ministry was paltry, was mean, was contemptible, was disgraceful. And whatever might be his opinions, his position, or his conduct, he trusted that no man, in the position of a Minister, would ever have reason to complain of a factious opposition from him. He thanked the House for having afforded him this opportunity of vindicating his conduct, which had been exceedingly misrepresented.

Mr. *Callaghan* said, he felt himself in a peculiar position, seeing that in the late Parliament, upon the passing of the Irish act, he had been in perfect ignorance as to the administration of the Poor-law. He had, therefore, given his consent to the institution of a commission, without at all anticipating the evils which had since resulted from it. He would read an extract from a petition which had been presented from his constituents, and which should be his justification of the vote which he meant to give on this occasion. This petition was signed by the mayor and many of the respectable inhabitants of Cork. In the part of it to which he referred, it was said,

> "Your petitioners beg, further, respectfully to remonstrate against the power given to the Poor-law commissioners—a power exercised without any consultation with the guardians, and in a way detrimental to the interests of each union; and your petitioners do think, that when it is considered that these officers are largely paid, and that the guardians are the real practical administrators of the law without payment, it would be found advisable to allow the influence of the said guardians a more extensive scope, while that of those overpaid officers might be judiciously curtailed."

When he found these the universal sentiments of those whom he represented, he felt warranted in changing the opinion he once held, that this commission might be found beneficial. He thought he was called on to announce this opinion, because he saw it had been stated in that House that the Poor-law bill worked well in Ireland. He could only aver that in his part of the country the discontent with it was almost universal. Nobody appeared to be satisfied with it. The petition, an extract from which he had just read, distinctly stated in what respects it was inefficacious. The emigration clauses were quite useless; and the Duke of Wellington's amendments introduced the greatest possible confusion into the meetings of the guardians. The whole of the law of settlement had been altered in England: it was practically created in Ireland by the amendments of the Duke of Wellington. On these grounds he felt called on to vote against the continuance of the commission.

Mr. *S. Crawford* wished to explain for a moment in reference to what had been said the other night by the right hon. Baronet the Home Secretary, as to his constituency of Rochdale not having been brought under the Poor-law, that they were under the greatest dread lest the local act, under which they were at present, should be set aside, and lest they should be brought under the New Poor-law. He might be permitted to add, he was pleased to find the Government bent upon inquiring carefully into the condition of the poor, and he hoped sincerely that during the recess the subject would not be lost sight of by the Home Secretary.

Mr. *Hardy* wished to explain what might appear an inconsistency at first sight in his having voted for the motion of the hon. Member for Rochdale, and his now voting, as he felt bound to do, against the hon. Member for Oldham. The reason was, that the former motion did not, and the present did, involve the total abolition of the commission, to which he was not prepared at present to agree. He considered that in now voting for the bill he was merely voting for the continuance of the act till (as he understood the Home Secretary to pledge himself) the provisions of the act could be fully considered.

The House divided on the question that the word "now" stand part of the question—Ayes 133; Noes 18: Majority 115.

List of the Ayes.

A'Court, Captain
Acton, Colonel
Adderley, C. B.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Baird, W.
Baring, hon. W. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Beckett, W.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Bodkin, W. H.
Borthwick, P.
Boscawen, Lord
Botfield, B.
Bowring, Dr.
Broadley, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Browne, hon. W.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buller, C.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Canning, rt. hn. Sir S.
Chapman, A.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Clements, Viscount
Cochrane, A.
Colvile, C. R.
Corry, rt. hn. H.
Damer, hon. Colonel
Darby, G.
Dawney, hon. W. H.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Egerton, W. T.
Eliot, Lord
Escott, B.

Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fitzroy, Captain
Follett, Sir W. W.
Forster, M.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gordon, hon. Captain
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Greene, T.
Grogan, E.
Hamilton, C. J. B.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hardinge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hardy, J.
Hawes, B.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Hinde, J. H.
Hodgson, R.
Hogg, J. W.
Hope, G. W.
Jermyn, Earl
Johnson, W. G.
Jehnston, A.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G.
Jones, Captain
Kemble, H.
Knatchbull, right hon. Sir E.
Knight, F. W.
Larpent, Sir G. de H.
Lawson, A.
Layard, Captain
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Litton, E.
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marsham, Viscount
Martin, J.
Martin, C. W.
Martyn, C. C.
Masterman, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morgan, O.
Morris, D.
Mundy, E. M.
Neville, R.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Connell, M. J.
Ogle, S. C. H.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Philips, M.
Polhill, F.
Pollock, Sir F.
Pringle, A.
Rae, rt. hon. Sir W.
Rawdon, Colonel
Reid, Sir J. R.
Rose, rt. hon. Sir G.
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Sandon, Viscount
Scott, hon. F.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Smith, A.
Smythe, hon. G.
Somerset, Lord G.
Stanley, Lord
Stuart, H. C.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tennent, J. E.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Vere, Sir C.
Wakley, T.
Ward, H. G.
Wood, C.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Colonel

TELLERS.
Clerk, Sir G.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Brotherton, J.
Callaghan, D.
Cobden, R.
Collins, W.
Crawford, W. S.
Dick, Q.
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Grant, Sir A. C.
Harford, S.
Heathcoat, J.
Hindley, C.
Hollond, R.
Humphery, Mr. Ald.
Napier, Sir C.
Rennie, G.
Walker, R.
Williams, W.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.
Fielden, J.
Pechell, Captain

Bill read a third time and passed.
Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, October 2, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a first time:—Exchequer Bills Fuuding; Exchequer Bills Appropriation.—Read a second time:—Poor-law Commission; Population Payments.

CORN-LAWS.] The Earl of *Radnor* wished to give an explanation of a statement he had made last night, respecting the average price of foreign corn. In stating the average at 40*s.* 6*d.*, he had omitted to mention the expense of freight, which would be about 5*s.* per quarter, and should have been added to the average.

Subject at an end.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, October 2, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a third time:—Exchequer Bills Funding; Exchequer Bills Appropriation.

Petitions presented. By Mr. Sharman Crawford, from Ballymoney, for placing the retail spirit trade of Ireland on the same footing as that in England-

EXCHEQUER BILL FUNDING.] On the motion for the third reading of this bill,

Mr. *Williams* begged to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether or no the whole amount of 5,000,000*l.* had been subscribed for, and, if not, what portion had been subscribed for—how much in Exchequer Bills, and how much in money?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had stated the other evening, that the amount subscribed for altogether was 3,644,000*l.* What were the proportions of money and Exchequer Bills he was not able to say, but the hon. Gentleman would see that the information, if he could give it, would be of no use, because the parties were at liberty in completing their subscriptions to make up part in money, or the whole in Exchequer Bills, as they might find convenient. He might say, that a large proportion had been subscribed for in Exchequer Bills, but it did not follow that, at the conclusion of the settlement, money might not be given instead of them.

Mr. *Williams* said, that if the whole amount of 3,500,000*l.* should be settled for in Exchequer Bills, it would follow that the right hon. Gentleman would fund 1,000,000*l.* more than he originally contemplated. He would therefore be obliged to have recourse to the second portion of the bill, to raise the 2,400,000*l.* deficient in the revenue, by the mode of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt inscribing their names in the three per cents. with a view of sale afterwards; at least so he understood it. He considered that, by the terms of the bill, it was imperative to accept the subscriptions of Exchequer Bills to the amount already subscribed. By that operation, the right hon. Gentleman would add to the funded debt more than was actually necessary to relieve the Exchequer Bill market according to his view. Looking at the present state of the money market, he did not see any necessity whatever of reducing the amount of Exchequer Bills, when he considered there was a saving of interest on Exchequer Bills, as compared with the funded debt. The last return he had seen stated, that the highest amount of interest on Exchequer Bills was 2*d.* per day. [The *Chancellor of the Exchequer:* It is 2¼*d.* now.] He had seen no return of that kind. Such being the case, there was no difference.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that such being the case, the interest on Exchequer Bills was greater than the interest in the funds, and the public would gain the difference of some shillings in the rate of interest. With regard to the bill, it gave to the Lords of the Treasury the power of making up the sum necessary at the completion of the subscription by the issue of Exchequer Bills, or the sale of stock in the market. The hon. Gentleman would not wish him to state which course the Government intended to take, as it might produce an influence on the market, which the hon. Gentleman must feel, would not be desirable. The Government had the power to do whatever might seem to them at the time most advantageous for the public interests.

Bill read a third time.

PRISON DISCIPLINE ABUSES.] Mr. *Hawes* begged to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for the Home Department, upon a subject to which he felt that public attention ought to be called. The right hon. Gentleman was aware that the last report from the Inspectors of Prisons had been for some time on the Table. He (Mr. Hawes) had gone through the report, and it struck him that it contained accounts of some gross violation of prison discipline. He thought it belonged to the province of the Secretary for the Home Department, to see such abuses corrected. He thought the report, and the cases in question, deserved the best attention of the right hon. Gentleman, and he would be glad to receive some assurance that the subject would not be overlooked.

Sir *James Graham* was glad to have an opportunity of stating, that he was aware the last report of the Inspector of Prisons, did contain matters worthy of the most serious attention of the Executive Government. He had not yet had time to give to it that attention which the importance of the subject imperatively demanded, but it had not been altogether overlooked. He had issued instructions to the Inspectors of Prison Discipline, to add to their reports an appendix, dividing the subject matter into two heads; first, matter to which the attention of the Executive Government should be directed, as being immediately subject to the control of the Secretary of State; and, secondly, such farther matter as, in the opinion of the Inspector, might, in a future Session, require the attention of Parliament. As soon as he received such a report, he would turn his attention more particularly to the subject; and, with regard to the last report, he partook in the views of the hon. Gentleman opposite, as to the necessity of his attention being directed to it.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, October 4, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a second time:—Exchequer Bills Funding; Exchequer Bills Appropriation:—Read a third time:—Expiring Laws.

Petitions presented. By the Earl of Radnor, from Handloom Weavers of Manchester and vicinity, praying for relief.—By Lord Brougham, from Dunstable and Dublin, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By the Earl of Radnor, from Stockport, for Free-trade.—By Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh, from Mr. Peter Gordon, complaining of Oppression in India.—By the Marquess of Normanby, from Performers of the Surrey Theatre, for the abolition of Bridge Tolls.

RECENT NAVAL PROMOTIONS.] The Earl of *Minto* begged the indulgence of their Lordships for a few moments while he called their attention to a subject which he felt to be one of importance, as relating to one great branch of the public service, and also important to the character for fairness and impartiality of the late

Board of Admiralty. His attention had been caught by a notice of motion which stood on the votes of the other House of Parliament for Friday last. The motion was "For a return of all the commissions (with the names attached) signed by the Board of Admiralty since the 4th of June last, up to the issuing the patent of the present Board of Admiralty, distinguishing those commissions signed since the 30th day of August." Also, a "Return of the ships put in commission during the same period, making a like distinction, and of the probable date of each ship being ready for service." Those returns he would say were unnecessary, as the whole of the information thus sought was already before the public in another shape. The returns, though not tending to add to the information already before the country, were, however, calculated to give countenance to certain charges which had gone forth to the public against the late Board of Admiralty, as to their mode of distributing navy patronage. Now, there was no subject connected with the administration of naval affairs which he should more desire an examination of, than the question of patronage. If any favour were shown, he thought that it ought to be exercised sparingly, and in such a manner as to show that no disparagement was meant to the meritorious services of others. He would admit, that large promotions had taken place in the navy of a recent date, and he would explain how that occurred. He would premise that promotions were made in three ways. First, in the ordinary course, when three vacancies took place by death in a particular rank, the promotion of one officer to that rank took place as of course, and this was the usual and common way of promotion. Secondly, flag-officers appointed to vacancies on the stations under their command, and might make certain appointments on hauling down their flags. The third way was by a special minute of the Board in consideration of circumstances which, in the judgment of the Board, required such an expression of its approbation of the conduct of the officer. With respect to the amount of promotions in the first way, he was not responsible for it, but for the distribution only. With regard to the second, he was not responsible at all; but with regard to the third, he held himself entirely responsible both for the amount of promotion and the manner of bestowing it. There hadbeen, he admitted, lately an unusual amount of promotion. With respect to those of the first kind it was usual to keep a certain number of vacancies in reserve, and the promotions, in consequence of the operations in Syria, had led to a larger reserve than usual, so that there had been a short time ago a greater accumulation of vacancies to be filled up than at any time since he came into office. The House would probably not allow him, if he felt disposed, to go minutely into the promotions which had been lately made to some of these vacancies, because it would be a bad precedent to subject (particularly appointments) to minute criticism in Parliament. He could only say, that, with respect to the first class of promotions, for the amount of which he was not responsible, he would court inquiry into its distribution, into the character of those officers who had been promoted, and he was confident that such inquiry would show that those promotions had been well and impartially bestowed. In the third class there had been several promotions. There had been twenty-five mates promoted to the rank of lieutenants, and of these none had been less than nine years in the service, while of sixteen, the junior had not served for less than twelve years. He was anxious to call the attention of their Lordships to these facts, as they served to refute the charge so often made, that young men were promoted by the Admiralty, to the exclusion of older and more experienced officers. He was sure, for the reasons he had stated, that their Lordships would not require him to enter into a detail of the circumstances of each of those twenty-five promotions; but with respect to some of the special promotions, he did think it necessary to go somewhat into detail. There were four officers promoted from the rank of commander to that of captain, under special circumstances. The first of these was Commander Crozier, of the Terror, who had the command of one of the two ships engaged in the expedition to the Arctic Pole, under Captain James Ross. Their Lordships were aware of the success which had attended that expedition. On the return of Captain Ross he laid before the Admiralty Board an account of the voyage and its results, and, after stating how much he was indebted to the officers and men under his command, took the opportunity of most strongly and earnestly recommending Captain Crozier and his first lieutenant of the Erebus, for promotion, with which recommendation the Admiralty complied. The next of the four officers promoted to the rank of captain, was one in whom he could not say he did not feel a deep interest—he was Commander C. Elliot, of the Hazard, who had been employed on the coast of Syria, and for his conduct there had been most strongly recommended for promotion. The promotion did not then take place, because he had not then served out his full time; but he was sure that had that time not expired until now, the noble Lord now at the head of the Admiralty, would not have passed over the recommendation. The third officer promoted to the rank of captain was Commander Granville, who was recommended for promotion by Sir C. Adam on his being appointed to the command of a foreign station. It had been the practice at the Admiralty that any member of the Board who accepted a command on a home or foreign station, was allowed to recommend an officer of each rank. The practice had had the sanction of Lord Melville, Sir George Cockburn, and Sir James Graham. Under such circumstances Commander Granville had been promoted, on the recommendation of Sir C. Adam. The fourth officer promoted was Commander John Parker, and he owed his promotion to a rule in the service—as the senior commander on active service. He next came to the cases of the nine lieutenants who had been promoted to the rank of commander. The first of these was Lieutenant Scot, who had served with great distinction in the Turkish fleet under Admiral Walker, and who had been most particularly recommended by the Turkish Government to her Majesty for some mark of her approbation. Now, it certainly was very unusual to promote officers at the recommendation of foreign Governments, with whose forces they had served, and he (Lord Minto) had at first felt great doubts of the propriety of acceding to the request; but when he took into consideration the great services rendered on the coast of Syria by Lieutenant Scot, and that those services were rendered to a Government with which England was in close alliance, he did come to the conclusion that the promotion ought to take place. He would add, that Commander Scot was a member of a family strongly opposed to his (Lord Minto's) in local as well as general politics. The next was Lieutenant Bird, who was the first lieutenant of the Erebus, as he had mentioned before. Lieutenant Lloyd, who was omitted in the Syrian promotions; Lieutenant Sheringham, one of the ablest surveying officers in the service; Lieutenant Fanshawe, who was recommended by Sir R. Stopford, were also made commanders. Again, Lieutenant Lowe was the nephew of Sir Thomas Hastings, an officer to whom he considered the country so much indebted for his valuable services, that he (Earl Minto) felt it but justice to him before he retired from the Admiralty to leave on record a minute, mentioning his great zeal and ability in improving the practice of naval gunnery, by which that arm of the service had been rendered incalculably more efficient, and as a mark of the services of Sir Thomas Hastings, his nephew, Lieutenant Lowe, was promoted to the rank of commander, and Mr. Moorman, the senior gunnery mate, to the rank of lieutenant. In conclusion, the noble Earl observed, that there had always existed an impression, a very erroneous one, that political influence had more weight at the Admiralty than it ought to have; and, in fact, than it ever had had. For his own part, he would confidently appeal to the appointments which had recently, and, he might add, for many years, been made by the Admiralty, for full proof that the impression to which he alluded was altogether erroneous.

Subject at an end.

FINANCIAL MEASURES—LATE AND PRESENT ADMINISTRATIONS.] On the motion that the Exchequer-Bills (Funding) Bill be read a second time.

Viscount *Melbourne* said, he did not rise to offer any objection to this bill, or to the mode proposed for carrying its provisions into effect; for it appeared to him, that as soon as it was known that the Government had come to the determination that they would not, for the present, consider the financial state of the country—that they would not enter into any inquiry into its financial difficulties—that they would not adopt any of those measures which had been proposed by the late Government, or bring forward any measures with similar objects of their own—as soon, he repeated, as those determinations of the Government became known, it was impossible but that some such measure as that now before the House, should have been proposed, and should have received the sanction of Parliament; knowing that there was a deficit in the revenue, and knowing that, in the opinion of Government, there was not sufficient time to consider the question of taxation, the only course that could be adopted was, as the deficit must be made up in some way, of borrowing or funding. He did not see any particular objection to the form in which it was done. He had, however, one objection to the plan, and that to be sure was a serious one—namely, that it had failed—that the Government had not succeeded in raising the money, or in funding their Exchequer Bills. He was the last man who would say anything calculated to have any injurious effect upon public credit; and he was very unlikely to say anything that could have such an effect; but, considering the language which the Government had held with respect to the finances of the country, and the state of the country, they should have taken care not to fail. They should have commanded success; and even if they had made a worse bargain, or had worse terms than the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, (and he rather feared they were actuated by some such motives,) they should have endeavoured to carry their point. In saying this, let him not be misunderstood as objecting to the measure before them, but he wished to call the attention of their Lordships to what might be considered the manifesto or basis of the motion by the noble President of the Board of Trade, which had led to the late change in the Government. That speech had been characterised by his noble and learned Friend near him as a very able and eloquent speech; and he admitted it to be so; but, able as it was, it was insufficient to support the superstructure which had been founded upon it. He did not deny its eloquence, but there were many able and eloquent speeches which were afterwards found to be very inconvenient. One great objection made in that speech was, that the late Government had never met the difficulties of the country, or grappled with its financial embarrassments in a fair, straightforward, and manly manner. They were accused of tampering with the finances by temporary expedients. Now, let him ask any of those by whom these objections were made, what was the measure now before the House but a temporary expedient, an expedient worse than a loan, nay, an expedient so objectionable that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted that it was so bad, that it ought not to be drawn into precedent? He did not object to it, but he thought that it was singularly inconsistent with the arguments used by noble Lords opposite on the "no confidence" amendment to the Address. It was strange that the very first step of the new Government should be as bad as any of those for which they had objected to the late Government. If Government were determined on taking the course they now pursued, they were not justified in making that motion. They had no right to call the attention of Parliament to the financial difficulties of the country, unless they were prepared to enter into the consideration of them with the view to the proposal of some remedy. Such a course was not necessary to their "no confidence" motion, for they might have carried that before or after, with or without argument, as they pleased. He repeated that they had no right to call the attention of Parliament to the financial difficulties of the country, unless they were prepared with an immediate inquiry into them. It was different with the late Government. With them the introduction of the subject was quite consistent, because they were prepared with measures to remedy the difficulties to which they had called the attention of Parliament; but it was not, he again said, fair of the new Government to bring on the subject, considering the arguments they had used against the course pursued by the late Government. On this subject he could not omit to notice what had been said for some time by men now very high in office against the measures of the late Government, and more particularly what had lately fallen from his noble Friend (the Earl of Ripon) on the same subject in a late debate in that House, who spoke of the necessity of considering the "immense financial difficulties in which the country was involved." Now, he must say that it was not fair, it was not correct, it was not proved, it was not just to the country, to say that it was involved in immense financial difficulties. He did not mean to deny that there were difficulties, but he did assert that they were not immense, and that it was a great over statement and exaggeration so to describe them. The state of the finances demanded to be considered seriously, and to be met energetically; but he repeated they were not in "immense difficulty," and considering the general state of the country, the amount of its revenue, its resources, and its strength, he must say that it was not wise or prudent to use that desponding tone in speaking of them, and that such language must have the effect of weakening those resources and of diminishing that strength. He freely admitted that there were difficulties to be met; but he begged leave utterly, distinctly, shortly, and emphatically—in words, which being short would be more easily understood, to deny that the late Government had delivered over the country, or any branch of its revenue, in a dangerous state, or its finances in immense difficulties, to its successors in office. His noble Friend (the Earl of Ripon) had said, that some decided, vigorous, and efficient scheme of Government was necessary, and then he came down with his own scheme, which had all the defects that had been attributed to those of the late Government, and this additional defect—that it added to the funded debt of the country, without making any provision for the interest, which was precisely the objection made by the noble Duke (Duke of Wellington) to the Government proposition for funding Exchequer Bills in 1838 or 1839, he did not remember which. The noble Duke had then said, that he did not object to the funding, but he did object to the not making some provision for the interest, and yet now he was a party to a measure to which the same objection would lie. He would not say, that the measure taken by the Government was wrong, but they were not justified in adopting it after the language they had held, and after the Address they had carried up to the foot of the Throne. What had they been called together for? and for what reason were they now about to separate without doing anything with reference to the great questions as to which the country looked for something to be done at the hands of the Government? If, as was said, the finances of the country were involved in immense difficulty, surely their condition ought to be an object of immediate consideration. What was it which they had to consider? There was no mystery in it—there was nothing which could prevent the subject from being well understood. They had to decide on one or other of two courses. The expenditure was found to exceed the income of the country. They must then either reduce the expenditure or raise the income. In the present state of the country he feared that they could not do the former, but that, on the contrary, an increased expenditure would be necessary—though he hoped it might not be so. But his noble Friend, (the Earl of Ripon) who seemed to fear that an increased expenditure would be necessary, proposed—what? An immediate consideration of the subject? No, but for time to consider it! For what did he require time? Was he looking for the philosopher's stone? or was he endeavouring to discover the transmutation of metals? If he was it was reasonable to ask for time, and he was ready to grant it; but, as he supposed that that was not the case, he saw no reason for deferring to a future day important matters which required immediate consideration. But why should his noble Friend defer a subject which he himself had assured their Lordships he had been considering for two years? Surely that was time enough to show at least that in the immediate consideration of it now he could not be said to be taken by surprise. The noble Duke thought that the lateness of the season of the year, and the consequent difficulty of securing a full attendance in the Houses of Parliament, would prevent the full discussion of the great measures which would be brought under their consideration. Now, he could point out to the noble Duke a plan by which he could insure a full attendance. Let him only give notice of a motion relating to the importation of foreign corn, and he might rely upon it he would not lack a very full attendance in both Houses until that question should be disposed of. Again, let him say with respect to this bill, that he did not object to it. He was not so great a theorist in finance as others, nor was he so much afraid as others of the consequences of change; but he must say, that considering the language held by Ministers, and the important votes to which their objections had led, it was not a measure which they were entitled to propose.

The Earl of *Ripon* was always disposed to be amused when his noble Friend (the noble Viscount) chose to be jocular, and he was not the less so when his noble Friend's jocularity was directed against himself. He did not feel that he was called upon to enter into a justification of a speech which he had made on a former evening, and which his noble Friend might have replied to at the time, but which he now chose to notice, after many days' consideration. With respect to the bill before the House, he did not know in what degree his noble Friend was opposed or favourable to it. He did object to it, and he did not; he

> "Hints a doubt, and hesitates dislike."

Viscount *Melbourne* did not object to the bill.

The Earl of *Ripon*: His noble Friend did not object to the bill; but there was one thing to which he did object, and in very strong language, too. He objected, that the measure was a failure. Now, he must deny, that it was a failure; for his right hon. Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he had not raised all the money which he had first intended, had raised a million more than was sufficient to cover the deficit. But then his noble Friend contended, that the Government were not justified in bringing in such a measure as this, which all must admit, was a temporary expedient, on account of the amendment which they had moved to the Address. What was it, let him ask, which had called the attention of Parliament to the subject? Was it not the notice in the Speech from the Throne? The Government were bound to bring their measures forward, having had ample time to prepare them. But if other Gentlemen moved an amendment to the Address and carried it, did it follow, that they were at once to be prepared with a whole batch of measures in opposition to those referred to in the Speech, or was an individual to be precluded from moving an amendment unless he was prepared to strike off at once a new system of commercial and financial policy? The idea was absurd, and no man knew, that it was so, better than his noble Friend. The present Government were, therefore, not liable to the reproach cast on them by his noble Friend. If, coming into office nearly at the beginning of September, they had undertaken to propound a whole scheme of finance and a revision from beginning to end of our whole commercial system, the country would have laughed at them as fools, or rejected them as madmen. It was easy for persons not practically acquainted with such matters to fall into such a mistake; but no person knew better than did his noble Friend, that no one part of our financial system could be touched without, directly or indirectly, affecting some great commercial, or manufacturing, or trading interest, and that one such interest could not be affected without in some degree affecting all the rest. It would not do, therefore, to take an isolated view of one part of the scheme of financial and commercial policy. It would be necessary to take a full, and comprehensive, and common-sense view of the whole. His noble Friend well knew, from his experience, that the science of Government, whether legislative or executive, was, in fact, neither more nor less than a perpetually recurring struggle with difficulties. They might be got over or evaded for a time, but they would again recur, and Government or Parliament would be perpetually called on to provide for their recurrence, and there was no surer way of being overwhelmed by them, than to rush with breathless haste into the adoption of great and extensive schemes of Government or legislation, without mature consideration. That, in his mind, was a sufficient justification for the course pursued by the present Government, and to have proposed any other, at the present time, and under present circumstances, would have been perfect madness. When his noble Friend talked of a loan, he must have been aware, that if Parliament had adopted the plan proposed by his Government, it could not have been carried out without the aid of a loan. There would have been no other way to cover the deficiencies of the year. The whole amount of the deficiency was 2,400,000*l*., of which it was assumed, that 1,700,000*l*. would be raised by the proposed alteration in the taxes or duties on certain articles. That scheme was, to say the least of it, doubtful, and he defied his noble Friend, or any man of business, to show, that if it had been carried into operation, it would be possible between this and April, 1842, to make up the deficiency without a loan. It had not been his intention to say what he had said; indeed, the outbreak of his noble Friend had been so unexpected, that it had come upon him, to use his noble Friend's own expression, like a clap of thunder. If the present Government had taken the course which his noble Friend seemed to thing they ought to have taken, they would have deceived the people, which was the very last thing a Government should be guilty of.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he thanked the noble Lord for his suggestion of a scheme for procuring a large attendance in that House; but he would give the noble Lord his answer to his scheme; he never would announce to that House an intention which he did not entertain. He had no intention of bringing forward a scheme for the alteration of the Corn-laws; he had not the power of so doing; he had not sufficiently considered the subject to be able to bring forward any scheme for an alteration of the Corn-laws, and had, therefore, no intention of announcing one to the House; he, therefore, suggested to the noble Lord, that he should propose some other scheme for effecting his purpose. The noble Lord had referred to what he had said three or four nights ago, respecting the funding of Exchequer bills, as brought forward by her Majesty's late Government at the time being part of their annual system of finance. But the Government of this day, had to take up a system of finance, at the termination of the Session of Parliament, a Budget having been brought forward by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, showing a deficiency of 2,500,000*l*. But 2,500,000*l*. was by no means the only deficiency, there was a large amount of arrears to be provided for, by some means or other. In addition to these, he understood, that when his right hon. Friend came to examine and see what was the real expenditure of the country, and what were the real demands upon the Treasury at the present moment, he found there were liabilities on account of the colonies, demands from the colonies upon England, Canada, and elsewhere, amounting to a very large sum, which had never been carried to account at all in the statement of the budget, and these had to be added to the 2,500,000*l*. which had been carried to account. Besides this, if he was not misinformed, there were other matters which involved expenditure, and all these things must be considered before any Government could bring forward a financial statement, and say what would be the permanent expenditure of the country. He defied any one, under the circumstances, to come forward with a financial scheme of Ways and Means. These things must be well considered before such a scheme could be brought forward, including with the Ways and Means a provision for large arrears which had been left, the arrears of this year being unknown till the accounts had been examined, and also demands for the future expenses of the country in different parts of the world, the probable amount of which was not known up to this moment. These were matters which it was not his intention to discuss; but as the noble Lord had thought proper to attack the Government as he had done, they must defend themselves.

Lord *Brougham* hoped, from what had fallen from the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Trade, and the noble Duke, that they would, between the present and next Session, apply their attention to a subject of great importance, and at an early period of the next Session come forward with a measure respecting the general state of our commercial policy.

Bill read a second time.

Poor-law Commission.] On the motion of the Duke of Wellington, the House went into Committee on the Poor-law Commission Bill.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, the object of the bill was, to continue the Poor-law Commission till the 31st of July next, otherwise it would expire at the end of the present year, in order that the Poor-law might be carried into effect.

Bill went through the Committee. House resumed. Bill reported.

Population Payments.] House in a Committee on the Population Payments Bill.

Lord *Wharncliffe* stated, that the object of the bill was the payment of the persons who had been engaged in taking the recent census.

Bill went through Committee.

House resumed.

Catholics in India.] Lord *Clifford*, of Chudleigh, wished again to call the attention of Government to the condition of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood in India. They did not receive the sanction and support to which their merits and utility entitled them, and the Roman Catholic soldiers of India were consequently deprived of that benefit which they derived from their presence—a benefit of such a nature, that on one occasion an undisciplined regiment had been brought to a perfect state of order and subordination by the five months' sojourn of a Roman Catholic priest.

Lord *Ellenborough* would not follow the noble Lord through his remarks, but he would tell him what he had done on the subject of the Roman Catholic priesthood in India, to which he had before called the attention of their Lordships. He had sent by the mail of that day, the first that had been dispatched since the speech of the noble Lord, letters to the Governor-general of India, as well as to the Governor of the Presidency of Madras, asking for the fullest information on the subject; and he had himself written a letter to the collectoral magistrate of Madura, sending him the report of what had taken place in their Lordships' House on the former occasion, and demanding explanation of his alleged misconduct. The noble Lord had talked of the discipline of certain regiments in India. He was quite sure that there was not an undisciplined regiment in the Presidency of Madras, and he was equally sure that their discipline had not been caused by any Roman Catholic priest. If he had understood the noble Lord he would not follow him, because it was not necessary; but he did not understand him, and so he could not.

Petition laid on the Table.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, October 5, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Read a third time:—Exchequer Bills Funding; Exchequer Bills Appropriation; Poor-law Commission; Population Payments.—Received the Royal Assent:—Administration of Justice (No. 2).; Expiring Laws; Navy Pay; Lunatics; Foreign Bishops'; Frogmore Lodge; Royal Gardens; Riddell's Estate; Marlborough's Estate; Clayton's Name.

Petitions presented. By the Earl of Ripon, from New Brunswick, against an abolition of the Timber Duties.—By the Earl of Kinnaird, from Brechin, and other places, and by the Earl of Radnor, from Devizes, and a number of other places, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.

FUNDING OF EXCHEQUER BILLS—DRAINAGE OF TOWNS.] Lord *Ellenborough* moved the third reading of the Funding Exchequer Bills Bill.

The Marquess of *Normanby* wished to take that opportunity of calling the attention of the noble Duke opposite, to a portion of the public business to which he attached considerable importance. He alluded to the measures which he had brought forward on the first day of the Session, for the drainage of towns, the improvement of building regulations, and the improvement of certain boroughs. He had introduced them in consequence of a report of the other House, and from his own information, and observations of the evils which they were to remedy. The subject had been thoroughly investigated by a committee of their Lordships, and the bill had been sent down to the other House, where he believed the principle was not opposed, but the termination of the Session prevented its being proceeded with. Their Lordships had again sent down the bill this Session, but a similar reason prevented its being proceeded with in the other House. He had expressed to the right hon. Gentleman who succeeded him in the Home Office, his sense of the importance of these measures, and the question he now wished to put, was, whether Government had determined to adopt them as far as the principle went. If the noble Duke gave him such an assurance, he would much rather leave them in the hands of the Government, but if he received no such assurance, he took that opportunity of giving notice, that unless his health prevented him from being present at the commencement of next Session, he should, on the first day of the assembling of Parliament, bring forward his bill again, and trust to the noble Lord, the Member for Dorsetshire, as an independent Member, who took an interest in the subject, for getting it through the other House.

Lord *Ellenborough* had communicated with his right hon. Friend, the Secretary for the Home Department, on the subject, and expressed the anxiety felt by the majority of their Lordships on the subject. His right hon. Friend represented that the bill must necessarily undergo investigation by a committee of the House of Commons, that there was a new opposition to some of the details, and that it was practically impossible to proceed with it in the course of the present Session. With respect to the noble Marquess's question, he could only say, that the Government had as yet no opportunity of looking into the bill, and were not prepared to say, whether, as a Government, they would take it up. It should, however, receive their most attentive consideration during the recess, and they would state what they were prepared to do at the commencement of next Session, The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he had given his individual support to those bills in their progress through that House, and would do so again when they came before him, but he could not answer for the course which his Colleagues in the other House might feel it necessary to adopt with respect to them.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, the answers he had received were perfectly satisfactory; and he would only add, that if the Government did not adopt the bills, he would again bring them forward early in the next Session, satisfied with the efficient support of the noble Duke.

Bill read a third time and passed.

THE CORN-LAWS — EXPLANATION.] The Earl of *Radnor* said, that he had to present to their Lordships several petitions, praying that the House might address her Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until some measure should be adopted with respect to the Corn-laws. Though there were only a few petitions, they were in principle similar to those which had already been sent before the two Houses, and which had received the signatures of not less than 300,000 persons. There could be no doubt that the subject was one which had excited the most intense interest throughout the country, in which the wish was very general, that the Parliament should not separate until something had been done on this important question. He feared, however, that the Session would close without anything being done in the matter, and he was confirmed in that fear by what had fallen from the noble Duke last night, when he said, that he did not intend to bring forward any measure on the subject of the Corn-laws—so he, at least, had understood the noble Duke; and another noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Buckingham) had, since his accession to office, made a similar statement in his address to a meeting of farmers in Buckinghamshire. But he looked with more attention to the statement made last night by the noble Duke (Duke of Wellington), whom he understood to say, that he had no intention of bringing forward any measure relating to the Corn-laws. [The Duke of *Wellington:* The noble Lord misunderstood my remark.] He was glad to find that the noble Duke disclaimed the notion that it was not his intention to bring forward any measure on this subject. Undoubtedly, if the question of the Corn-law were to be considered, with reference to many other important subjects, such as the revenue, finance, and commerce, it would require time to enter into such consideration; and if the noble Duke meant to allude to those subjects, his demand for further time would be very reasonable, but he did not understand the noble Duke to refer to the Corn-law alone. The noble Duke could not require further time for the consideration of the Corn-law question by itself; for as many of their Lordships would recollect, the noble Duke himself had brought in the present Corn-law Act, when at the head of the Government in 1828, and had carried it through. The noble Duke could not, therefore, say, that he wanted time to consider the subject further. The noble Duke must be even more familiar with the subject now than he had been at that time. The noble Duke had stated, on a former evening, that the distress which existed in the country could not arise from the want of a sufficient supply of corn, and the noble Duke dwelt on the fact, that there had just been imported 1,700,000 quarters of foreign corn; and he might have added, that since then the harvest has been got in; but the noble Duke must be aware that great distress, and great want of a sufficient supply of food, might exist in a country in which there might, nevertheless, be a large supply of corn. Did the noble Duke recollect the famine which existed in parts of Ireland a few years ago? At that time the distress was so general, and the want of the common necessaries of life so great, that large subscriptions were raised in this country, and large supplies of food sent to those districts where the wants of the people were greatest. It did happen on that occasion, as the noble Duke might recollect, that a vessel sailing into the harbour of Cork, and laden with supplies of provisions for the distressed inhabitants in part of it, was met by another vessel bringing to England a cargo of wheat, and and of biscuits, made from wheat. This would show that there might be large supplies of corn in the country, and there still might prevail great distress, and that was the case with England at the present moment. What would be the use of a large supply of corn in the granaries of the country if the people could not purchase it? This was a fearful state in which to leave the country at the prorogation of Parliament, without the introduction of any measure for the relief of the distress which prevailed. This was the state of things against which Parliament had received the petitions of 300,000 of the people. He had by him a letter on this subject from an individual in Manchester, who, by his own great exertions, had raised himself from the condition of an operative to a station of comparative independence, and who had, by his industry and perseverance, acquired a good education. That gentleman professed his political opinions, for he was what was called a Radical. In one of the letters received from him—only that day—there was this passage,—

> "The new Parliament will not do anything for the people, and they (the people) will be taught this fatal lesson, that everything which they may obtain they will owe to violence, or to the fear of violence, and that nothing will be granted to argument or common sense. If Parliament should now separate, as he feared it would, without anything being done for the people, and that disturbances should follow, and then that some measure should be brought forward in the next Session, would not that teach the people another lesson—that everything was to be obtained by violence, and that nothing would be conceded to argument? It would be a repetition of the lesson taught by the Catholic Emancipation Bill."

In another letter, which he had received from the same individual, he said, that now the Tories had got into office, they would endeavour to persuade the people that there was no distress; but yet, while they had admitted and deplored the distress, they produced documents, the object of which was to show that there was no distress at all. Why attempt to deny that, the existence of which they deplored? With respect to that part of the question, he would call the attention of their Lordships to a letter which he had seen in a paper of that morning, written by a member of the College of Surgeons in London residing in Manchester. The writer showed that typhus fever prevailed in proportion to the existence of distress and want of sufficient food amongst the people, and he illustrated his argument by stating the extent to which typhus fever prevailed in two periods of five years. During the first five years, which were years of manufacturing prosperity, the number of admissions to the Fever Hospital in Manchester was 2,459, and the deaths were about 12½ per cent., while in the next five years the admissions were nearly double, and the deaths 18 per cent. Let him ask whether Parliament ought to separate without entering into some inquiry as to that distress of which such multitudes were complaining? Was it not matter worthy of consideration, when medical men were publishing books calling on the clergy to assist in endeavouring to find some remedy for the distress which so deeply affected the corporal and intellectual welfare of the people? Under such circumstances, it was deplorable to find the Government turning, as it were, a deaf ear to the prayers of the people, and proroguing Parliament without going into any inquiry. He would repeat, that Government were undertaking a fearful responsibility in this respect. In another part of a letter from the gentleman to whom he had referred, he said, that the Government should recollect that the greatest number of the Chartist leaders were now out of prison, and were endeavouring to persuade the people that a repeal of the Corn-laws would do them no good. [" The Duke of *Richmond*," Hear.] The noble Duke seemed to be of the same opinion with the Chartist leaders in this respect. Would he agree with the other doctrines of those leaders? Would he agree that all land should be brought into immediate cultivation, and should become the property of the state, the present possessors having no exclusive right to it? The writer went on to describe the alarm created in Manchester by the proceedings of the Chartists, and he added, that if Government would only do justice to the people, it would soon put an end to all those absurdities, and destroy the influence of those who lived by promulgating them. The letter from which he quoted was from a plain man, but one who well understood the subject on which he wrote. He hoped that noble Lords opposite would lay these things to heart, and that even yet the people might expect something to be done for them before the prorogation.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that the person, who, from his situation, was called upon to tender his advice to her Majesty, should consider well before he gave that advice, and he had always done so; but he would tell the noble Earl what he would not do. He would not allow himself to be intimidated by the noble Earl, or by his friends or correspondents—Radical he thought he called them—from giving that advice which his sense of duty prompted to his Sovereign, let the consequences of giving that advice be to him what they might. It appeared to him that there was not a more wise or salutary regulation amongst their Lordships' standing orders than that which provided that reference should not be made to former debates; but when noble Lords thought proper to disregard that order, and to refer to observations made in former debates, they ought to take care and be correct as to what passed, and not to attribute words to noble Lords which they never had uttered, or put a meaning on words actually spoken which the speakers could never have intended to convey. The noble Earl had said, that he stated in last night's debate that he would not bring forward the consideration of the Corn-laws. Now, if the noble Earl had attended closely to what passed, and had remembered it accurately, he would have known, and of course would have said, that it was not he, but the noble Viscount lately at the head of the Government, who had referred to the subject, when the noble Viscount said, that if he would give notice of a motion for an alteration of the Corn-laws he would soon secure a full attendance in both Houses of Parliament. His answer to that was, "I will not announce any intention which I do not entertain in order to secure a full attendance of Members." He was sure the noble Viscount would admit the correctness of that statement, and that what he referred to was the attendance of Members in the present Session of Parliament. He was sure the noble Viscount could not mean that the notice was to be given to secure a full attendance in six months' time, or any distant period. [Lord *Melbourne*—" Hear, hear."] He did admit, that such a notice now would bring a full attendance in both Houses, but what he meant to convey and had stated, was, that he was not prepared at the present time to bring forward any motion for a revision of the Corn-laws. What he had said, was, that it was a measure which must be considered in all its bearings as to commerce and finance, and other important matters, with which it was connected by the late Government in direct communications from the Throne, as well as from Ministers in their places in both Houses. It was perfectly true that he had brought in the bill for establishing the Corn-law as it now existed, and he could not now recollect whether it had met the approbation of the noble Earl, but he certainly had no recollection that it had been opposed by him; but he had, at different times, since discussed the question, and had endeavoured to refresh his memory on the subject, by the perusal of important documents connected with the principle on which it was founded. He did possess some knowledge of the subject, but he must say that it stood in a different light now from what it did when he brought it forward twelve or thirteen years ago, and those who would consider it must look at it with deep attention, and not submit any scheme on the subject to that or the other House of Parliament which was not maturely weighed and considered, not only with reference to other questions with which it was connected by different motions made and discussed in the other House of Parliament, but also in reference to treaties between this country and other powers, and also the treaties of other powers with each other, and combined with these the general relations by which it was connected with the whole system of this country. On these grounds he fully agreed that it was a matter which should not be taken up in a hurry, but must be deliberately examined in all its bearings. The noble Earl had mixed up with this discussion some remarks on a conversation which took place a few nights before; and here again, the noble Earl took an erroneous view of what occurred. The question for the moment related to the distress which was said to exist in several parts of the country. He did not deny that distress, but the sitting or not sitting of Parliament could not remedy it. He said that the people were suffering from want of employment, but such want had often existed from time to time, and he did not see how it could be remedied by Parliament. What he said on the evening referred to, was, that the distress did not arise from any want of provisions in the country. The noble Earl himself had stated that there had been lately imported into this country 1,700,000 quarters of foreign corn, and he was aware that before that importation there was in store a supply of corn amounting to 1,200,000 quarters, making in all nearly 3,000,000 quarters, besides the produce of the harvest, which was now got in. From these facts he concluded that there could be no distress arising from want of a sufficient supply of corn. There was, he regretted to say, distress existing from want of work and deficiency in wages, and other causes, into which he would not then enter; but he repeated that he did not know, and had not heard from any quarter, how Parliament could remedy such evils. They were the results of a variety of causes, which Parliament could not remove if it sat continuously from now till February next. He begged pardon for taking u so much of their Lordships' time whe there was no question before them, but after what had fallen from the noble Earl he had felt it his duty to enter into those explanations of what actually took place on the occasions to which the noble Earl referred.

Lord *Kinnaird* said, there was a question before the House, which was, that the petition presented by his noble Friend (the Earl of Radnor) do lie on the Table. He was glad that the noble Duke had entered into these explanations, because they would remove an erroneous impression which had gone abroad. For his own part, he did understand the noble Duke's declaration of his intention not to introduce any measure on the subject of the Corn-laws to refer to that question generally, and not with reference merely to the present Session of Parliament. He owned, that however necessary an inquiry might be into the state of the country, and the distress which prevailed in consequence of the Corn-laws, he had no hope that any such inquiry would be gone into now, or that when gone into at any time, any practical result would come from it under the present Government. They had been brought into power by the monopolists, who would soon turn them out again if they saw any indication of an intention to make any substantial change in the Corn-laws. No such change could, therefore, be expected from the present Government. This was his own impression, and he believed it was that of the country generally, and it was greatly strengthened by the declaration said to have been made by the noble Duke (Richmond) on the cross-benches, who had said, in the terms he had already quoted, that the agriculturists or monopolists who had brought in the present Government, could send them out again if they found it necessary. The Government asked for time for the consideration of the great questions connected with the subject of the Corn-laws. He believed that they required it on other grounds, for he thought that the materials of the Cabinet were of so heterogenous a nature that much time must elapse before they could be found to concur upon any one measure. Time, he thought, might also be required to get rid of some three or four Members of the present Cabinet, in order to bring it to the proper mind on certain questions. He had certainly thought that, after the speech of the noble Earl, (of Ripon), and the speech which had been extracted from the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, they were prepared to state to Parliament the principles on which the Government had been formed, but he was mistaken in this feeling. He, however, would like his noble Friend who had preceded him, warn the Government of the danger of any longer delay in this matter. Like his noble Friend, he also was in communication with Radicals; and from them he learned much of the great distress which prevailed, and had received communications pointing out the danger of further postponing the consideration of some means by which that distress might be relieved. In refusing such inquiry, the Government was taking on itself an awful responsibility. The noble Duke had said that he was willing to take his share of that responsibility; but let him tell the noble Duke that it was no slight share, when it involved a refusal to consider the condition of the country, thus adding insult to the sufferings of its starving people. He wished to ask the noble Duke to what length the recess would be carried, or at what time the Houses would again be called together?

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that the noble Lord must, on a slight consideration, be aware that the question he had asked was one which he ought not to put, and which could not be answered. He would wish to ask, in his turn, what the noble Lord meant by the word "monopolists?"

The Duke of *Richmond* said, that the noble Earl must have been after the stag-hounds when the noble Earl had heard of the speech to which the noble Earl referred. On that occasion he had stated his readiness to give his support to the Government of the right hon. Baronet now at its head, when an observation was made by some Gentleman present, that though Sir R. Peel and his friends were opposed to the Corn-law question as brought in by the Whigs, yet they might, when in power, turn round upon the agriculturists, as they had done on the question of Catholic Emancipation, and force down their throats that very measure which they had formerly denounced. His reply to that was, that if Sir R. Peel, when in office, supported the 8*s.* fixed duty, he would tell him and those who supported him, that the agriculturists who had helped him into power, would have no hesitation in turning him out. In this, however, he had made use of no threat; he had merely replied to the argument of a Friend. He did not mean to assert that the Corn-laws were never on any occasion to be touched by the Legislature, but in whatever alteration might be made care should be taken that due protection should be given to agriculture, without which it could not exist. But he would say with reference to the suggested consideration of the question at this particular time, that it would be not only inconvenient, but also unproductive of any practical result.

Lord *Clifford* of Chudleigh, was happy to hear from the noble Duke, that there was no fixed time to which Parliament was to be prorogued, and therefore, that the people might entertain some hope that their distressed condition would be taken into consideration much earlier than was generally supposed. He had no fear for want of food in the country, but what he dreaded was increase of discontent, for which he saw no remedy, except a temporary coming forward on the part of the aristocracy, especially that part that had shown themselves he richest at the last elections. This country was burdened with a debt of 800,000,000*l.*, and while it was so it would be impossible for them to frame a Corn-law such as they might and ought to frame if the debt did not exist. The very fact of the delay so strenuously insisted upon by the present Government showed that the risk of Government was one of considerable difficulty. This country had a right to expect their Lordships to come forward with that assistance which would be necessary for the sustenance of the poor during the time which her Majesty's present Government delayed their measures. While he was on his legs he begged to give notice, that early next Session he would move for the appointment of a committee to inquire whether it was not in the power of the governor of Madras to protect her Majesty's subjects according to the law as settled in 1833. That inquiry was rendered necessary, because, the noble Lord, the President of the Board of Control appeared to be as unable to understand that law, as the noble Lord was unable to understand his speeches.

YARMOUTH — EXPLANATION.] The Marquess of *Normanby* did not know whether it was necessary to trouble their Lordships with a rather extraordinary letter he had received from a Mr. Lacon, who had charged him with having taken steps to suppress the production of certain papers with reference to proceedings that had taken place in the borough of Great Yarmouth. The letter was written in a complete misapprehension of the facts, for their Lordships were aware, that he had not the power to suppress any portion of the documents referred to, as the correspondence was not produced, because the noble Earl who had put the question to him, had not moved for it.

Petition laid on the Table.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.] Lord *Brougham* said, he rose to call the attention of their Lordships to a question of great importance, and on which, as there happily existed no difference of opinion in that or the other House of Parliament, and as there, indeed, was in every part of the kingdom a singular unanimity on the subject, it would be the less necessary for him to trespass at any considerable length on their Lordship's attention. The subjects he was about to introduce to their notice were the Slave-trade and slavery, and he believed that in either House of Parliament, or in any part of the kingdom, there did not exist any description of persons who felt other than the strongest desire to see the traffic in slaves abolished everywhere and the state of slavery itself universally, and with all practicable expedition, instantly extinguished. The ground on which he felt it his duty to trouble their Lordships on the present occasion was, that great misapprehension had, he understood, prevailed in the country touching the law applicable to this subject. He had presented to their Lordships, some ten or twelve days back, a petition containing a variety of allegations, and he, at that time, wished it to be distinctly understood, that the truth of the allegations, must rest upon the responsibility of the respectable petitioners who had brought the matter before the House. But if the facts were, as alleged in that petition, it would appear that there had been not only a large capital embarked in slavery in foreign settlements, but embarked in a manner to support the Slave-trade itself. He should begin with those things alleged in the petition to have been done by British subjects, and which were clearly contrary to the law. The law was this, that every British subject, in any part of the world, whether in a country where the Slave-trade is lawful, or in one where it is illegal—every British subject, even in a part of the world where the Slave-trade is not only allowed, but (if there be such a country) where it is protected and even encouraged by the law—every British subject who partakes of such trade is guilty of a felony, and liable to be transported for life or for fourteen years. If the offence is committed on the high seas, or within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, he is a pirate andliable to be transported for life and if the act be committed elsewhere than within the Admiralty jurisdiction, for fourteen years. For several years the offence was piracy, and a capital felony if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction. That law had been altered, but if an act of slave-trading were committed by a British subject in a colony where the Slave-trade was allowed, and he would suppose even favoured, he was liable, if taken and brought to this country, to be tried for the offence as if it had been committed in this country, and on conviction, to be transported for life or for fourteen years, according as it was committed within or without Admiralty jurisdiction. He had never said that it depended upon the law of the foreign country where the act had been committed, whether a British subject committing an act of slave-trading was guilty of felony or not, although from letters he had received, some such misrepresentation must have gone abroad, he had, on the contrary, said, that the law of theforeign countryhad nothingto do with the acts of a British subject in this matter, and that if a foreign subject committed a slave-trading act in oneof ourown coloniesor settlements, he would be guilty of piracy and of felony, according to the jurisdiction within which he did the act. All this was quite clear and free free from doubt. The only question was, whether any given acts amounted to slave-trading or not. Several acts were stated in the petition as slave-trading which appeared to him not to constitute the offence. With respect to others he gave no confident opinion, they appeared to be of a doubtful description; while some acts appeared quite clearly to amount to slave-trading, and to come within the law. If a person fitted out a vessel to traffic with slave factories and settlements, and sold goods to those factories, out and out, though they were such as might be used for the Slave-trade, as well as the innocent commerce of the coast and though in point of fact they were used in slave-trading, he was of opinion that this did not amount to slave-trading; whether it was a commendable use of capital or not, was a different question. If the goods sent out were of such a description that it could not be doubtful that they were to be used in the Slave-trade alone, such as a cargo of fetters or other implements that could only be employed in such a trade, he had stated that he deemed this much more doubtful, yet, he was not prepared to say that it was an act of slave-trading which would render the exporter of such articles liable to be tried for felony. But if goods were sent, whether of one kind or the other, whether of an ambiguous description, or plainly fitted for the Slave-trade alone, and the price of the goods was to depend (as the petitioners stated to be the fact) upon the Slave-trade, in which such goods were to be employed, he had stated that his opinion was that this was an act of slave-trading, being in truth a partnership with slave-traders, and the persons exporting such goods would be guilty of a felony within the meaning of the Abolition Law. There was another description of acts, which were much more important, because they were much more extensively done — namely the act of holding property in a foreign settlement, which was to be cultivated or worked, (cultivated if a plantation, and worked if a mine) by slave-labour. The consequence of holding such property was the purchase and sale of slaves, with the view of cultivating such plantations or working such mines. On that kind of transaction a question arose—did or did not the Slave-trade Abolition law apply to it? An opinion had gone abroad that this was a dealing and a trading with slaves to which the Abolition Acts did not apply, an opinion which was entertained by many highly respectable individuals, and had been acted upon to a great extent; they had engaged in a variety of such concerns, and had invested in them capital to a large amount; but on looking to the provisions of the law he thought he had hardly a right to go so far as to say that their Lordships would entertain a grave doubt as to the illegality of the proceeding. The dealing upon which the question arose was not the mere holding of the property—that was lawful. The Emancipation Act of 1833 differed from the Abolition Acts; it did not prohibit British subjects from holding land in foreign settlements, as the Abolition Acts prohibited his engaging in foreign Slave-trade. After the act of 1833 it was legal for a British subject to be a holder of slaves, and to have property in slaves in a foreign settlement; but the question was, had it been legal since the abolition law (the abolition of the slave-trade) for a British subject to purchase slaves, to buy slaves, and to sell or traffic in slaves in a foreign country? He had been represented to have said that he had no doubt that such an act was lawful, and had not been struck at by the abolition law, whereas he had carefully abstained from giving any opinion; he could not have given such opinion, for if he had been obliged to give an opinion at all upon the question, he should have said that the act was not legal, and that the abolition law did strike at it. He would state his reasons. The provisions of the act which he had the the great satisfaction of carrying through Parliament in 1811, and without any dissentient voice, the act which first made Slave-trading a crime, was materially changed in one particular by the General Abolition Act of 1824. In that act, the slave-trade had been declared piracy, and punished as a capital felony, if within the Admiralty jurisdiction; if without such jurisdiction the offender was liable to transportation for fourteen years. as in his (Lord Brougham's) Act of 1811. In affixing the latter and lesser punishment the act of 1824 gave a new definition of the offence. The first section declared all such trading unlawful. The tenth section declared it a felony, in the following terms—

> "Except in such special cases as are hereinafter provided for, if any person shall deal, or trade in, or purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract for the dealing, or trading in, or for the purchase, sale, barter, or transferring of any slave, or slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves he shall be guilty of felony."

Certain special cases were excepted, and the 13th section thus provided for these special cases following the language of the tenth—

> "Nothing hereinbefore contained shall be taken or deemed to prevent any person from dealing, or trading in, or from purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring, or from contracting to deal or trade in, purchase, sale, barter, or transfer, any slave or slaves lawfully being within any island or colony belonging to or in the possession of, his Majesty, in case such dealing, &c., be with the true intent and meaning of employing such slave or slaves in the colony which he or they may be in at such time."

And the 14th section provides for the removal by land or sea of slaves from one part of any such colony, but always a colony in the possession of his Majesty to another part of such colony, and if the other part of such colony should happen to be another island (as in some cases there are several islands in one Government), then the person intending to remove a slave from one such island to another was required to procure a licence from the governor, to be granted on satisfactory proof that the slave was intended to be removed from one estate to another estate in the possession of the same owner of the slave. Then, how, under this law, could a British subject in Brazil or Cuba, buy a slave or sell a slave under the 13th section, or remove a slave from one part of Cuba or Brazil to another, under the 14th section, neither Cuba nor Brazil being a colony or settlement in the possession, or under the dominion of the British Crown, which was the only special excepted case? Upon this ground he was wholly unaware upon what view of the law the parties had been advised to proceed who had embarked in such speculations, and become owners of slaves by purchase, or by the intervention of agents, had purchased, sold, or transferred slaves in Cuba or Brazil, or moved them from place to place, and who must have been advised that they could safely embark in such speculations. Again by the 10th section it was a felony knowingly and wilfully to lend or advance money, or to send goods, to be employed in any object "hereinbefore declared to be unlawful;" that is, "the dealing or trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves." All of which is, by the first section, declared unlawful, and by the tenth, felonious. Yet some such view must have been taken by a number of most respectable persons, who, he understood, had embarked considerable capital in the cultivation of these foreign colonies, and who must have been advised that they could legally engage in such speculations. What, then, remained to be done? He trusted his noble Friend opposite, at the head of the Board of Trade, (Lord Ripon), would immediately apply his mind to this subject, and if any doubt existed upon it that he would come to Parliament, as soon as it met next Session, to have the doubt removed by a declaratory act; but if the result of his noble Friend's inquiry led him to conclude that there was no doubt, and that the dealings in question were unlawful, the most satisfactory course, he thought, and the fairest, to the parties themselves would be to notify by Proclamation what the state of the law was, and thus to give a general intimation to all persons who had unwarily got themselves into this predicament, that the sooner they got out of it the better; at the same time prohibiting other persons from entering into such speculations, by stating the inevitable consequences they would lead to. This warning was especially necessary with respect to holding slaves, because men dealt in these without their attention being called to the use made of their money, and, in most cases, without any knowledge of the concern or the mode of conducting it. The Proclamation that gave them this knowledge would give them a notice or warning, to which they seemed entitled, The course which the Legislature took in dealing with the Slave-trade in former years, well deserved the consideration of Government and of Parliament in treating the subject now. In 1806 the first bill abolishing the Slave-trade was introduced by Sir Arthur Pigot, and became the 46 Geo. 3rd., which prohibited British subjects engaging in the foreign Slave-trade, and the lending or advancing of money for any purposes connected with that trade. Next year Lord Grey brought in the first general Abolition Bill, which subjected British subjects who should be found guilty of Slave-trading any where, and all persons so trading in any part of the dominions of the Crown to various pecuniary penalties. Next came the 51 Geo. 3rd., the Felony Act, brought in by him (Lord Brougham) which declared the Slave-trade to be felony; and afterwards came the act of 1824, brought in by Mr. Canning, making the description of this offence still more stringent. Nothing but the late period of the Session would prevent him (Lord Brougham) from moving an Address to her Majesty on the subject, similar to the one he had moved in 1810, and which led to the Felony Bill next year. If there was no objection, he would at once move an Address, if noble Lords saw any objection to such a course at that late period of the Session, he would abstain from adopting it; but he trusted that his noble Friend, the President of the Board of Trade, would call the attention of the Law-officers of the Crown to the points to which he had adverted, with a view of putting a stop to such practices. With respect to the reports of Dr. Madden on the settlements of the western coast of Africa, he understood that there were some objections to their production as such. He should like to know the reason for withholding them, as he understood they contained much valuable matter. But whether these reports were produced or not, he trusted that the Government would not fail of acting on the information contained in them. He must now beg the attention of their Lordships to the same question in the East. A noble Friend of his the other night agreed with him in doubting whether slavery existed by law in Malacca. There was the opinion of one local government in 1828 against it, and of another governor, that such a state of things was sanctioned by law. He had looked into the matter, and all doubt on his mind was at an end as regarded the course best to be now taken; for, at a meeting of the owners of slaves in Malacca, in 1829, they came to a resolution, pledging themselves to liberate all their slaves in 1841. He trusted that the Government would take the proper steps to see that this resolution was carried into effect, and that whatever was the state of law in the settlement before the liberation of the slaves should take place. He would now call the attention of his noble Friend to the dreadful state of slavery in some parts of India. He had had, by means of one of the persons employed on the law commission in India, access to a valuable report made to Lord Auckland. [Lord *Ellenborough:* It has been laid before the House of Commons and ordered to be printed.] He was not aware of that fact, having been abroad at the time; but he would read an extract from the report of the commissioners, which strikingly pointed out one of the consequences of slavery in India, and of the slave-trading to which it gave rise. The practice to which he alluded had only recently been brought to light, and was described in a report to the commissioners by Major Sleeman. The description was under the head Megpunnaism, which this gentleman describes as a part of a notorious practice for the purpose of getting slaves. It is stated in the report:—

> "This system of murdering indigent parents for their children has been flourishing since the siege of Bhurtpore, in 1826; and the cause of

their confining their depredations to this class of people seems to have been the great demand they found for these children in all parts of the country, and the facility with which they inveigled their parents into their society. They were in the habit of disposing of the female children thus obtained for very large sums, to respectable natives, or to the prostitutes of the different cities they visited, and they found this system more lucrative than that of murdering travellers in good circumstances, and less likely to be brought to the notice of the local authorities, as inquiries were seldom made after the victims by their surviving relations. These gangs (the Report adds), contrary to the customs of those whose proceedings are now so well known to us, invariably take their families with them on their expeditions: and the female members of the gang are employed as inveiglers to win the confidence of the emigrant families they fall in with on the road. They introduce these families to the gang, and they are prevailed upon to accompany them to some place suitable to their designs upon them, where the parents are murdered by the men, while the women take care of the children. After throwing their bodies into the river, or otherwise disposing of them, the men return to their women in the camp; and when the children inquire after their parents, they are told that they have sold them to certain members of the gang, and departed. If they appear to doubt the truth of these assertions, they are deterred from further inquiries by a threat of instant death. They are allowed to associate freely with the families of the murderers, and in a few days their grief subsides, and they become reconciled to their fate. The female children are either adopted by members of the gang, or sent in charge of the women to be disposed of. They find a ready sale for them among the Brinjarahs, many of whom are connected with these gangs in their murderous trade, and all of them are well known in Upper India to traffic in children. These Brinjarahs resell the children to the prostitutes of the different cities, who soon become acquainted with the fate of their parents, and are much pleased to learn it, as it relieves them of all apprehension that they will ever come to reclaim them."

He then gives the examination of some of the wretches connected with these gangs of murderers. One of these outcasts says,

"We call our trade, viz., murdering travellers for their children, megpunna."

Another Jemadar or leader of a gang, was asked,

"Q. You have stated in your various depositions that you invariably preserve the children and sell them. Are you not afraid that these children will disclose the manner in which you got them, and thereby get you into trouble?—A. We invariably murder our victims at night, first taking the precaution to put the children to sleep, and in the morning we tell them that we have purchased them from their parents who have gone off and left them. Q. You seem to have been in the habit of selling children in all parts of the country; how have you avoided being apprehended?—A. The children are seldom aware of the fate of their parents; and in general we sell them to people very well acquainted with the nature of our proceedings."

Khema, otherwise called Nursing Dass, another leader of a gang, says,

"After the capture of Bhurtpore, Nanoo Sing Brinjarah, and four other Byragees, residents of Kurroulee, came to me with four travellers and their four children, and invited me to participate in their murder, which I consented to, and with the assistance of my gang we strangled the whole of them, preserving the lives of the children, whom we sold at Jeipore for 120 rupees, half of which was divided among the members of my gang. After this affair, I resolved on selecting for my victims the poorest class of travellers, and murdering them for their children, for whom there was so great a demand in all the great cities; since which I have committed the following murders, the particulars of which I will detail as I may remember."

But the Report goes no further in this wretch's evidence; but, by his account, it appears, that four murders had been perpetrated for the purpose of selling the children into slavery for the miserable pittance of 120 rupees or 12*l*. Another of these murderers, Javen Dass, said,

"I left my home with a gang of forty Thugs, and proceeded to Husseeagunge, where Heera Dass and Rookmunee went to the city of Muttra for the purpose of buying some clothes, and succeeded in winning the confidence of four travellers, two men and two women, with their three children, whom they brought with them to our encampment; after passing two days with us, Teella Dass, Mudhoo Dass, Byragees, and Dewa Hookma, Teelake, Gungarem, Brinjarahs, Balluck Dass, Chutter Dass, Neput Dass, and Hunooman Dass, prevailed on this family to accompany them to the banks of the Jumna, and murdered the four elderly travellers in a garden near the village of Gokool; after throwing their bodies into the Jumna, they took their three children to the tanda, or encampment, of Dewah Brinjarah, near the village of Kheir, and sold the two female children for forty rupees, and the male for five rupees."

Therefore, these murders were committed for little more than four pounds. The last deposition to which he should refer, was that of a woman, who declared,

"We now went off to Thuneiseir, where we encamped in a grove on the bank of a tank, and here several parties of travellers were inveigled by the wives of the leaders of our gangs to come and take up their lodgings with us. 1. A Chumar, with three daughters; one thirty years of age, and the others young. 2. The widow of a carpenter, and her son, ten years of age. 3. A Brahmin and his wife, with one beautiful daughter fourteen years old, another five, and a son six years of age. 4. A Brahmin and his wife, with one daughter about fourteen, another twelve, and a son three years of age. These travellers lodged for two or three days among the tents of the Naeks and Brinjarahs, after which we all went one morning to a village in the territory of the Toorooee rajah? I forget his name. Here very heavy rain fell at night, and deluged the country, and we got no rest. The next morning we went to a village on the bank of the canal, still in the same rajah's country. The next day we went to a village on the bank of the Jumna; and two hours after night, Kaner Dass proposed that we should go down to the sacred stream of the Jumna, say our prayers and remain there. They all went down accordingly, leaving me, Roopla, and his second wife (Rookmunee) at the village. They murdered the seven men and women, and threw their bodies into the river; but who killed them, or how they were killed, I know not. The Chumar and his eldest daughter, the two Brahmins and their wives, and the carpenter's wife were all murdered. They brought the nine children back to us a watch and a half before daylight. They were all crying a good deal after their parents; and we quieted them the best way we could, with sweetmeats and playthings. We came to Beebeepore, and encamped in the grove. A daughter and son of the Brahmin's were extremely beautiful, and these we left with Dyhan Sing for sale. We came on to a village a coss distant from Beebeepore. Here a trooper came up to Beebeepore, saying that he had heard of several people being murdered, and suspected us of the crime. The head men of the village of Beebeepore, and some of the Brinjarahs came to our tramp with the trooper, and assured him that he must be mistaken, as they knew us all to be very honest, inoffensive people; and taking him to Beebeepore, they treated him with great consideration, and he went away apparently satisfied. But, fearing that our deeds had become known, Pemla and Newla's wives and Pemla's mother took off the seven other children to Dhyan Sing, and left them all in his charge. Pemla went to Kurnaul, and Goorbuksh and his gang went to Beebeepore, while my husband and his party remained where we were. A woman who keeps prostitutes came from Kurnaul, and purchased and took away all the children. All were sold through Dhyan Sing. One boy was purchased by an elephant driver, who took him off upon his elephant; and another was purchased by a Mussulman. All the rest were taken off in covered carriages, by the prostitute, to Kurnaul. I should know all their faces again were I to see them.

Human language sank under the vain attempt at giving utterance to the mingled feelings of pity and of horror which arise in every breast on surveying such atrocities as these—he defied any power of imagination to paint scenes more hideous, more unbearable, than the plain language of the monsters themselves portrayed their own frightful deeds. Africa itself steeped for centuries in blood, by another branch of the execrable traffic, and still laid waste by the Spaniards and Portuguese, with the connivance of more humane nations, presented no spectacle more appalling, no example more horrible, of the utter disregard of human life, the habitual proneness to take it away, with which the traffic in human beings strikes and blights the heart, in every region which it is suffered to curse. But while giving way to abhorrence at the crimes of these wretches, we should reserve part of our indignation for that system of which they are the natural and appointed fruit; and their Lordships might be assured that so long as it was possible to hold human beings in slavery, the dealing in slaves could not be put down, and atrocities such as those which he had deemed it his painful duty to lay before the House, would never cease to exist. He had no doubt whatever, but that the advice given by a noble Friend of his, formerly Secretary to the Colonial Department (Lord Glenelg), a few months before he had left office, with regard to accelerating the emancipation of the slaves in Ceylon—he had no doubt but that the advice contained in his very important despatch of the month of November, 1838, had been taken into mature and early consideration by his noble Friend at the head of the India Department. No one knew more of Indian affairs than Lord Glenelg; no one's authority, and most deservedly, stood higher; and he fondly hoped that some means would be taken for insuring the total abolition of slavery, which was the only real and effectual remedy against the recurrence of such enormous evils.

The Earl of *Ripon* was not aware of the existence of the documents to which his noble and learned Friend had alluded, and therefore, his only object in rising to address their Lordships was, with reference to matters of which he had more personal cognizance. His noble Friend asked whether there was any objection to lay on the Table of the House the report of Dr. Madden, as to the state of slavery and the slave trade on the western coast of Africa. It was not without regret that he felt called upon to object to the production of these documents. His noble Friend the Secretary for the Colonies and himself, after considerable deliberation, came to the conclusion that it would not be proper to lay them before Parliament, as they were documents of a highly confidential nature, and referred, not only to the state of our settlements on the coast of Africa, but involved matters connected with our relations with other powers, and also contained statements of a very important and delicate nature, involving the names and the conduct of private persons. Therefore, under these circumstances, it would not be proper at present to produce these reports. He felt convinced that their publication would tend to defeat rather than to advance the great object which his noble and learned Friend had so much at heart, and which the Government had in view in making such strict inquiries into the subjects of slavery and the slave trade. The attention of his noble Friend at the head of the Colonies had been directed to the legal part of the subject adverted to by his noble and learned Friend, and when the Government was in possession of legal advice, it would be its duty to see how far it was practicable to apply the law, if it was applicable to the cases alluded to, or if it was not, to call on Parliament to amend the law, and to bring these cases within it, which certainly came within the spirit if not the letter of the present law. Under these circumstances, he trusted that his noble and learned Friend would be satisfied with the declaration of the intentions of the Government, and would not call upon the House to take any other steps at present.

Lord *Ellenborough* observed that the report from which the noble and learned Lord had quoted was laid before Parliament on the 26th of last April, and was printed about six weeks ago. He thought it would have been a more considerate course to direct their Lordships' attention, so that they might form their opinions on this subject rather to the whole tendency of the report, containing as it did upwards of 900 pages, than to a few detached extracts. He had yesterday placed on the Table of the House a minute on this subject by his noble Friend the Earl of Auckland, descriptive of the course to be taken, and he was sure that his noble and learned Friend entertained as great respect as himself for the soundness of the opinion and judgment of Lord Auckland on such a subject. With respect to the cases of horrible crimes adverted to by his noble and learned Friend, he would only say, that if they went to the more civilized countries of the world, they would meet with many cases of atrocity like those described in the report in question. He believed that Scotland was generally admitted to be the most moral part of the United Kingdom, yet, only a few years ago, it was discovered in the capital of that country that persons were murdered for the sake of obtaining the value of their dead bodies. If his noble and learned Friend looked more narrowly into the subject to which he had adverted, he would find that the atrocities which he had described were more mixed up with the system of Thuggee than his noble Friend seemed to think. Noble Lords were aware that the Thugs made it a matter of pleasure to commit murder, and that many of them even thought that they were doing good to their victims by sending them to another world. The exertions of the Government had been directed to the suppression of Thuggee, but he feared the attempts had not been altogether successful. With this feeling, then, the Thugs murdered the parents, and probably preserved the children from some indefinite feeling of pity. As for preserving them for the purpose of selling them as slaves, the value of children in this respect was little or nothing. If the crimes were perpetrated for the purpose of getting money by the sale of slaves, these parties would get infinitely more by preserving the parents and selling them as slaves. He trusted that his noble and learned Friend would turn his attention to the whole subject, and more especially to the minute of Lord Auckland. In the year 1833, Parliament had directed the government of India to make inquiries as to the state of slavery in India, in consequence of which the law commissioners in India had thoroughly investigated the subject, and had furnished their reports. He thought that Parliament had wisely directed that the initiation in legislation on this subject should be left with the Governor-general and council. These documents were at the present time under the consideration of the Governor-general of India, who, from his local knowledge and facilities of obtaining information, was much better able to prepare a law on the subject than the Parliament at home. The Governor-general had been requested more than once to hasten the proceedings for this purpose; and he could assure his noble and learned Friend that there was every disposition at home to accede to any measure on the subject likely to be attended with success.

Lord *Brougham* said, it was distinctly stated in the report that the object the persons had in view in the commission of these atrocities was, that they might obtain possession of the children for the purpose of selling them. There was no doubt, however, that the practice was mixed up with Thuggee of one kind or another, but it was described as a new kind of Thuggee introduced by the temptation of the slave market. He could not help feeling that his noble Friend had been very unlucky in his reference to the proceedings that had occurred a few years ago in Scotland. If he (Lord Brougham) wished to select a fact which would be illustrative of the atrocities of this species of slavery, he could not have found an instance more strikingly appropriate and illustrative of his case than that to which his noble Friend had directed the attention of the House. It happened that some years before the discovery of these disgraceful proceedings, three or four friends and himself were discussing the subject of the enormous price of dead bodies for the purpose of anatomical dissection. He recollected that his friend, Mr. John Smith, the late Member for Midhurst, was one of the party present, from a circumstance which he would presently state. It was said, in the course of the conversation in question, that from 25*l.* to 30*l.* was given for a body for anatomical purposes. He then predicted, that if something was not immediately done to procure a supply at a moderate rate, you would have murders committed on the poorer classes for the sake of selling their dead bodies. Afterwards when the atrocities alluded to had attracted public attention, Mr. Smith reminded him of his prediction. It was precisely the same thing with the slave market, where the profit led to the perpetration of the crimes, the similar crimes described in the report. Therefore, instead of this serving as an argument against him, it was quite the opposite way and it showed that the same course should be taken now in the Indian case which had been pursued in the English. A bill, had been brought into Parliament, and passed into a law in consequence of those murders, to facilitate the procuring dead bodies for anatomical purposes, and he would venture to say, that since that time no enormities of the same kind had happened in any part of the kingdom. He was not aware that the report in question had been laid before Parliament so far back as April: he was out of the country at the time, and did not hear of any having been made until a week or ten days ago. He had, however, read every part of it with care. He would only add, that he should feel great satisfaction in examining the minute of his noble Friend, Lord Auckland, to which the noble Lord referred. Under the circumstances he should not press for the production of the report of Dr. Madden.

Motion withdrawn.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, October 5, 1841.

MINUTES.] Petitions Presented. By Mr. Thomas Duncombe, from William Ashurst and others, for a Tax on Property.—From Meetings held in the West Riding of York, Leeds, and Sheffield, for the abolition of the Silent System of Prison Discipline; from London, for Inquiry into the Anatomy Act; from Leeds, Pershore, and individuals, for Universal Suffrage &c.; and from Mr. Templer, for the equalisation of the Stamp Duties.—By Dr. Bowring, from Dublin, and an individual for the abolition of Slavery.—By Mr. Ferrand, from an individual, against the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. Hawes, from Dunstable, and Northampton; by Mr. Cobden, from Eccles, and other places, and by Mr. W. Ellis, from Leicester, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Mr. W. Patton, from Magistrates of Lancashire, relating to County Rates.—By Mr. Hindley, from Warrington, for vote by Ballot.—By Mr. M. J. O'Connell, to abolish Declarations on Oath against Popery.—By Mr. Lyall, from the county of Charlotte, New Brunswick, against alteration in the Timber Duties,—By Mr. Cobden, from H. Holland, for inquiry into the influence of the price of food, on disease and mortality.—By Mr. Cresswell, from Liverpool, for inquiry into the most eligible station for West India Mail Packets.—By Mr. Wakley, from William Morriss, for Inquiry into his Dynamic Engines; and from Mr. Webb, for Inquiry into the Prevention of Railway Accidents.—By Mr. P. M. Stewart, from Paisley; by Mr. Yorke, from York; and Mr. Cobden, from Woodley, for inquiry into Public Distress.—By Mr. Sheil, from Thomas Steele, for Abolition of Coronation Oath, relating to Roman Catholics.

THE CASE OF MR. M'LEOD.] Sir *C. Napier* wished to know from the Secretary of the Admiralty, whether orders had been sent out to receive Mr. M'Leod on board one of her Majesty's ships, in case of his acquittal. He understood, that considerable excitement prevailed in America upon this subject, and he thought, that steps ought to be taken to protect Mr. M'Leod.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he was sure, that the gallant Admiral must feel, that it would not be proper for her Majesty's Government, at this moment, to be called on to give information as to what steps would be taken in case of a certain contingency in which Mr. M'Leod might be involved. On consideration, he was sure, it would occur to the gallant Admiral, that it would not be right to press for an answer.

Subject at an end.

Private Business.] Reports of the 30th of August and 1st of October, read.

Lord Granville Somerset moved, that the Standing Orders be read. Orders read *seriatim*. The noble Lord then proposed the adoption of several alterations in the Standing Orders relative to the regulation of the Private Business.

Agreed to.

Standing Orders, as amended, adopted.

Petitions to Her Majesty.] Mr. *Brotherton* wished to know from the right hon. Baronet what was about to be done with respect to the petitions to her Majesty (praying Parliament not to be prorogued), and which had been forwarded to the Secretary of State? There was no official letter acknowledging the receipt of these petitions.

Sir *R. Peel* knew, that it was the intentention of his right hon. Friend to go down, to-morrow, to Windsor, for the purpose of presenting all the petitions, that had been received, to her Majesty.

Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, October 6, 1841.

Minutes.] New Members. W. Thompson, Esq., for Westmoreland; R. Pulsford, Esq., for Hereford (City); H. Meynell, Esq., for Lisburn; J. Ffolliott, Esq., for Sligo (County).

Petitions presented. By Sir Robert Inglis, from Billy, for the restoration of the ten suppressed Irish Bishoprics, and from Derby for inquiry into Intimidation in Ireland.—By Dr. Bowring, from William Naisby, for inquiry into death from distress at Bolton.—By Mr. Alderman Thompson, from the county of York, New Brunswick, against alteration of the Timber Duties.

Exportation of Machinery.] Mr. *Walker* begged to know whether it was intended to revive the committee which sat last year upon the subject of machinery?

Mr. *Gladstone* could not answer the question. There were many important questions connected with the Board of Trade, with reference to which it was impossible, in so short a time, to come to any positive determination; and that relating to the exportation of machinery was one. It should, however, be fully considered before next Session.

Borough of Carnarvon.] Mr. *C. Buller* rose to call the attention of the House to the petition of Lord G. Paget (presented the 1st of October,) complaining of the decision against the sufficiency of the recognizance in respect of his former petition, on the ground that it was not taken before a magistrate having jurisdiction in Westminster; and praying to be allowed to present another petition, complaining of the election and return for the borough of Carnarvon. If the question were to be decided upon the ground of strict law, he was quite aware that there was at once a decisive answer to the motion which he was about to make. But it was not on that ground he placed it; and he hoped the House would regard it as a question of equity, and give relief to the petitioner, who had been disappointed by the decision of the examiner upon a point of law for the first time raised. The ground of the failure of the recognizances was, that the magistrates before whom they were entered into was not a magistrate acting in his own county—was not a magistrate of Middlesex. The petitioner had been led into the error by no omission or negligence of his own. He had acted upon the authority of legal advisers of eminence in the profession, who informed him that the act of Parliament directing affidavits and recognizances to be sworn and taken in these matters, authorized such affidavits to be sworn before one of her Majesty's justices of the peace, and that any and every justice had power to act ministerially in the taking of such affidavits and recognizances, without reference to his local jurisdiction. Relying upon that opinion, the petitioner had acted as he did, believing that he was entering into a valid recognizance. Had he been apprised of the error in time, he could have rectified it, while it was owing to the dubious wording of the act that the error had been committed; and although, according to the strict interpretation of the law, a justice of the peace could not be said to be a justice of the peace, except in his own county, he hoped the House would not on this occasion, and under the circumstances, view the case otherwise than as one of equity. He put it to the House, whether the case of the petitioner was not one of those in which the House would grant indulgence, so that he might not be prejudiced by a technical error. The hon. and learned Member concluded by moving—

> "That Lord George Paget be allowed to present another petition, complaining of the last election and return for the borough of Carnarvon, pursuant to the prayer of the said petition."

The *Attorney-General* said, that the utmost strength of the case on behalf of the petitioner was this—that he had made a mistake, and now threw himself upon the consideration of the House, to allow him to stand in the same position as if he had not committed it. It seemed to him, however, very difficult to misunderstand the meaning of the clause in the act in question, which empowered the justice of the peace to take the recognizances, the justice of the peace being understood to mean the justice of the peace of the jurisdiction mentioned in the act. Out of his own jurisdiction the individual could not act as justice of the peace, nor was he held as such. As far, therefore, as the law of the case was concerned, there could not, he conceived, be a doubt that the decision against the petitioner had been a correct one. But an appeal was made to the good feeling of the House to allow the petitioner to retrace his steps. He could not but look with much alarm to such applications, if successful, as they opened the door to continued and indefinite appeals on the same ground from the decisions of the tribunal appointed by the act, founded on a plea to which no limit could be put; so that, in fact, the House would not know where to draw the line and stop. The Sessional orders also stood directly in the way of this application, the fourteen days having elapsed. Whether on that ground alone the House would feel itself competent to entertain the application, was a matter to be decided by the Chair.

Mr. *J. Jervis* observed, that his hon. and learned Friend had only entered on the law of the case, in order to show that there was a *bonâ fide* ground for this application. The hon. and learned Attorney-general feared that they would not know where to stop if they entertained such applications. The boundary appeared to him a very simple one. They would stop wherever they perceived that there were not *bonâ fide* grounds for granting the indulgence. He contended, that the law was by no means so clearly ascertained as that the petitioner might not reasonably have been misled in the first instance; indeed, he had acted, it appeared, in accordance with very high legal advice. It was a matter open to doubt, whether recognizances so entered into by a magistrate out of his jurisdiction might not be binding. There was the authority of Hawkins for that. Nor had the petitioners had due notice of the objection to his recognizances. The examiner had received the affidavit, and endorsed the petition, and the fourteen days were allowed to elapse before the sitting Member served his notice of objection. So that the petition was thus thrown over by a merely technical objection, and he was thus deprived, by a merely technical form, of his opportunity of contesting the seat, to which he was entitled to assume that he had a right. There were cases on record, where time, under such circumstances, had been given. In the Pontefract case, which occurred in 1837, the surety had been improperly described, and time was given to prepare a fresh petition. In the Dudley case, which also occurred in 1837, the same cause produced the same indulgence; and in the Limerick case, a similar indulgence was granted, because the affidavit had been improperly sworn to. Here were distinct cases where the rules and practice of the House had been departed from, because the petitions were *bonâ fide,* and not for the purpose of annoyance or vexation; yet in the present case, it was sought strictly to adhere to the technical rule, and thus perhaps to preserve the seat to the sitting Member, when it might turn out that he was not entitled to it. This was one of the first questions arising out of the construction of the new act, and he thought that it was a case in which the House could not do wrong by granting indulgence.

The *Solicitor-General* hoped the House would not countenance this application, as it went materially to interfere with the whole object which his right hon. Friend, the Member for Tamworth had had in view, in introducing his measure on the subject of the trial of election petitions. One main object of that measure was, to prevent the constant recurrence of discussions in that House on the merits of questions connected with election petitions, and it was most especially desired to remove the discussion and decision on such subjects from the House itself, in order to relieve it from the imputation of being guided by party motives. The cases which his hon. and learned Friend had adduced in support of his view, were precisely the class of cases which showed the House the inconvenience of interfering at all. One case was made the pretext for the introduction of another, until it was considered necessary to pass a measure that would prevent such cases coming before the House under any circumstances. The hon. and learned Gentleman said none but *boná fide* cases ought to escape from the rule; but who was to decide whether they were *boná fide* cases or not? Would not that be re-opening the whole evil which it had been the desire of his right hon. Friend to put a stop to? That being the view which he took of the case, he would not enter into the facts; but he could not help remarking, that it was extraordinary it should have been thought necessary to have recourse to any legal opinion, or that the recognizances should have been entered into at Cardigan, when there were so many justices of the peace in Westminster, and when they could have been entered into before the examiner himself. He hoped the House would not entertain the application, should the hon. and learned Gentleman press it.

Mr. *J. Jervis,* in explanation, observed, that the petitioner's agent had taken counsel's opinion on the subject.

Sir *R Peel* said, it seems to me somewhat remarkable, that the learned counsel, whose opinion was taken, did not refer to the form of the recognizances. If he had looked to the form of the recognizances, there are some words in them, which ought to have excited some suspicion in his mind that no other justice of the peace could take the recognizances, except a justice acting within his own jurisdiction. The words in the Act of Parliament are, "Any justice of the peace in the county of (blank)." It appears to me, that the Act of Parliament distinctly directs, that the justice of peace before whom the recognizances are entered into, should be a justice of the peace acting within his own jurisdiction, and not merely a justice of the peace in a certain locality. I have not the least hesitation in saying, that if the House admits the prayer of the present petition, they will go far to do away with any benefit which might be expected from the passing of the Act of Parliament. The House, with its eyes perfectly open, and fully sensible of the evils that would accrue from allowing party feelings to operate in the decision of election cases, passed that bill. That Act of Parliament appointed two tribunals; one for the trial of election petitions, namely, the select committee; the other, the examiner of recognizances, who was to decide on the validity of election recognizances. Observe the words which the act makes use of, in declaring, that the decision of the election committee shall be final and conclusive:—

> "The committee shall decide and report their decision to the House, which decision shall be final and conclusive between the parties to all intents and purposes."

And, in the other case:—

> "The decision of the examiner of recognizances shall be final and conclusive against all parties."

If, then, you consent to interfere with the decision of the examiner of recognizances, why not interfere with the decision of the committee. The terms applied to the one are not stronger than those applied to the other, and there is no reason if the House sets aside the decision of the examiner of recognizances, why parties should not come forward and say, "the decision of the committee was wrong, and set aside that also." If the House interfere to ascertain whether the parties acted with *bona fides,* there will be no end to litigation of this kind. Is it not better even to submit to some cases of hardship, even supposing them to arise, than to interfere with the decision of the courts where that decision was intended to be final and conclusive. I hope the House will not interfere to inquire whether the party acted with *bona fides* or *mala fides;* for even if the decision of the examiner were wrong, I would say, that it would be better to abide by it. I think it is better that you should allow, that that decision should be final than to go again into the matter, on the ground, that there was evidence, that the petitioner had given a large fee for advice from counsel, and that he had a right to expect good advice. Now, if you are to make it a ground, that the petition should be received, because the petitioner paid a large fee, and expected good advice, I must at once admit, with all respect for the legal profession, that I fear cases of appeal will be very numerous.

Mr. *Hawes* recommended his hon. and learned Friend to withdraw the motion. For his own part, he was prepared to abide by the words of the act; for he thought it a dangerous precedent to give this House the power of deciding whether a petition against the return of a Member was *bonâ fide* or not.

Mr. *C. Buller* felt obliged to follow the unpalateable advice of his hon. Friend, the Member for Lambeth, and was willing to withdraw the motion. He hoped, however, that what had occurred would cause petitioners to attend more carefully to the words of the act.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* wished to say a few words before the motion was withdrawn. He believed, that in the most corrupt times, in the most corrupt state of the representation, there never was more bribery, corruption, or intimidation than at the last election. He believed, that most of the Members of the present House owed their seats to such means. He did not mean to blame one side of the House more than another; for he believed the hands upon that side were not a whit cleaner than those on the other side. He wished to ask the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) whether it were his intention to propose a remedy in the course of the next Session, to put an end to bribery and intimidation?

Sir *R. Peel*—I have no personal experience of the extent of the evils of which the hon. Member complains, as I happen to represent a remarkably pure constituency, and I do not believe that there is any person in the town which I represent accessible to the influence of bribery. At the same time I am afraid that the general impression is well founded, that of late years the practice of bribery at elections has rather increased than diminished. I am sure that nobody more sincerely laments the prevalence of such practices than I do. I also regret the prevalence of treating, and I volunteered last year to give my cordial co-operation to the noble Lord when he introduced a bill for the purpose of putting an end to bribery, and putting an end, as far as was practicable, to the practice of treating. I am sure the hon. Member opposite is himself aware of the difficulty of dealing with a matter of this kind, and of the extreme danger in any stringent enactment of interfering with the liberty of the subject, so far as that the remedy might not be worse than the evil which it was to remove. At the same time I have no hesitation to say that I will give my cordial assent to any measure that shall appear to me calculated to put an end to all undue treating. I think it very probable that the noble Lord the Member for London, may call the attention of the House to this subject next Session. It is a subject of great difficulty; and I hope that the hon. Member will not at present require from me any pledge that I will bring in a bill on the subject. At the same time I will give the subject every consideration, and I cordially concur with the hon. Member in the desire that these practices should be extinguished, so far as laws can extinguish them.

Mr. *Ewart* wished to ask the right hon. Baronet, whether he would go to meet the real source of the evil by adopting a different distribution of the constituencies? He could assure the House, that, as he believed, as long as they had small constituencies they never could eradicate the evil.

Sir *R. Peel*—I will tell the hon. Member at once that my confidence in the particular remedy he has suggested has been much abated by recent experience. The hon. Member for Finsbury has said, that at the last election bribery and corruption prevailed to a greater extent than was ever before known. I think there cannot be a question that the Reform Bill made a great increase in the constituencies. One of the benefits expected from the Reform Bill was that it would diminish bribery; but yet we hear it avowed that since the extension of the constituencies, bribery and corruption have prevailed to a greater extent than before. When I hear this I am compelled to doubt whether a further increase of the constituencies would be an effectual remedy for bribery and corruption.

Mr. *Ewart*—My observations were only intended to apply to the small constituencies.

Sir *R. Peel*—Some of the worst cases which I heard of took place in the large towns. In some places the extent of bribery and corruption was enormous. It would be invidious to name particular places, but I believe that the metropolitan towns of certain counties might be named. If certain election petitions which have been presented should be persevered in, and which I hope will be the case, it will show that some of the worst cases of bribery have occurred in large towns. Nothing would give me more satisfaction than to see the cases of some of those large towns taken up by the House, and that signal examples should be made of those places by disfranchising their constituencies, whether they were small or large towns, in which those corrupt practices occurred.

Dr. *Bowring* begged to ask the right hon. Baronet if he did not think that the introduction of the vote by ballot would do away with the system of bribery?

Sir *R. Peel*—I will not at present enter into that question; but my great objection to the vote by ballot is that it tends to increase, rather than diminish, bribery and corruption.

Mr. *H. R. Yorke* said, that the right hon. Baronet had been pleased to say, that bribery was as extensive, and more so, since the Reform Bill than before; but he would not suggest to the right hon. Baronet the inference, that a reform of the Reform Bill was necessary, and that a new system would be better calculated to win the respect of the country than the present, which was allowed to be productive of so much corruption.

Sir *R. Peel:* I should deprecate the logical interference to be drawn from the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman, which would be a repeal of the Reform Bill.

Motion withdrawn.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (SCOTLAND).] Mr. *Wakley* said, he did not rise for the purpose of submitting any motion to the House; but if he was out of order in addressing it, without making a motion, he would do so. The question connected with the custody of insane persons, was one of great importance, and the general impression respecting the law on the subject was, that it required improvement, not only with regard to the manner of sending persons to the asylum, but also with regard to the manner in which they were treated when there. The first law on this subject relating to Scotland was passed in the year 1815, and he believed that it was designed in a beneficent spirit. However, cases had occurred, which proved that it was ineffectual in securing the object for which it was passed. It appeared that by that statute, the custody of insane persons was intrusted to the sheriffs, who had the power, not only to send persons to a lunatic asylum, but to issue orders for their proper care after they were sent to those establishments. He would not detain the House many minutes in stating a case, which, he could assure them, was well worthy of their attention. In April, 1840, a gentleman seated in his breakfast-room was visited by the keeper of an asylum near Glasgow, who entered his apartment with a warrant from the sheriff, for the purpose of taking him to his asylum. The gentleman asked at whose instance the warrant had been issued, but he received no reply. He then asked the name of the medical gentleman who had testified to his insanity. But he received no reply, and it appeared that the sheriff, without seeing the party, had issued a warrant for sending him to the lunatic asylum. The keeper of the asylum accompanied the patient. Within one week after he had been in the asylum, he addressed the sheriff on the subject, entreating him to state at whose instance he was confined, and beseeching him to pay him a visit. To that letter, which was transmitted on the 1st of May, 1840, he received no answer. On the 27th ot June, one of the visiting physicians who attended the asylum admitted, in the presence of the governor, that he saw no symptom of insanity in the mind of the patient. On the 4th, and on the 21st of July, the same physician made a similar admission, but said he thought the patient should undergo a longer probation. On the 30th of September, one of the sheriff's substitutes, and two additional physicians attended the asylum, and the patient, in their presence, entreated that his case might be examined, declaring that he was ready to submit to any test, and that he believed that he was confined in consequence of some misunderstanding with his family. All these entreaties were made without avail. On the 8th of October, the brother of the patient attended. The patient asked him why he was confined? and the reply of his brother was, that he believed it was owing to the interference of a parcel of doctors. On the 16th of October, the patient again requested that there might be an investigation of his case, and the application was again refused. On the 4th of September he intreated the governor of the institution to place him in a private room, and thus to remove him from constant intercourse with the insane people, stating that it was his sincere belief, that an attempt was being made to drive him mad. This application was also refused, although the patient declared that he was prepared to pay all the expenses. In this case he purposely abstained from mentioning names, because it was too late in the Session for the parties to answer the statement, but there were some names which he would mention. On the 26th of September, the visiting physician again attended, and, in the presence of a keeper, John Walker, he declared that he believed that the gentleman of whose case he was speaking was perfectly sane. The testimonial of John Walker was as follows:—

> "June 24, 1841.—I certify that I have seen Mr. William ——, daily for more than ten months, during which time he has always been of sound mind, and very quiet. I also heard Dr. ——, declare, that he was quite well on the 26th of December last, and I told that to Dr. ——.
>
> "John Walker, Keeper."

On the 2nd of January, the keeper of the asylum admitted to the patient, that he believed he had been placed in confinement in consequence of some quarrels with his family. He requested the keeper of the asylum to interfere with his relatives, and to permit him to be admitted to a public examination; but all his applications were unavailing. On the 13th of February, the visiting physician again admitted that he was well. On the 4th of June it appeared that Mr. Douglas, a surgeon, was called in, and he gave the following certificate, that the gentleman was not insane:—

> "—— House, June 21, 1841.
>
> "I have this day visited Mr. William ——, and see nothing insane about him at present.
>
> "James Douglas, Surgeon."

On the 21st of June, the same surgeon again attended, but the doctor, in whose custody he was lodged, refused to receive the certificate of the surgeon, and said he would receive no testimonial or certificate, except from the sheriff, or the physician of the institution. On the 29th of June, after he had been in prison fourteen months, the sheriff visited the asylum, when he examined the case, and the gentleman believed he had given the sheriff every satisfaction. He entreated him to grant a public investigation of the case, and he referred him to the affidavits of John Walker, and of the visiting physician. The sheriff said that he would take the case into his consideration, but a week having elapsed, during which he had heard nothing from the sheriff on the subject, he, being in the garden, forced back the lock of the door, and made his escape, after having been in confinement for fourteen months. He did not consider himself safe in Scotland; he therefore at once fled across the border, and reached Carlisle. He had been only a few days in that city, when the keeper of the asylum, accompanied by a person of gigantic strength, entered the apartment he occupied in the hotel, and attempted to seize him as a madman, and carry him back to Scotland. He escaped from the room, and meeting the chambermaid on the stairs, desired her to go and fetch a sharp attorney for him. No application was made to any legal adviser, but he told the people of the hotel his case, and entreated them to rescue him. They did interfere, and he was taken before the Mayor of Carlisle; and after an examination in open court, before the mayor and two magistrates, he was by them released from the custody of the keeper. Indeed, it did not appear upon what authority the keeper had arrested him in Carlisle. The magistrates gave him a certificate, stating that they had examined him, and that he had shown no symptoms of insanity, and therefore they had released him from the custody of the keeper. That certificate was as follows:-

> "On Wednesday, the 21st day of July, 1841, Mr. William —— was brought before us, having been pursued from Scotland by Dr. ——, from a private asylum near Glasgow, who wished us to detain him, he having escaped from that asylum; but on examining the said William ——, he showed no symptoms of insanity, and consequently we refused to interfere. (Signed)
>
> "John Dixon, Mayor of Carlisle.
> John Fawcett, J. P.
> George Flint, J. P."

The Gentleman who had suffered in this way was at present in London, and had been introduced to him by a Member of that House. He did not dare to return to Scotland, lest he should be again seized and sent to the asylum. He wished to ask the Lord-advocate if he could hold out any hope, that, if that gentleman should return to his family and his property, he would not be again subjected to the treatment which he had already suffered. He knew that by law the sheriff had ample power; but whether it was that he had not time to attend to his duties, or for some other reason, this gentleman did not dare to return to his native country, for fear of being again subjected to similar persecutions. The very character of the House was concerned in the matter. The sheriff, according to the 55th of George the 3rd, was bound to liberate the party if improperly confined. Until the party in the present instance was confined eleven months it did not appear that the sheriff paid him a visit. The person in this case did not know the name of the individual at whose instance, nor of the medical gentleman on whose certificate, he was confined. The hon. Member concluded by moving for a return of the persons confined in the lunatic asylums in Scotland in the years 1840 and 1841.

Sir *W. Rae* said, that nothing could be more distressing than that a person of sound mind should be imprisoned in a lunatic asylum. He gave the hon. Gentleman due credit for the caution he had observed in not mentioning the names of the individuals. He would have wished that he had observed the same caution with respect to the place from which the complaint came, for he had mentioned that the individual was confined in a private asylum near Glasgow. He thought the wiser course would have been for the hon. Member to have mentioned the case to him some days before, and he would have inquired into the matter, and be enabled to afford some explanation, but until the hon. Member rose to state the case, he knew nothing of it whatever. All he could promise the hon. Member was, that he would make the most minute and anxious inquiry into the facts of the case. The subject was one to which he had paid much attention, and in which he felt the deepest possible interest. Under the present state of the law, if any person received into a lunatic asylum an individual without a warrant from the sheriff of the county, he was liable to a pecuniary penalty. The course of proceeding in such cases was to make an application to the sheriff to lodge the party in the asylum. The sheriff could only grant the requisite authority on a medical certificate of a particular description. The members of the University of Edinburgh, and of the faculty of Glasgow, had four members of their number appointed inspectors of madhouses in Scotland, and the medical certificate should be written by one of those inspectors, and by one of them alone. From his own experience as frequent official visitor to lunatic asylums, he knew that many persons who were insane would maintain that they were in their perfect senses, and their insanity only displayed itself when they were addressed on some particular point. He knew that there was a description of insane persons who obstinately protested their sanity, and who generally succeeded in proving it until touched upon the particular cause of mania, when their disordered state of mind soon became apparent. He feared that the case which had been brought under the notice of the House by the hon. Member for Finsbury, was one of that description. However, every pains should be taken to ascertain the truth.

Mr. *Wakley* trusted the unfortunate gentleman, whose case he had laid before the house would obtain the protection he solicited, and he hoped the whole subject of the treatment of the insane would undergo investigation next Session, as the state of many private madhouses in this country was a disgrace to the age. He would suggest, that before a party could be confined in any madhouse, whether public or private, he should be taken before a public tribunal and examined.

Motion withdrawn.

TAMWORTH MEMORIAL.] Mr. *Ward* wished to put a question to the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, relating to a circumstance which had excited great surprise in Tamworth. A memorial had been sent up from that borough to be presented to her Majesty by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. A report was current that a copy of the memorial, with signatures appended, had been sent from the Home Office to the mayor of Tamworth, and subjected to a scrutiny of the signatures. The person who had stated this to him was a man of the greatest respectability, who was incapable of circulating any assertion destitute of foundation. A hand-bill had also been published in the place, stating that the names to the petition were all genuine, and that every person had given his address, which showed that the impression of the truth of the report was genuine. He had never heard that the course of making an inquiry into the signatures of a petition had been hitherto adopted, and he hoped to receive from the right hon. Baronet a denial of the fact, or an explanation of the circumstances.

Sir *J. Graham* was not aware, until about five minutes ago, that the hon.

Gentleman intended to put this question. The hon. Gentleman was quite right in what he had stated in the beginning of his remarks, and he (Sir J. Graham) had had the honour that day to present the Tamworth petition to her Majesty, exactly as he had received it. Her Majesty was informed of the number of signatures appended to it, and of the prayer of the petition. The hon. Gentleman had also been rightly informed that, before he laid the petition before her Majesty, he had thought it his duty to verify the signatures annexed to that petition. The hon. Gentleman said that before making his statement to the House he had received information which he believed to come from a credible quarter. He acted with the same precaution, and before transmitting the petition to Tamworth, to ascertain the authenticity of the signatures, he was informed on authority entitled to credit that the petition had been most improperly got up, that false signatures had been put to it, and that many of the petitioners were not free agents when they signed it. He had felt that no petition ought to be presented to her Majesty respecting which these statements could be made with truth, and he had therefore resolved, as the most direct and open conduct he could pursue, to send the petition, without the slightest concealment to the mayor of Tamworth, stating the report made to him, and asking him to verify the facts. He now held in his hand the report of the mayor of Tamworth, which, to a very considerable extent, bore out the original statement, but, on considering it, he did not think it so impugned the character of the petition as to justify him in withholding it from her Majesty. But since the hon. Gentleman had asked the question, and stated it to be his impression that all the signatures were genuine, he would just read the document, in order that it might be seen in what manner the signatures were obtained. The following was the mayor's report:—

"Tamworth, Sep. 30, 1841.

"Sir—Having had the honour to receive your letter of the 25th inst., together with the address which I now return, I proceeded with the assistance of some of my friends to collect the following information:—

"The assistance to which I have alluded has been rendered by such persons as I considered, from their extensive and familiar knowledge of the inhabitants, would the most readily be able to recognise the signatures to the address, if *bonâ fide*.

"In the first place we found a very great number of the names to be those of persons totally unknown to us, which could not have been the case had they been really inhabitants of this borough. Whether, therefore, as to this portion, the names be of persons who exist or not elsewhere, neither I nor any friends can undertake to assert.

"There is also throughout the list of names a very frequent repetition of signatures; as, for instance, the name of George Starkey occurs three times, when in fact, they are only two of that name. The name of Thomas Starkey occurs three times, although there is only one of that name. The name of John Starkey occurs three times, there being only one of the name; there are the names of two William Starkeys, neither of whom consented to have his name put down; also two Sarah Starkeys and two Elizabeth Starkeys, although in fact there is only one of each, and Chas. Starkey's name appears, though there is no such person. The name of William Deville occurs three times, though there is but one of that name. The name of John Clarson occurs three times, though, in fact, there are only two of that name, excepting an infant two years old; and none who consented to sign. The names of Charles Clarson occurs twice, there being only one who consented to sign the petition. The name of Ann Clarson also occurs, though there is no such person; and the name of Catherine Clarson occurs twice, though none of that name can be found. The name of Buxton occurs twenty times; though there are only seven of that name. We have not thought it requisite further to multiply instances of this kind, and, therefore, our inquiry has been limited to only a few names; but we have no doubt, were we to extend our inquiry, that the same sort of repetition would be found to occur throughout.

"It also appears that very many inhabitants, whose names are attached to the petition, neither signed it themselves, nor consented to have their names put down by others. The following are a few of the instances:—

"The names of John and Ann Westbury are attached entirely without their knowledge or consent, and these names also occur twice over. The names of William Farebrother and his wife, of Joseph, Thomas, and Henry Woodcock, of Mary and William Coleman, and of John Coleman, are each attached without consent, and the latter twice over, unless it be of an infant of that name, only two years of age. The names of Samuel, of Sarah, and of Ellen Bailey, are of the same class; as are also those of William Wilcox, of his wife, and an apprentice, and many other instances of the same kind could be added, if requisite.

"The names of vagrants in lodging-houses have been numerously attached, and the names of Joseph Fenton, of William Taylor, and of

William Seale, are also to the petition, although these three persons were at the time, and still are, confined in Stafford gaol on charges of felony.

"It is evident that but few of the signatures are the hand-writing of the persons whom they are intended to represent, and we find that people have gone from house to house obtaining names of whole families, without regard to age, and having entered these names in a book, have added them afterwards to the petition, though, at the time, the names were taken, no petition was produced, and the names thus taken would be given by one member only of a family, and that not unfrequently a child."

This was the mode in which many of the signatures had been obtained, but as he had said before, he had not thought it formed sufficient grounds for withholding the petition.

Mr. *Ward* expressed his regret that the hon. Baronet had not resorted to a public inquiry. The report could at best be considered merely as a one-sided report.

Sir *James Graham:* It is the report of the mayor of the town.

Mr. *Ward:* The mayor of a town is not always an impartial authority.

Mr. *Wakley:* I hope that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government will now admit some doubt as to the surpassing purity of Tamworth.

Sir *R. Peel:* Quite the reverse. If strangers come to Tamworth and endeavour to contaminate the electors, that is no reason why I should doubt the purity of the latter. Surely the hon. Member would not class the prisoners in Stafford gaol amongst the electors of Tamworth.

Mr. *W. Williams* wished to ask the right hon. the Secretary for the Home Department, how many signatures were attached to the Tamworth memorial?

Sir *J. Graham:* I do not recollect the exact number—somewhere about two thousand; but the hon. Member will, of course, make some abatement after the statement I have read.

Subject at an end.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.] Mr. *Thornley* wished to ask the right hon. Baronet, whether, in consequence of the addresses which had been presented to her Majesty, Government had altered their intentions respecting the prorogation.

Sir *R. Peel:* In answer to the question of the hon. Member, I beg to state that Government have not thought it expedient to alter the advice they had previously given to her Majesty respecting the prorogation of Parliament.

Sir *R. Peel* moved that the House do now adjourn.

FINANCE.] Mr. *F. T. Baring,* as he might not have another opportunity, wished now to advert to a statement, which he perceived through those channels of information to which all had access, had been made in another place, bearing upon his own conduct while he had the honour to hold that office now filled by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge. The statement to which he alluded had been made on an authority entitled to respect, not only from himself, but from every one, and he should be glad to hear the view taken of the subject by the right hon. Gentleman. It was said, that besides the deficiency of 2,500,000*l.* for the present year, which he had stated to the House while the budget was under discussion, there was a large additional deficiency, of which he had neglected to take any notice. He was not in the habit of making statements, either privately or publicly, by which he was not willing to abide. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had likewise brought forward a budget, and the right hon. Gentleman had followed the statements which he had found it his duty to make, and had adopted his figures without making the slightest allusion to any deficiency beyond what he had stated. He did not like to use harsh language, but he must say, if he had deceived the public by making false statements of the sums required for the public service, he was utterly unworthy of the confidence which the House had placed in him, and of the situation which the goodness of her Majesty had confided to him. He should be glad, therefore, to learn from the right hon. Gentleman opposite whether this large deficiency existed, as they were given to understand? He wished also to know if the right hon. Gentleman had found that the sums, the figures of which the right hon. Gentleman had adopted from his budget, with the exception of a few minor items, left out of calculation on account of communications to be made by the Governor-general of Canada, were not fixed at the fair and proper amount necessary for the service of the year? The right hon. Gentleman was bound to have stated to the country the fact, if it were not so. He had fully entered his protest against the course which had been pursued by the Government; but had there been any such large deficiency concealed by the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, the right hon. Gentleman must have well known of these inaccuracies, whatever they were, yet had not once alluded to any such circumstances. Now, he used no harsh language—he well knew how improper it was; he perfectly well knew also how utterly insignificant he was in comparison with the illustrious individual to whom he was referring; his only anxiety was to defend himself, and without using a single expression inconsistent with the high respect he had for the distinguished authority on which the statement he alluded to had been made. He did think he had a right to call upon the right hon. Gentleman for an explanation. He would further state this, that as to the estimates for the succeeding years (though it was well known how difficult such estimates must necessarily be), which he had stated at 50,000,000*l.*, with the exception of one item, as to China, which it was clear had only been in the nature of a vote on account, seeing how very probable it was that circumstances might arise creating a necessity for a larger expense than was estimated—taking into consideration treaties effected by his noble Friend, which it was fair, in his opinion, to presume would afford opportunities for further reduction of expenses—he did think, upon the whole, that, so far as the calculation could have been made at the period of his quitting office, he had not been far out in estimating the permanent expenditure at 50,000,000*l.* He thought the House would agree with him, at all events, that he could have hardly done less than bring the statement he had mentioned before them in the manner he had done.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was one of the inconveniences of adverting to statements made elsewhere that the House could never be very accurately informed of the precise words alluded to, and it was a still greater inconvenience that, as in the present case, the person of whom the explanation was asked had often no opportunity of conferring with the individual whose language was referred to. For, as he had told the right hon. Gentleman, he had not even seen the printed statement to which he had adverted, until it had been shown to him by the right hon. Gentleman that evening; and, having since been waiting in the expectation of the matter being mentioned, he had not been able to see the distinguished individual referred to. But on reading the statement he confessed that he had put upon it a different interpretation from that which had been imagined by the right hon. Gentleman. He had not understood the statement to be of a deficiency over and above the estimate for this year, which the right hon. Gentleman had stated at 2,500,000*l.*; and if the right hon. Gentleman would look more closely at it, he would see that even in the reported statement the individual making it had brought it forward as a reason for not, at the present period, being impelled to a full development of financial schemes, as to the manner in which the wants of the country were hereafter to be met; because (stating reasons against such precipitation) that individual had seen, in addition to the existing deficiency of 2,500,000*l.*, difficulties enough to grapple with. There were other great expenses connected with the colonies (that he had peculiarly noticed), which it would be necessary shortly to provide for. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman had been in the House when the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government made a reply to the noble Lord opposite on a recent occasion, he would have heard stated those very facts, connected with additional expenditure to be apprehended, to which it must be evident that the expression in the reported statement referred. The right hon. Gentleman would have heard that there was a prospect of greater expenditure in several colonies and in China, for which provision would have to be made; and the argument founded upon those statements was natural enough, that to provide for such apprehended additions to our expenditure full time for consideration ought to be allowed the Government. This was as it appeared to him (Mr. Goulburn), the real sense of the statement, not that the right hon. Gentleman had concealed any deficiency of which he was aware at the time he made his estimate, but that before anything like a permanent arrangement could be made upon financial matters, not only the existing deficiency must be supplied, but those expenses provided for which must be anticipated from various quarters of the globe. This was all the explanation he could give—the *bona fide* sense which he attached to the statement referred to—and a sense in which he did not think even the right hon. Gentleman would be able to dispute it.

Mr. *Baring* said, he was quite satisfied with the explanation, which, as he understood it was, that the statement referred only to expenses anticipated—not incurred—but which were necessary to be taken into the calculations incident to a general financial arrangement. Now, although, as was well known, he differed from the right hon. Gentleman opposite as to the conclusion to be deduced, he should not have deemed it necessary, had he understood the statement in that sense, to have come up to the House (at considerable inconvenience) for the purpose of asking explanation.

Sir *R. Peel* said, unfortunately there had been a discussion upon that very subject in that House when the right hon. Gentleman was not present; and although he had not had the opportunity of examining the precise terms of the reported statement, he thought it would not be doubted that his noble Friend (it was idle to affect ignorance of who was intended) had the same impression in making that statement as he (Sir R. Peel) had given expression to in the discussion of which he was speaking. In the observations which he had then made in the presence of the noble Lord lately at the head of the Colonial Department, he had not at all impeached the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's estimates for the present year; on the contrary, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had adopted those estimates, and had said, that though there had been circumstances which might have accounted for any errors, yet upon the whole, he believed the calculations of the right hon. Gentleman opposite as to the probable deficit, might be assumed to be correct. When he (Sir R. Peel) had spoken on the former occasion he had reason to apprehend considerable expenses not falling within the estimate of what was to be provided for in the present year—not at all impugning the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's calculations, yet considerable expenses which must be calculated in attempting an estimate for future years. He had particularly referred to the state of New South Wales, quoting a despatch (to which certainly, the right hon. Gentleman had not referred, nor had opportunity of referring) showing that engagements had been entered into by the governor entailing an expense of 900,000*l.*, which must be borne either by the colonial or imperial Government, (and of which no estimate had hitherto been made) the probable extent of the liabilities to be foreseen by this country being accounted at not less than 500,000*l.* on this head. To New Zealand he had also referred and the liabilities incurred there for bills actually drawn. Then he had mentioned (though some ridicule had been cast upon it) the expense of the establishment which it appeared had been contemplated on the small island in Canton river; such were some of the expenses (amounting, as they could not but do, to considerable sums) to which he was persuaded his noble Friend in the upper House had referred, rather than to any inaccuracy on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. Now, in this sense, he must say, that he believed no doubt could be entertained of the truth of this statement, and that it must not be assumed that the expenditure of the present year was necessarily the measure of that of future years; and that the expenses connected with the colonies—as they must be provided for somehow (though he trusted they would be borne by the colonies)—should not be left out of view in calculating our future engagements.

Viscount *Palmerston* said, when the statement alluded to had been pointed out to him, his impression had been certainly the same with that expressed by his right hon. Friend; however, an explanation had been made, which, coupled with the correct representation given by the right hon. Baronet of the discussion the other night, was satisfactory. As this was the last opportunity he might have he would avail himself of it, not to renew former discussions—the Government had taken their time as to the prorogation and the postponing of all announcements of intention as to important measures; he would not attempt to revive those discussions, but he did hope the Government would feel that the questions he alluded to were of such a nature that they must be prepared to come to a decision upon them; and that it was not to be supposed that "the chapter of accidents" would lead to such a change of circumstances as to dispense with the necessity for coming to such a decision; and, above all, he begged of them, to bear in mind that no circumstances could reasonably be apprehended which could dispense with the obligation on the part of the Government to prove and to declare to Parliament their determination on that great question—the

Corn-laws, and on our whole commercial policy. He would entreat them to consider this, persuaded as he was that the public would never be contented with the proposition to Parliament of some petty change in the "pivot," or some slight alteration of the "sliding scale;" and that even supposing the existing distress to subside, the country would not be satisfied with any measure short of one which would substantially, *bona fide*, permit the introduction of foreign corn at a moderate fixed duty.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he would not enter into the discussion (which the noble Lord while professing to deprecate, seemed disposed to invite) regarding the Corn-laws, or our commercial policy; as to these questions, the determination which he had frequently stated was unshaken, and it was not to be expected that on the eve of a prorogation he should deviate from his resolution of abstinence from premature disclosures. And as to what the noble Lord had kindly dropped in the way of advice, he could assure the noble Lord that the result of his experience of former Governments was, that he entertained a very deep dislike and distrust of any dependence on the "chapter of accidents."

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, *October* 7, 1841.

MINUTES.] Bills. Received the Royal Assent:—Exchequer Bills Funding; Exchequer Bills Appropriation; Poor-law Comisssion; Population Payments.

Petitions presented. By Lord Brougham, from British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for the abolition of Slavery.—By Lord Foley, from Bristol, for a Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Lord Brougham, from W. H. Inglis, relating to Coinage; and from J. Quail, M. D., for Remuneration for Services.

BRIBERY AT ELECTIONS.] Lord *Brougham* presented a petition to which he begged to call the particular attention of their Lordships, from a respectable member of the Society of Friends, Edwin Swan Rickman, complaining of the dreadful excitement, intimidation, and corruption which he had witnessed at the late election for the place of his residence, and states, that in many of the places in the three kingdoms, where he had since been, the same scenes were said, by all he saw, to have been exhibited; and praying for the prevention of canvassing. Whatever he might think of the remedy, he (Lord Brougham) thought the subject of the petition deserving of the most attentive consideration. He now called their Lordships' attention to it, with the view of inducing them, during the recess, to apply their minds to the question, and in the hope that they might be led to support a proposition which would be made to them either by him, if he were spared, or by some one else, to enter into an inquiry on the subject. He wished the feeling were strong and universal of the moral guilt involved in bribery. He wished it was everywhere felt that a man taking a bribe was morally guilty of perjury, as completely as a man having planned and resolved to commit a murder, morally incurred the guilt of blood, though by accident blood might not be shed. A man taking a bribe was morally guilty of perjury, because he was ready to take the bribery oath. He held candidates and their friends to be persons chiefly guilty. When a man was about to contest a place, his first question—at least, the first after asking whether he were likely to succeed—was "How much will it cost?" If he were answered three or four hundred pounds, it was all very well, because the lawful cost might amount to so much. But if he were informed that it would take three or four thousand pounds, and went to the contest on such terms, he was morally guilty of the bribery that ensued, because he must know that since Lord Grey's Reform Bill, the legal expenses could not be more than the smaller sum, and that the larger one could only be required for bribery. Since the Bill, then, and in consequence of it, no candidate could pretend ignorance of the bribery his money went to support. It was lamentable to think, that bribery and intimidation had been more rife of late than in former times, though there were some brilliant exceptions. He knew of one case in which a person lost his election by a single vote, and refused to be a party to undue means of bringing back the voter who determined it, and who had been drawn over by his adversaries. He preferred to lose his seat, which he did lose, to being a party to such a proceeding. Another instance was that of his noble Friend, the son of the author of the Reform Bill. Lord Howick was engaged in two contested elections, and on both occasions took effectual means for preventing unlawful interference. He had come forward and said, he would neither allow his influence to be used, nor thank any friend of his who should use that influence; and he also freed all those over whom he or his family had any influence from all obligation to vote for him. Such conduct was most honourable; but it was also most fitting, and most worthy of that distinguished family, and the Great Statesman at its head; for what could be more appropriate, than that they who had been the first to make the possession of the elective franchise extensive, should also be the most strenuous to keep the exercise of it pure? He knew others, some filling and adorning the highest ranks in that House, who regarded bribery with such abhorrence, that they refused to contribute anything to what were called election funds, because they could not feel secure that their money would not be spent in bribing the electors; and yet these noble persons were as zealous in devotion to their principles, as anxious to further the progress of those principles, by promoting the election of men, agreeing with them in opinion, and were as generous, as munificent in the disposal of their money for all lawful purposes, as any individuals in or out of that House. With regard to intimidation at elections, he should observe that in his opinion it was all but as bad as bribery. He held, that any person whatever, whether priest, peer, or prince, or the coadjutor of a priest, the agent of a peer, or the servant of a prince, who interfered to prevent a man from the free exercise of the franchise, by threats, forced that voter's conscience, and did a criminal act. He said so, because the law declared that elections should be free; and also commanded every one so to use his own property, as not to injure his neighbour. In his belief, it was an offence by the laws of England to threaten a voter either with a loss of his tenement, or any other loss, if he did not vote in a particular way; and if in the opinion of any one it was not an offence indictable by the law, as it now stood, he hoped that another Session would not pass without its being made indictable. But until he heard the contrary from the judges of the land, he should continue to hold it an offence punishable, either for a priest to threaten a voter with a refusal of the rites of religion, or for a landlord to threaten a voter with the loss of his tenement, or for a Court-lord to threaten a voter with the loss of Court custom. There could be no doubt, that a public officer who so acted, was guilty of an offence for which he was impeachable; but he had yet to learn, that in any one it was not indictable; and he did not expect to learn this, either from the first civil, nor certainly from the first criminal judge in the country. He would close his observations on this subject by giving another instance of a refusal on the part of a candidate unduly to influence constituents. It was recorded in the history of the Court of George 3rd, that a noble person, being a candidate for the borough of Windsor, at a very early period of his life, refused to allow the Court tradesmen to be spoken to by any of the officers of the household, and thus risked the loss of their votes. A complaint having been made to the King upon the subject by one of those over-zealous and officious persons who are always to be found at Court as elsewhere, his Majesty sent for that noble person and said to him, "You did quite right; it was much better that you should lose a few votes, than that my tradesmen should be influenced by the officers of my household." The case he referred to, derived an additional interest from considering who the noble candidate was. That candidate was the brother of his noble Friend opposite (the Duke of Wellington), then Lord Mornington, now Marquess Wellesley; and such was the auspicious dawn of a public life which had since shone forth with so surpassing a lustre.

Petition to be laid on the Table of the House.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.] The Commissioners for proroguing Parliament — namely, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Lord Wharncliffe, having taken their seats, and

The *Speaker*, with several Members, having appeared at the bar, the commission for giving the royal assent to several bills was read, and the royal assent was given with the usual formalities.

The *Lord Chancellor* read the speech as follows:—

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"We are commanded by her Majesty to acquaint you that it appears advisable to her Majesty to bring to a close the present Session of Parliament.

"In conformity with the advice of her Parliament, and in pursuance of the declared intentions of her Majesty, her Majesty has taken the requisite measures for the formation of a new Administration, and the arrangements for that purpose have been completed by her Majesty.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,

" We have it in command from her Majesty to thank you for the supplies which you have granted to her Majesty for those branches of the public service for which complete provision had not been made by the late Parliament.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" The measures which it will be expedient to adopt for the purpose of equalizing the public income and the annual expenditure, and other important objects connected with the trade and commerce of the country, will necessarily occupy your attention at an early period after the recess.

" Her Majesty has commanded us to repeat the expression of her deep concern at the distress which has prevailed for a considerable period in some of the principal manufacturing districts, and to assure you that you may rely upon the cordial concurrence of her Majesty in all such measures as shall appear, after mature consideration, best calculated to prevent the recurrence of that distress, and to promote the great object of all her Majesty's wishes—the happiness and contentment of her people."

The commission for the prorogation of Parliament was read; after which

The *Lord Chancellor* declared, it was her Majesty's command that the Parliament should be prorogued to Thursday, the 11th of November next. Parliament accordingly prorogued to the 11th day of November next.

Their Lordships separated.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, October 7, 1841.

MINUTES.] New Members. John Young, Esq. Cavan, (co.) Viscount Somerton, for Wilton.

New Writ. For Linlithgowshire, in the room of the hon. C. Hope, Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital.

Petitions presented. By Mr. T. Duncombe, from the Cobbet Club, for Universal Suffrage; and from Proprietors of Norfolk and Norwich Monitor Magazine, complaining of proceedings under the Stamp Acts.—By Mr. Stanton, from Stroud, for the Repeal of the Corn-laws.—By Sir Robert Peel, from Banff for Protection to voters.

INTIMIDATION OF ELECTORS.] Mr. *T. Duncombe* presented a petition from eight electors in Chippenham, complaining of what was not only a breach of privilege of that House, but also an infringement in the freedom of election. He had only received the petition that morning, and had not been able to show it to either of the Members for Chippenham; but it appeared from the petition that the petitioners were tenants at will of one of those hon. Members, and that they had declined to support him at the last general election, inasmuch as they had voted for the Liberal Member. This conduct it appeared, had not satisfied Mr. Neeld, and they had received notice to quit their holdings, in consequence of the vote which they had given. The petitioners complained that this was not only a positive infringement of the liberties of the House, but also a direct violation of the freedom of election. He was afraid that this was not a solitary instance, and that Mr. Neeld was not more to blame than many others. [*Cries of " Order, order."*] This was a question which he thought required immediate redress, and, therefore, they had a right to discuss it. He was about to say, that he did not think Mr. Neeld was more to blame than many other landlords.

The *Speaker* said, that the petition was not one which prayed for immediate redress, and, therefore, the hon. Member was irregular.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, he would in that case read the prayer of the petition, which was to the effect, that some measures might be adopted, in order better to secure the freedom of election, or, if such steps were not adopted, to take away from them the right of voting. The petitioners stated they were ready to prove the facts alleged, and besought the House to give such protection to the voter, in the free exercise of his vote, as to the House might seem fit. He moved that the petition be printed with the votes.

The *Speaker* said, it was necessary to give notice of such a motion.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, that his reasons for having the petition printed, were, because it complained of the conduct of certain Members in violating the privileges of the House, by interfering in the free election of Members of Parliament. It was his intention to call the attention of the House to this subject next Session, and he, therefore, thought that the petition ought to be printed. In connection with this question, he might take that opportunity of stating, that he was sorry to hear the right hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, declare, while he admitted the extent of the bribery and corruption, that he was not prepared, and that he did not intend to bring forward any bill for the purpose of putting an end to so disgraceful a system. A noble Lord, a Member of that House, last Session had given notice of his intention to bring in a bill on the subject, but such a measure, he thought, ought to come from a Minister of the Crown; and that noble Lord would have some cause to complain if the right hon. Baronet, while occupying the seat which that noble Lord occupied some months ago, threw on him the duty, while the right hon. Baronet pocketed what had been called the fee.

Sir *R. Inglis* rose to order. However amusing this might be, yet while they were waiting for certain knocks, he thought it was contrary.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* was surprised, that so old a Member as the right hon. Baronet should call him to order when he was so disorderly himself. He was not presumed to know anything about the knocks which the right hon. Baronet anticipated. He was merely arguing that the petition which he had presented should be printed, to which course he hoped there would be no objection.

Sir *R. Peel* did not say that he would not bring forward any bill on the subject referred to by the hon. Member for Finsbury, because he had determined not to make any promise which various circumstances might prevent him from fulfilling; all that he had said on the subject was, that he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press him to enter into any engagement to bring in a bill for the prevention of treating and bribery. With respect to the medical allusions of the hon. Member, he ought to be aware that there were certain delicacies in professional practice, which forbade him to interfere until the patient was formally given up. The noble Lord, the Member for London, had paid great attention to the subject—had not expressed any wish to be relieved of his duties in this respect—and was perfectly entitled to introduce any measure which he thought calculated to put an end to the evils complained of. All that he had said, was, that he was unwilling to give a positive pledge on the subject.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* did not see why it ought to be left in the hands of the noble Lord. In his opinion, it ought to be a Government measure.

Petition laid on the Table.

TAMWORTH MEMORIAL.] Mr. *Yorke* said, he wished to know, in regard to the Tamworth petition, whether the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, would have any objection to lay before the House the information on which he acted, and the sources from whence it was obtained.

Sir *James Graham* said, that under the circumstances, he must decline producing the information sought for, inasmuch as the hon. Member for Sheffield had given notice of a motion on this subject for next Session. Notwithstanding this, he should have hesitated complying with the wish of the hon. Member for York, but since such a notice had been given, he would postpone, till that motion came before the House, any further explanation that might be called for.

Subject at an end.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.] The House was summoned to attend the Lords Commissioners appointed to prorogue the Parliament. The Speaker, accompanied by the Members present, went to the House of Lords, from whence he returned in about twenty minutes, and having read the Royal Speech to the Members present, the House immediately separated.

LIST OF ACTS.

A

TABLE

OF

All the STATUTES passed in the FIRST Session of the FOURTEENTH Parliament of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

5° *VICT.*

PUBLIC GENERAL ACTS.

i. AN Act to authorise Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods to grant Building Leases of the Royal Kitchen Garden at *Kensington*, and to form and improve other Royal Gardens; and to enable the said Commissioners to purchase Lands of Copyhold or Customary Tenure.

ii. An Act for annexing the Mansion House, Gardens, and Grounds at *Frogmore*, Part of the Land Revenue of the Crown, to *Windsor Castle*.

iii. An Act to alter an Act of the Eleventh Year of King *George* the Fourth, for amending the Laws relating to the Pay of the Royal Navy, and an Act of the Fifth Year of King *William* the Fourth, to alter the Provisions of the said Act.

iv. An Act to continue for Three Years, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Parliament, Two Acts relating to the Care and Treatment of Insane Persons in *England*.

v. An Act to make further Provisions for the Administration of Justice.

vi. An Act to amend an Act made in the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *George* the Third, intituled *An Act to empower the Archbishop of* Canterbury *or the Archbishop of* York *for the Time being to consecrate to the Office of a Bishop Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of His Majesty's Dominions.*

vii. An Act to continue until the Thirty-first Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and forty-two, such Laws as may expire within a limited Period.

viii. An Act for funding Exchequer Bills, and for making Provision for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

ix. An Act to provide for Payment of the Persons employed in taking Account of the Population in *England*.

x. An Act to continue the Poor Law Commission until the Thirty-first Day of *July* One thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

xi. An Act for raising the Sum of Ten millions six hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and fifty Pounds by Exchequer Bills, for the Service of the Year One thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

PRIVATE ACTS,

PRINTED BY THE QUEEN'S PRINTER, AND

WHEREOF THE PRINTED COPIES MAY BE GIVEN IN EVIDENCE.

1. An Act to vest the Entailed Estate of *Ardnamurchan* and *Sunart*, in the County of *Argyle*, in Trustees, for the Purpose of raising Money for the Payment of the Debts affecting the said Estate, and of certain Sums expended by Sir *James Milnes Riddell* in improving the same, and for the Erection of a Mansion House and Offices thereon.
2. An Act for enabling the Most Noble *George* Duke of *Marlborough* to charge, for the Repairs of *Blenheim Palace*, certain Hereditaments devised by the Will of the Most Noble *George* Third Duke of *Marlborough*, deceased, as a collateral Security with a Sum of Twenty-five thousand Pounds and Interest, and as a primary Security with a further Sum not exceeding Ten thousand Pounds and Interest.

PRIVATE ACTS,

NOT PRINTED.

3. An Act to relieve the Right Honourable *John Savile Lumley Savile* Earl of *Scarborough* from certain Disabilities and Penalties in consequence of his having sat and voted in the House of Peers without being duly qualified by taking and subscribing the Oaths and Declaration prescribed by Law.
4. An Act to enable *George Alan Clayton* to take and bear the Name and Arms of *Lowndes*.

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FOR THE FIRST SESSION OF

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